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Shared enemies, shared friends: the relational character of subcultural ideology in the case of Czech punks and skinheads

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Punk in Czechoslovakia began to form prior to 1989, in a society substantially removed from that in which it had first been born. In other words, punk was imported into a Czechoslovakian society that was determined by a political system that claimed to be socialistic, was aligned to the idea of communism, and whose primary characteristics (regardless of the name) were built on repression, fear and conformity.[1] From within the same totalitarian regime, moreover, and very much linked to the emergent punk subculture, came the Czech skinhead.

Such a political system was soon to change. Nevertheless, punks and skinheads remain fellow travellers to this day; indeed, the relationship between the two subcultures, while taking different forms at different times in different places, may even be seen as essential to their survival. We would argue, too, that punk's development is always informed by the character of the dominant society of which it is part. Its subcultural identity is constructed in relation to the mainstream. Elements of mainstream culture, regarded by the subculture as symbolising key flaws in the dominant society, are reinterpreted and negated; the constitutive elements of the punk and skinhead subcultures are then formulated and internalised to determine the authenticity of its participants. That said, of course, it is impossible to discuss punk as an isolated phenomenon. In Czechoslovakia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia as elsewhere in the world, punk changed and evolved over time, drawing from different 'models',

emphasising or suppressing elements of punk's original idea, creating new versions and variations.[2]

To explore this process analytically, we will use the concept of subcultural ideology as a kind of counterpoise to the subcultural style that also shapes subcultural identity. Simultaneously, we argue that subcultural identities are formed in relation to other subcultures, with which traditions are forged and to which actors from either side relate (either willingly or unwillingly). Finally, we argue for the importance of cultural diffusion, reinterpretation and even acculturation in understanding the development of subcultural styles, actions and relationships. To understand punk in Czechoslovakia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, various intervening factors must be taken into account: the political regime into which punk was born; the changes to the dominant society that occurred thereafter; trends coming in from the West; relations with and between other subcultures. In this case, skinheads influenced punks and vice versa, meaning an analysis of both reveals much about the social phenomena and processes since characterised as post-socialist. The importance of the mutual relationship between both subcultures may best be demonstrated in the following two quotes:

> I remember one accidental meeting of a few punks and skinheads in the early nineties. I was sitting there wondering who was sitting in front of me, then acknowledging one of skinheads: 'Hey, I know you. I kicked you in the head at the Výstaviště[3] … Sorry for that.' And he answered: 'Don't mention it, if you were lying on the ground, I would have kicked you too.' And then both of us continued our conversations with our own friends … (Cook, male, 42)

> Trachta: Do you see any future for skinheads?
> Buqičák: … As punks won't die out, so the skinheads won't die out – these are cultures with a tradition.[4]

Theoretical and methodological basis

Our interpretation of the formation and transformation of punk subculture in Czechoslovakia and, later, the Czech Republic, is based on the analytical categories of subcultural style,[5] capital[6] and identity,[7] with specific emphasis on subcultural ideology. While the first three concepts have been subjected to extensive theorisation, the last has been less so – primarily due to conflicting use of its meaning.[8] Here, though, we understand subcultural ideology to be a historically and culturally determined system of shared values, norms

and attitudes that members of a particular subculture adhere to, approve and express.[9] In line with Thornton, we assert that ideology is developed via a dialogue with one's own and others' social formations.[10] We argue, too, that it is possible to follow such a development through three interconnected but analytically distinguishable levels: (a) in relation to the dominant society (how the dominant society is perceived); (b) in relation to a particular subculture (how a subculture perceives itself); (c) in relation to other subcultures (how subcultures perceive each other). These three levels provide a continual dialogue through which subcultural ideology is constructed, negotiated and reproduced, the relative importance of which may be determined by the prevailing historical and cultural context.

Our study is based on a relatively variable body of data. First, from interviews held with early Czech punks alongside observation and informal interview-conversations; second, from a re-analysis of qualitative research carried out by our students;[11] third, from publicly-accessible sources, both visual and written. Through this, we distinguish four types of formation applicable to both the punk and skinhead subcultures, each of which corresponds to historical developments in Czechoslovakia and, subsequently, the two Republics. The chapter is organised chronologically into four periods: before 1989; early 1990s; late 1990s; after 2000. We are well aware that these periods are generalised, and we mean only to use them as an analytical framework in which to demonstrate our thesis. Our main research questions are as follows: what kind of subcultural ideology was constructed in each designated historical period; to what extent is ideology important to subcultural identity; how is subcultural ideology constructed in relation to the mainstream, to others within a subculture, and to members of other subcultures?

The birth of punks and skinheads in Czechoslovakia

The form that punk and skinhead culture took in Czechoslovakia was shaped by the repressive character of the prevailing political establishment. Cultural information from the West was acquired with difficulty. Though it was relatively easy – if sometimes illegal – to access Western music (via foreign radio broadcasts, street markets and, occasionally, on radio and television programmes tolerated by the government), wider cultural information breached the 'iron curtain' sporadically and devoid of its original context. The roots of punk in Czechoslovakia, therefore, date back to the late 1970s and were first tended by experimental musicians[12] and music journalists in the form of musical inspirations.[13] It was, initially at least, far more intellectual than working-class.

Over time, punk music and style spread to a wider and younger audience. The 1980s saw a recognisable punk subculture emerge in Czechoslovakia, consisting not only of musicians but an audience that shared a kind of punk identity.[14] Evidently, however, the prevailing characteristics of the fledgling punk culture were informed by a regime that effectively isolated its citizens from the wider world, both physically (travel) and ideologically (censorship, jamming foreign broadcasts, education). It also sought to repress any manifestation of individuality.[15] To be different meant, at best, to give up on any career advancement. At worst, it might lead to oppressive intervention from the police or judiciary in the form of frequent and gratuitous ID checks, detention, and even imprisonment.

In terms of social composition, Czech punks in the 1980s were typically working-class youths from vocational schools with only the prospect of a state-bureaucratic or factory job ahead of them. Because punks were seen as 'enemies of socialist regime', they possessed no chance of higher education, usually meaning they did not speak English and were therefore unable to understand the lyrics of their foreign idols, let alone any latent punk ideology. This, in turn, had an enormous impact on their understanding of what it 'meant to be a punk'. One enquiring punk later remembered:

> [We] were weirdoes among other punks, because we translated the lyrics and searched for the fundamental wisdom of life in them. They saw us as nutcases for concerning ourselves with it [ideology]; for them it did not matter."
> (Cook, male, 42)

The *image* of Western punk was more obvious and easily understood by its Czech 'imitators'. However, the clothing and artefacts that signified Western punk remained mostly inaccessible, allowing punk's DIY principle to quickly permeate the emergent culture via clothes and accoutrements adapted and adopted to replicate the fragments of information gleaned from the West.[16] So, for example, medical trousers were dyed and Czech military boots (called *kanady*) airbrushed to resemble Western styles. Creating a punk outfit necessitated much personal investment, in terms of imagination and time, but it also came at considerable risk. It was punk's image, far more than its music, that irritated the communist authorities. The strikingly visual difference between punk and the mainstream, alongside its apparent denial of 'positive' social values (as defined by the regime), was seen to have been imported from the 'enemy' West. By reason, therefore, punks were soon ascribed the role of 'opposition' and subjected to coercion.[17] If only a minority of Czech punks harboured conscious political intent, then they were stigmatised as so doing by the communist authorities by the late 1980s.

More typically, perhaps, Czech's punk subculture soon developed its own internal identity through the accumulation of subcultural capital and a style that displayed disinterest in mainstream values and disdain for the normative system of dominant society. This was often expressed in readily understandable symbolism, such as the circled A of anarchy. '[The] A in a circle, it was intelligible to everyone. Anarchy means chaos; everyone understands that, they knew it even from school' (Cook, male, 42). But while this simple reading was shared intuitively, it remained a form of ideological resistance to the regime (not to mention communism *per se*) that soon began to appeal as such. 'We wanted to be different, and this was the most different thing we knew' (Tuner, male, 43).

It was from this more consciously oppositional milieu that the first Czech skinheads emerged in the 1980s, a small but distinct part of the broader punk subculture.[18]

> Five of us always spent the weekend together. And one day, one of Duben cousin's appeared in a bomber jacket. I asked him: 'What's that jacket about?' And he answered: 'It's just a normal jacket.' And then we all knew that he was a skinhead now. But we continued to spend the time together … (Cook, male, 42)

As this suggests, both the punk and skinhead subcultures shared similar impulses. Both sought to provoke and differentiate themselves from mainstream society (personified by a communist regime that despised them and forced them to resistance); both adopted a style that reflected this; both listened to socially unacceptable music, be it termed punk or Oi! Little distinction between the two subcultures was made – due, in part, to the limited number of people involved and interpersonal relationships between the subcultures. Nor was attention paid to cultural and political differences commonplace in the West. '[It] was not unusual for someone to listen to The Exploited, The Clash or The Sex Pistols, and at the same time be racist and not see it as a problem' (Scribe, male, 41). Punks, for example, were often highly critical of the Roma population; some punk bands even had racist lyrics. The Slovak punk band, Zóna A, had a song entitled 'Cigánský problém' ('Gypsy Problem'). Not dissimilarly, one interviewee remembered: 'At that time, Šanov 1 sang how "We will tip the dustbins over and we will go after the blacks"' (Worker, male, 36).[19] Czech punk's subcultural ideology was, therefore, only remotely (if at all) inspired from abroad.[20] Rather, it took its cue from – and related to – issues and situations within contemporary society. It differentiated itself from the communist regime and so from the establishment. Indeed, such a position of resistance soon led it to adopt punk's most notorious signifier. 'The swastika

was a symbol of resistance against communism, and was shared by all of us [punks and skinheads]' (Scribe, male, 41).

If you lose an enemy, you have to find a new one

The fall of Czechoslovakia's communist regime in 1989 constituted an important change for the punk and skinhead subcultures within the country. First, both subcultures lost their mutual enemy (the communist state). Second, the more relaxed social atmosphere brought with it greater tolerance to difference, as the normative system of Czechoslovak society began to recreate itself. Third, the fall of the 'iron curtain' enabled information from the West to flow freely into Czechoslovakia.

The loss of a common enemy (the communist regime) meant that Czech punks and skins had to find a new 'other' against which to base their subcultural identities. The early 1990s saw wholesale social, economic and political transformation, during which no clear – or intelligible – ideology was in place. Both subcultures, therefore, looked West for inspiration. As a result, specific subcultural ideologies were adopted. Czech skinheads quickly looked towards the German and British skinhead scenes, from which they adopted an ultra right-wing political position. Punks, meanwhile, began to flirt more openly with anarchism. Some formed or became part of an organised anarchist movement, initiating protests and demonstrations against racism, fascism, compulsory military service, US imperialism (as with the visit of President George W. Bush to Czechoslovakia in January 1991) and the opening of McDonalds' restaurants. They established links, too, with anarchists from mainly Italy, Germany and Spain.

The politicisation of both subcultures led to open and violent conflict between the two. This, initially, stemmed from their seemingly divergent political orientation, but soon bled into more basic (if presumed) subcultural antagonisms. If a punk prioritised anti-racism as their foremost political cause, then the skinhead became its personification. If the skinhead rejected anarchism, then that set them against punk. Such interpretation was further reinforced by the media, which throughout the 1990s depicted skinheads almost exclusively as neo-fascists or neo-Nazis, and punks as anarchists, deviants and junkies. Those punks and skins who swam against the prevailing current were, in turn, marginalised both within their respective subcultures and society more generally.

Crucial to the relationship between punks and skins in the early 1990s was the success of the skinhead band Orlík.[21] The band's popularity ensured that

the skinhead style became more visible on the streets of Czech cities and in housing estates where 'kinder skins' (thirteen- to fifteen-year-old boys) listened to Orlík and adopted their 'patriotic' message. Punk, by contrast, remained on the margins. Indeed, the antagonism that grew between the two subcultures was reproduced in Orlik's songs. So, for example, 'Až nás bude víc' ('When There Will be More of Us') warns: 'Hey cock-a-doodle-doo,[22] beware of oi, don't go into streets, be afraid of skinheads'.[23] For a time, therefore, punks became fair game for skinheads and, in turn, saw skinheads as their principal enemy.

Of course, the so-called 'kinder skins' had no memory of the affinity that had previously existed between the two subcultures. There now existed, it seemed, a line demarcating those punks and skins who had come of age under communism and those emergent into the 1990s. For the former, many simply had to adapt to this new situation, though others did what they could to cross it.

> I [punk] was with my brother on Labour Day [demonstration], which we had helped organise. The skins were ready to assault us. We were all standing there: groups of skins and punks taunting each other, cops everywhere. And beside me appeared the Procházka brothers[24] who I knew from the past. So we began to chat. And then the cops came up, shouting, 'get away from each other'. And we all said 'Why? It's our business'; because we all still have an aversion to cops from before the [Velvet] revolution. So we argued with them [cops] for a while, then we decided to fuck off and go to the pub together. (Cook, male, 42)

As this suggests, punks and skinheads were associated with each other before 1989 via a simplified subcultural ideology based on resistance to a dominant society represented by the communist regime and an ignorance of their respective subcultural origins. After 1989, mutual antagonism built on politics and misinterpretation ensured punks and skins increasingly distinguished between each other and their respective subcultural ideologies. Rather than a shared subcultural ideology, born from an opposition to the dominant society, their respective ideologies by the 1990s were shaped more in opposition to each other. Subcultural capital was thus earned by a punk or skinhead who not only recognised the borders between the two subcultures, but who strengthened them. Equally, subcultural style was complemented by subcultural *practice*, meaning the active drawing of attention to the differences between the subcultures and the (physical) dangers they entailed.

Enemies within own ranks and rediscovered lost friends

Over the course of the 1990s, the transformation of Czechoslovakia (and even more the Czech Republic from 1993) moved it ever closer to Western society in terms of its structure, values and normative systems. The most important change in relation to our subcultures was the transformation of certain currents of thought into legitimate political formations acted out on the political stage. Simultaneously, conformity returned to become an appreciated value within the dominant society. Given this, political formations seeking mass appeal were weakened rather than strengthened by their actual, erstwhile or imagined associations with non-conformist elements such as punks and skins. Accordingly, the political overtures once made towards our subcultural groups began to weaken. The far right, in particular, found its progress hindered by its association with skinheads and their reputation as violent, neo-Nazis.

At the risk of overstatement, both subcultures advanced from 'adolescence' to 'early adulthood' in the 1990s, through which their subcultural ideology of mutual differentiation was overcome. Punks and skins each reacted and responded to their distorted media image, leading to a growing emphasis on the 'traditional' form and roots of their respective subculture. An interest in the origins and history of the subcultures was evident, with fanzines giving space to debate as to their character in Czechoslovakia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia as compared to in the West. As a result, ideological currents within the subcultures polarised. Thus, the overtly anarchist punks gradually split away from the wider punk subculture, no longer feeling the need for a specific subcultural identity. Punks thereby tended to identify themselves with the punk subculture *per se* rather than active anarchism. Similarly, the skinhead subculture had split in two directions by the early 1990s: one, inspired by the West, towards neo-Nazism; the second, drawing from Czech history, forged a uniquely Czech variation of skinhead known as *kališníci*. The *kališníci* were radical and patriotic, but they were also strictly anti-Nazi.[25]

Simultaneously, the media representation of skinheads as primarily neo-Nazi or racist led many in the culture to feel that their skinhead identity had been 'stolen' from them by the far right. In response, they began to trace their skinhead roots back to British working-class youth in the 1960s, rejecting identification with the far right and adopting a depoliticised version of skinhead subculture. Even then, there remained a distinction between those who accentuated skinhead-as-style and those who sought to assert a particular subcultural ideology. So, for example, anti-fascist skinheads – gathered in SHARP (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice) and RASH (Red and Anarchy

Skinheads) – claimed continuity with the subcultural ideology of the original (British) skinheads. Alternately, of course, 'white power skinheads', particularly members of the *Bohemia Hammerskins* and, later, *Blood and Honour Bohemia*, retained their far-right affiliation. Accordingly, the skinhead subculture divided, with even former *kališníci* trying to align their patriotism with a 'traditional' style that bled into apolitical skinhead currents.

Style-wise, skinheads had begun to fuse their look with particular subcultural ideologies by the late 1990s. Rather than distinguish themselves from punk, they sought to distinguish themselves from other currents within the skinhead subculture. What had previously been a fairly uniform image, consisting of bomber jacket, army boots, jeans or army camouflage trousers, began to differentiate. Subcultural ideology had previously been transmitted almost exclusively through patches with select symbols. Now, those who considered themselves apolitical skinheads tended to wear 'traditional' skinhead-associated brands, such as Fred Perry, Lonsdale, Everlast and Ben Sherman; far-right skinheads wore their own brand, Thor Steinar; and 'red' skins demonstrated their subcultural identity via red braces or bootlaces. Punks, too, began to diversify their style to reflect their preferred sub-genre or subcultural ideology, a process enabled to some extent by the rise of clothes shops specialising in street wear. [26]

Between all this, some punks and skins sought to supress the distinctions between the two subcultures by referring back to their common historical roots in 1970s Britain and 1980s Czechoslovakia. The result was a blending of skinhead and punk style called 'skunx', a kind of hybrid subculture that enabled punks and skinheads to realign without changing their subcultural identity.[27] Such a phenomenon cannot be dismissed as the result of commodification, though most street-wear shops did sell clothes and accoutrements relating to both. Rather, the integration and 'use' of different styles may be interpreted as an intentional declaration of sympathy between the subcultures; an apolitical stance or, sometimes, a signal of anti-fascism.

Initially, at least, these changes were accepted with some hesitation. One skinhead remembered:

> Punks thought you were a Nazi; gypsies did as well, while Nazis called you left-wing. So for the classic [traditional] skinhead the situation was always worse than for a punk, because punk identity was clear and intelligible. But the classic [traditional] skinhead identity was not. (Merchant, male, 38)[28]

Yet, such diversification gradually broke through into both subcultures, once more bringing them closer together in recognition and knowledge (rather than ignorance) of their history. Such knowledge was then displayed (among

apolitical skinheads) or demonstratively fused (among skunx), providing a form of subcultural capital that enabled for diversification and hierarchies to develop on either side. To be a skinhead or a punk did not demand following a current trend in subcultural style, but in choosing to follow this-or-that ideology. Subcultural identity was thus constructed on the basis of a particular subcultural ideology rather than a particular style. Among skinheads, in particular, this was primarily constituted in relation to their own subculture rather than in relation to dominant society or another subculture.

After subculture? Maybe not yet ...

As noted already, subcultural identity is, in part, determined by the nature of the dominant society in which it is situated. In the current period, this has ensured that (sub)cultures exist within blurred boundaries that are difficult to demarcate.[29] It is, in the twenty-first century, possible to think both of socially determined trans-local cultures and locally modified versions of global culture.[30]

In recent times, the ideology and style of both the punk and skinhead subcultures has become increasingly empty. The commodification of punk, for example, brought it into the mainstream to the extent that pop idols such as Madonna appropriated elements of punk style and commercial pop-punk bands like Green Day and Blink 182 found widespread success. As a result, punk's distinctive ideology and style has, at best, been diluted and, at worst, exorcised altogether. Punk has therefore lost much of its provocative power; as a point of opposition to the mainstream, it has become less interesting and effective. Indeed, punk's agitation has been overtaken by other subcultures such as ravers (*teknaři* in Czech), hip-hoppers or emos. These, in turn, have established themselves in Czech society and made ready use of globalisation's tools, such as virtual media.[31] Many original punks have themselves become ravers, so finding an alternate means to facilitate autonomy, freedom and escape from the 'system' (establishment).

The skinhead subculture has changed too. Those openly declaring an anti-racist affiliation have decreased in favour of apolitical skinheads. As the ranks of neo-Nazi skinheads diminish, and the media caricature becomes less prevalent, so skinheads appear to feel less need to declare themselves as active anti-racists.[32] Conversely, some recent studies have suggested an implicit racism continues to exist among those 'traditional' skinheads who declare themselves apolitical.[33]

Not surprisingly, the mass media continues to play an important role in defining the world of subcultures. As the punk and skinhead caricatures became less potent, so media attention turned elsewhere – to ravers, who are depicted as junkies or asocial individuals; to hip-hoppers, who signify vandalism; to emos, who self-harm and commit suicide.[34] Equally, of course, the 'anything goes' culture of late modernity means that punk and skinhead style no longer serves to challenge the dominant society, nor does it express any definite subcultural ideology. If people continue to feel the need to distinguish themselves from the dominant society or sections within it, then it is more likely to be ideology or lifestyle choice that demonstrates this. Ideology reaches through generations and is not based on social stratification. It is registered across a far more diverse terrain, be it organic food, natural childbirth or communal living, all of which are too diffuse or ambivalent to be seen as distinct subcultures. To the 'supermarket of style' we may add the supermarkets of ideology, music and behaviour.[35] In youth cultural terms, bands now consist of cross-subcultural members and play music not related to any of them. Indeed, the place of music as a constitutive element of subcultures has arguably been lessened to the extent that its ideological connotations are no longer apparent.

Even so, punk and skinhead subcultures remain and continue to exert an attraction for some. Nowadays, however, those who adopt the style tend to possess neither subcultural capital nor a shared subcultural ideology. There have, of course, always been people on the 'periphery' of the scene, but they tended either to move out of the subculture as they grew older or gained the cultural capital necessary to move towards its 'centre'.[36] Today, their subcultural affiliation may fluctuate between one identity and another.[37] Or, following Muggleton, they exist as post-subculturalists; their identity fluid, permeable and hybrid.[38] It is, typically, older subcultural members who retain a strong sense of connection to ideology. Having accumulated subcultural capital, they continue to demonstrate this through a rather rigid adherence to style paraded at particular subcultural events such as concerts or festivals.[39] In many ways, therefore, punk and skinhead subculture in the Czech Republic exists now only as a residue. These are collectivities better suited for another world. Their potential members dissolve into the extensive choice of other subcultures; their distinctive ideologies are no longer clear; they no longer form the vanguard of oppositional style. Better, perhaps, to perceive punk and skinhead as a network of local idiocultures based primarily on personal relations.[40] They are localised, not simply in the physical sense, but also in terms of virtual space. They inhabit spaces where relationships are built and subcultural identities constructed. In such a way, punk and skinhead have acquired the form of trans-local scenes.[41]

What they retain in common is the notion of being embedded in the punk or skinhead tradition, but in practice they give rise to varied manifestations.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the processes through which subcultures are formed and reformed as social groupings with a distinct system of values, norms, behavioural patterns and lifestyle. The punk and skinhead subcultures of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic served to demonstrate that subcultures are not rigid or fixed social formations, but are greatly determined by their historical and cultural context. To understand subculture, attention must be given to those participating within the culture, to those against whom the respective subculture differentiates itself, and to the practices that form the subculture's meaning. We have thus focused on subcultural ideology as an analytical category negotiated through and against the norms and values of the dominant society. Moreover, we have done this across a period of political, socio-economic and cultural transformation, during which mainstream culture became both weakened and ill-defined. Within such a context, subcultures appear to seek out alternate 'others' to define themselves against. Indeed, such differentiation, the basic principle of subcultural existence, might often be founded in relation to another subculture. A conflict of ideology (understood as shared norms, values and attitudes) then becomes essential not only for the establishment of a subculture, but for its very existence.

As we have also shown, the most important element of subcultural ideology does not have to be its content, but its relationship to subcultures that differentiate against one another. In other words, the character of subcultural ideology is always negotiated in relation to another (sub)culture. But if the 'other' becomes unavailable, loses its distinction, or fails to 'co-operate' (respond), then the subculture begins to disintegrate. It will either divide within itself or blur its borders and blend into the dominant society. Conversely, if the ideology of its (sub)cultural opponent remains apparent and consistent, then the subculture unifies and creates ever more distinctive borders.

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Notes

1 We are aware that 'communist' is – by political science standards – inadequate and even confusing as a term. However, 'communist' was the native (emic) term for the non-democratic totalitarian system of Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989 and will be used here as a kind of metaphor.
2 Czechoslovakia divided into two independent states, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, on 1 January 1993. Though the Czech and Slovak subcultural worlds were always close to each other, our research relates primarily to the Czech region.
3 This was the first large-scale street fight between punks and skinheads. It occurred at an anarchist demonstration against the Jubilee exhibition that took place at Prague Výstaviště on 30 May 1991.
4 M. Trachta, 'Skinheads: Hrdost, styl a zábava', in Vladimir 518 and K. Veselý (eds), *Kmeny: současné městské subkultury* (Prague: Bigg Boss & Yinachi, 2011), p. 126.
5 M. Brake, *Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada* (London: Routledge, 1987); J. Clarke, 'Style', in S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 175–91; D. Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979); D. Muggleton, *Inside Subculture: The Postmodern Meaning of Style* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); T. Polhemus, 'In the Supermarket of Style', in S. Redhead (ed.), *The Clubcultures Reader: Readings in Popular Cultural Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 130–3.
6 S. Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital* (Middletown, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1996); and 'Social Logic of Subcultural Capital', in K. Gelder and S. Thornton (eds), *The Subcultures Reader* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 200–9; O. Slačálek, 'České freetekno – pohyblivé prostory autonomie?', in M. Kolářová (ed.), *Revolta stylem: hudební subkultury mládeže v České republice* (Prague: SLON, 2011), pp. 83–122.
7 N. Božilović, 'Youth subcultures and subversive identities', *Facta universitatis - series: Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology and History*, 9:1 (2010), 45–58; T. H. Eriksen, *Antropologie multikulturních společností: rozumět identitě* (Prague: Triton, 2007); R. Jenkins, *Social Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 3rd edn, 2008).
8 See J. B. Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).
9 See M. Heřmanský and H. Novotná, 'Hudební subkultury', in P. Janeček (ed.), *Folklor atomového věku. Kolektivně sdílené prvky expresivní kultury v soudobé české společnosti* (Prague: Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague, 2011), pp. 89–110.
10 Thornton, 'Social Logic of Subcultural Capital', p. 201.
11 J. Dvořák, 'Vývoj vzájemného vztahu punkové a skinheadské subkultury od 80. let 20. století do současnosti na území Liberecka a Jablonecka' (Bachelor Thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague, 2006); K. Klozarová, 'Vizuální atributy punkové subkultury v Československu, respektive v České republice a na Slovensku v 80. a 90. letech 20. století' (Bachelor Thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Charles

University, Prague, 2004); T. Novotný, 'S.H.A.R.P. – Skinheadi proti rasovým předsudkům. Příklad současné Prahy' (Bachelor Thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague, 2011); J. Šarochová, 'Pohyb mezi subkulturami: konstrukce subkulturní identity prostřednictvím biografického vyprávění' (Bachelor Thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague, 2011).

12 One of the first Czechoslovakian artists to play punk was Mikoláš Chadima and his band Extempore (The New Rock and Joke Extempore Band), who incorporated a few punk covers into their repertoire. Their concert at the U Zábranských club in 1979 is considered the first live punk performance in Czechoslovakia. See H. Novotná and J. Dvořák, 'Punks vs. Skinheads – Historie jednoho vztahu', in D. Bittnerová and M. Heřmanský (eds), *Kultura českého prostoru, prostor české kultury* (Prague: Ermat, 2008), pp. 261–88.

13 For example, in May 1978 the music journalist Josef Vlček gave a lecture about punk rock at VI. Prague Jazz Days festival in the Theatre of Music.

14 Among the first Czech punk rock bands were F.P.B. (Fourth Price Band), Kečup and, later, Visací zámek.

15 For accounts of repression against long-haired people (called *vlasatci* or *máničky*), see F. Pospíšil and P. Blažek, *Vraťte nám vlasy! První máničky, vlasatci a hippies v komunistickém Československu* (Prague: Academia, 2010).

16 A similar trend happened in the 1960s, when the *vlasatci* (*máničky*) were inspired by the visual attributes of ideologically different subcultures such as mods, rockers, beatniks and hippies. See Pospíšil and Blažek, *Vraťte nám vlasy!*

17 For details M. Vaněk, *Byl to jenom rock 'n' roll? Hudební alternativa v komunistickém Československu 1956–1989* (Prague: Academia 2010).

18 K. Zástěra, 'K některým otázkám okrajových skupin dělnické mládeže (Punk a jeho charakteristické rysy)', *Zpravodaj KSVI pro etnografii a folkloristiku*, 2 (1991).

19 Dvořák, 'Vývoj vzájemného vztahu punkové a skinheadské subkultury …', appendix, interview no. 6. Šanov 1 was a Czech punk rock band from Teplice, formed in 1987.

20 An important source of inspiration was an article by Gerhard Kromschröder in the magazine *100+1 Zahraničních zajímavostí* (100+1 Foreign Curiosities, 18, 1986) called 'Holohlavci, to jsou, pane chlapci' (Baldheads are really great guys).

21 The success of Orlík is unparalleled to that of any other skinhead band. Even though they released just two LPs (*Oi! Miloš Frýba for President* (1990) and *Demise!* (1991)) and broke up in 1992, they remain the most well-known Czech skinhead band today. Orlík's ideology, evident in most of their songs, was based on radical patriotism, nationalism and an aversion against anything non-Czech. It glorified the legacy of the Hussite movement of the fifteenth century, which was seen as the greatest period of Czech history. Though Orlík were radical nationalists, they were also strictly anti-Nazism. The band's end was due to Nazi-skinheads doing Nazi salutes and chanting *Sieg Heil* at their concerts.

22 Cock-a-doodle-doo ('kykyrý' in Czech), as in the sound of a rooster, refers to the similarity between a rooster's crest and the mohawk hairstyle.

23 L. Ašenbrener, J. Fuchs, M. Šafár, *et al.*, 'Orlík - Live Delta (1989)', in *Encyklopedie čs. alternativní scény do roku 1993*, www.projektpunk.cz/obsah/O/Orlik/Live-delta/, accessed 12 December 2012.
24 The Procházka brothers were important figures in the skinhead subculture in the early 1990s.
25 *Kališníci* formed out of Orlík's audiencek. Their motto was 'Co je český, to je hezký', or 'What's Czech is good'.
26 So, punk circa 1977 (inspired by the Sex Pistols and the Clash), or punk circa 1982 (inspired by The Exploited and UK street punk). For a detailed account of punk's different styles, see Klozarová, 'Vizuální atributy punkové subkultury v Československu'.
27 See Dvořák, 'Vývoj vzájemného vztahu punkové a skinheadské subkultury'.
28 *Ibid*., appendix, interview no. 4.
29 For anthropological critique of concept of culture see, for example, L. Abu Lughod, 'Writing Against Culture', in R. G. Fox (ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1991), pp. 137–62.
30 For the concept of glocality, see A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, 'Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference', *Cultural Anthropology*, 7:1 (1992), 6–23.
31 Heřmanský and Novotná, 'Hudební subkultury'; see also T. Holíková, 'Emo online: Struktura a funkce virtuální komunity serveru Emosvět'. (Bachelor Thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague, 2012).
32 See Novotný, 'S.H.A.R.P. – Skinheadi proti rasovým předsudkům'.
33 P. Stejskalová, 'Subkultura skinheads – Kam až došly těžké boty', in Kolářová (ed.), *Revolta stylem*, pp. 159–99.
34 For moral panics on emo in Czech Republic, see M. Heřmanský, 'Emoce, žiletky a sebevraždy. Démonizace emo subkultury a morální panika v českém prostředí', in O. Daniel, T. Kavka, and J. Machek (eds), *Populární kultura v českém prostoru* (Prague: Karolinum, 2013).
35 Polhemus, 'In the Supermarket of Style', pp. 130–3.
36 Inspired by the skinhead fanzine *Bulldog*, Klozarová distinguished between those in the 'centre of the scene', those on the 'periphery of the scene' and those 'parasitising on the scene'. The first were usually older than eighteen years, active participants and aware of its history and style (i.e. they possessed the most of subcultural capital). The second were usually younger and saw punk as image rather than a lifestyle. The third abused the punk image. See also Novotná and Dvořák, 'Punks vs. Skinheads'.
37 See Šarochová, 'Pohyb mezi subkulturami'.
38 Muggleton, *Inside Subculture*.
39 See M. Pixová, 'Český punk za oponou i před oponou', in Kolářová (ed.), *Revolta stylem*, pp. 45–82.
40 G. A. Fine, 'Small Groups and Culture Creation: The Idioculture of Little League Baseball Teams', *American Sociological Review*, 44:5 (1979), 733–45.

41 R. A. Peterson and A. Bennett, 'Introducing Music Scenes', in A. Bennett and R. A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), pp. 1–15.