

The Four Stages of a DIY Career:  
The Life Courses and Careers of Youth Culture Practitioners  
from Lepakkoluola and the Helsinki Scene of the Early 1980s

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Master Thesis  
Economic and Social History  
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May 2019

Tiedekunta - Fakultet - Faculty Valtiotieteellinen tiedekunta		Laitos - Institution - Department	
Tekijä - Författare - Author Juho Hänninen			
Työn nimi - Arbetets titel Pro gradu -tutkielma			
Title The Four Stages of a DIY Career: The Life Courses and Careers of Youth Culture Practitioners from Lepakkoluola and the Helsinki Scene of the Early 1980s			
Oppiaine - Läroämne - Subject Talous ja sosiaalhistoria			
Työn laji/ Ohjaaja - Arbetets art/Handledare - Level/Instructor Pro gradu -tutkielma / Antti Häkkinen, Mikko Salasuo		Aika - Datum - Month and year 05/2019	Sivumäärä - Sidoantal - Number of pages 119 s + 21 liites.
<p>Tiivistelmä - Referat – Abstract</p> <p>Helsingin Ruoholahdessa sijainnut “Lepakkoluolana” tunnetuksi tullut entinen maalivarasto ja asunnottomien asuntola vallattiin vuonna 1979 nuorten toimeesta. Seuraavien kahden vuosikymmenen aikana ”Lepakko” oli helsinkiläisen omaehtoisen musiikin, taiteen ja muun nuorisokulttuurin kehto. Osa Lepakkoluolan alkuvuosina tilan ympärillä toimineessa skenessä mukanaolijoista kasvoi tilan mukana rakentaen elämänsä ja uransa kulttuurin parissa oman toimijuutensa varassa ilman koulutuksen ja muiden yhteiskunnallisten instituutioiden tarjoamaa vetoapua. Tutkielmani selvittää kuinka nuorisokulttuurin toimiin osallistuminen muodostuu elämänikäiseksi työuraksi nuorisokulttuurin ja muun kulttuurin tuottamisen parissa. Niin sanottu DIY career -keskustelu (”tee se itse -ura”) on tuore avaus nuoriso- ja alakulttuurien tutkimuksessa ja nivoutuu nousemassa olevaan akateemiseen kiinnostukseen nuorisokulttuuriin osallistumisen ja ikääntymisen suhteesta.</p> <p>Tutkielman keskeinen menetelmä on elämänkulkuanalyysi, jossa elämänkulun viiteen periaatteeseen – toimijuus, linkittyneet elämät, ajoitus, kumuloituvuus, historiallinen aika ja paikka – yhdistyy epifanian kaltaiset itseymmärryksen hetket omasta elämästä. Työ nivoutuu myös muistitietotutkimuksen perinteeseen, joka lähestyy haastatteluin tuotettua aineistoa haastateltavien omana kokemuksena tapahtuneesta. Aineisto puretaan osiin ja järjestetään uudelleen käyttäen grounded theoryn tarjoamia välineitä aineiston koodaukseen, kategorisoimiseen ja selittämiseen. Tutkielman primääriaineistona toimii viiden henkilön seitsemän elämänkulkuhaastattelua. Sekundaariaineistona hyödynnetään kahta kirjaa, joissa Lepakkoluolaan ja Radio Cityyn osallistujat ovat itse äänessä.</p> <p>Tutkielman tuloksena voidaan sanoa DIY careerin muotoutuneen neljän toisiaan seuraavan elämänkulun tason kautta. Ensimmäinen, ”first contact”, tapahtuu lapsuuden ja teini-iän aikana, kun henkilö tutustuu nuorisokulttuuriin ja mahdollisesti sen tekemiseen. Toinen, ”immersion”, tapahtuu varhaisaikuisuudessa, kun henkilö alkaa osallistumaan nuorisokulttuuriin ja sen tuottamiseen kasvavissa määrin samalla, kun etsii paikkaansa yhteiskunnassa. Kolmas, ”realisation”, tapahtuu, kun henkilö saa – suhteellisen – säännöllisen ja kokonaisvaltaisen roolin nuorisokulttuuriin tuottamiseen liittyvässä työpaikassa. Neljännen, ”maintenance”, tason aikana henkilö jatkaa ja ylläpitää elämäänsä aikaisemman elämänkulun pohjalta.</p>			
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<p>Tiivistelmä - Referat - Abstract</p> <p>A former warehouse and shelter for the homeless was occupied in Helsinki in 1979. The place became known as Lepakkoluola ('Batcave') and served as a central space for the Helsinki music, art and other youth culture scenes. For the following two decades, the space hosted a variety of culture. Some of the participants of the space's early years grew with the space and developed lives and careers in the production of youth and other culture. Their life courses were constructed via their own agency without the help of particular training or other societal institutions. This thesis asks how participation in youth cultural practices has formed into a life-long career in culture. The so-called concept of DIY ('do-it-yourself') career is a recent opening in the research of youth culture and subcultures. Through this concept, the thesis reflects a growing academic interest in how youth culture participation relates to ageing.</p> <p>The central method of the study is life course analysis and its five principles: agency, accumulation, timing, linked lives and the historical time and place. The work treats the data produced by interviews as oral history, which emphasises the interviewees own experience of the events they relate. The data has been deconstructed and reconstructed with the help of grounded theory's tools for coding, categorisation and explication. The primary data for this study is seven interviews by five interviewees. The secondary data is provided by two books in which the voices of participants in Lepakkoluola and Radio City are heard.</p> <p>The study reveals that a DIY career is made up of four consequential life-course stages. The first stage, or 'first contact', happens during childhood and adolescence when the person becomes acquainted with youth culture and possibly with youth cultural practices. The second, or 'immersion', happens in emerging adulthood as the person begins to increasingly participate in youth culture while at the same time looking for their place in society. The third stage, or 'realisation' happens when the person gets a – more or less – fully-fledged and stable form of employment in the production of youth culture. In the fourth stage, 'maintenance', the person continues and maintains their life course based on the earlier stages.</p>			
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1	Introduction .....	4
2	Historical Background and Previous Research .....	12
2.1	Historical Background .....	12
2.2	Previous Research .....	15
3	Framing and Defining the Research Questions .....	21
4	Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts .....	22
4.1	On the Concept of Subculture .....	22
4.2	Post-Post-Subcultural Studies .....	26
4.3	Theoretical Alignment of Thesis and Key Concepts .....	28
4.4	Giddens' Structuration Theory and Agency .....	31
5	Methodology .....	32
5.1	Life Course Analysis .....	32
5.2	Interpetive Oral History .....	35
5.3	Informed Constructivist Grounded Theory .....	36
5.4	Methodology in Practice: Analysis in Ten Steps .....	38
6	Data .....	39
6.1	Primary Data .....	39
6.2	Secondary Data .....	41
6.3	Anonymity, and Legal-Ethical Considerations .....	42
7	Analysis: Four Stages of a DIY Career .....	43
7.1	First Stage – 'First contact' or Acquaintance with Youth Culture .....	44
7.1.1	Beginning to Listen, Play and Produce Popular Music .....	45
7.1.2	Other Leisure Activities .....	48
7.1.3	Basic Schooling .....	50
7.1.4	Conclusion and Implications for Transition to Second Stage .....	51
7.2	Second Stage – 'Immersion' in Youth Culture Practices and Life Course Agency .....	52

7.2.1 Working Odd-Jobs and Studying .....	53
7.2.2 Entering Lepakkoluola and Expanding Youth Culture Practices .....	55
(i) Lepakkoluola, the Scene and DIY .....	55
(ii) Expanding Youth Culture Practices and Agency – Musicians .....	57
(iii) Expanding Youth Culture Practices and Agency – Music Facilitators.....	60
7.2.3 A Zest for Agency .....	61
7.2.4 Conclusion and Implications for Transition to Third Stage.....	64
7.3 Third Stage – ‘Realisation’ of a Career Producing Youth Culture .....	65
7.3.1 The Trajectory of Event Production.....	66
7.3.2 Careers in Radio City .....	69
7.3.3 Other Activities and Trajectories .....	71
7.3.4 Conclusion and Implications for Transition to Fourth Stage.....	73
7.4 Fourth Stage – ‘Maintenance’ and Continuation of a DIY Career Trajectory.....	74
7.4.1 Societal Change During the Interviewees’ Life Course.....	74
7.4.2 Livelihood Beyond the Third Stage .....	76
7.4.3 Accommodating Processes.....	78
7.4.4 Looking Back: The DIY Careerists’ Experiences of their Life Course and Motivation for Agency .....	81
(i) Experienced Turning Points and a Life Course Built on top of Youth Culture Practices .....	82
(ii) The Uncertain, Sporadic Life Course of a DIY Careerist .....	83
(iii) Socially Accepted Dissidents.....	84
(iv) The Driving Motivation Behind Life-Course Agency .....	86
7.4.5 Conclusion of the Fourth Stage.....	88
8 Conclusion and Discussion .....	90
8.1 Four Stages in the formation of Five DIY Careers .....	90
8.2 DIY Careers via Life Course Analysis and Subcultural Capital.....	93
8.3 Implications for Youth Cultures Research and Societal Aspects of the Study.....	96
8.4 Limitations and Further Topics of Inquiry.....	102
9 Sources .....	107
9.1 Data .....	107

9.1.2 Primary Data .....	107
9.1.2 Secondary Data .....	107
9.2 Audio-visual sources .....	107
9.3 Websites .....	107
9.4 Magazines .....	108
9.5 Unpublished sources .....	108
9.6 Bibliography.....	109
10 Appendices.....	120
10.1 Appendix I. The Transition Categories in Relation to the Four Stages in Atlas/Ti Code Co-Occurrence Table (in Finnish).....	120
10.2 Appendix II. A Timeline of the Four Stages of A DIY Career.....	121
10.3 Appendix III. The Interview Questions (in Finnish).....	122
10.4 Appendix IV. The Original Interview Quotes (in Finnish) in Order of Appearance.....	124

## 1 Introduction

Throughout the history, the youth of any era has always had its own sense of fun and games that is not necessarily shared by others. Social historians are familiar with the *charivari* tradition from the Middle Ages, in which youngsters would stage their own celebrations of new marriages by beating pots and pans together and making loud noise or ‘rough music’. Later these community events developed into mock serenades, a means of showing their disapproval of people violating shared norms – especially in relation to marriage.<sup>1</sup> In his classic work on the 16<sup>th</sup> century Mediterranean, Fernand Braudel (1973) describes young men wandering the seashore with only a lute to get by with – often by entertaining the well-off.<sup>2</sup> Closer to home (in terms of this thesis), Finland saw the rise of *puukkojunkkarit* – a group of rowdy, knife-wielding youngsters that terrorised in the southern parts of Ostrobothnia mostly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was the street hooligans of Sörnäinen in Helsinki that caused public uproar and concern. They wore matching outfits, spoke a common slang and shared a lifestyle.<sup>4</sup>

However, after World War II a new form of youth culture emerged in which musical taste, clothes, and lifestyle were used by various youth groups to distinguish themselves. The first widely known youth culture of this period was almost certainly rock ‘n’ roll culture in the 1950s. First cropping up in numerous parts of the Anglo-American world, where it coincided with an increase in the disposable income of (at first among the working-class) youth, and the concomitant rise of consumer products and culture aimed at the youth.<sup>5</sup> This rise in standard of living was accompanied by the spread of media technology – radio and television – which began to broadcast the new and defiant soundtrack of rock ‘n’ roll.<sup>6</sup> In Finland, the rock ‘n’ roll craze was reflected in the form of *lättähätut* (‘flat caps’). However, on the European periphery, these international youth culture trends were mixed within the limits of the local material and immaterial resources.<sup>7</sup> The Finnish equivalent was not rock ‘n’ roll culture *per se*, as the style

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<sup>1</sup> Spierenburg 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Braudel 1972.

<sup>3</sup> Ylikangas 1976.

<sup>4</sup> Koskela 2002.

<sup>5</sup> Kaarninen 2006, 11. Puuronen 2003, 384.

<sup>6</sup> Szatamary 2000, 21–22.

<sup>7</sup> See Bennett’s (2000) discussion on the concept of ‘glocal’ youth cultures and how global and local influences mix together in locations bound by geography.

combined ‘Paris Left Bank’ with the ‘swing and motorcycle culture inspired by Marlon Brandon’s *The Wild Ones*.’<sup>8</sup>

Some of the emerging youth culture participants wanted more than just dress up and listen to the new form of popular music. Following their American and British idols, the youth began also to participate in the production of youth culture by performing and facilitating popular music all around the western world.<sup>9</sup> When this cultural wave touched the shores of Finland in the early 1960s, it took the form of *rautalanka* – a form of instrumental music, that merged guitar-driven surf music with the domestic form of *schlager*. According to Pekka Jalkanen and Vesa Kurkela (2003), *rautalanka* represents an intricate developmental stage for Finnish music history as it made the amateur bands part of the production process and forced major labels to – at least slightly – rethink their publishing policy.<sup>10</sup>

First and foremost, *rautalanka* introduced a new musical culture to the Finnish music tradition. A *rautalanka* band usually consisted of a group of self-taught male friends, rather than an assembled group of session musicians, so the bands typically were low on technical ability. However, what the bands lacked in talent they made up in their looks, as Jalkanen and Kurkela phrase it: ‘for the bopper, outer style meant often a lot more than their playing skills.’<sup>11</sup> In this respect, *rautalanka* bands were some of the first Finns to engage in youth culture practices, and also reflect do it yourself (DIY) music-making.<sup>12</sup> However, the phenomenon was not yet widespread. In fact, it is argued that at large the Finnish youth began to prefer listening to rock music, and identify themselves through youth cultures related to rock somewhere between the late 1960s and mid-1970s.<sup>13</sup>

In the margins of the late 1960s, ‘the first wave of Finnish underground’ took place in the form of a DIY youth culture. According to Jukka Lindfors and Markku Salo (1988), there were two small scenes in Helsinki and Turku, who combined avantgarde sensibilities, performance art, literature and provocative lyrics with (usually progressive) rock music.<sup>14</sup> While some of the underground scene’s participants could be considered as equivalent to hippies elsewhere in the world, Janne Poikolainen (2008) argues in his

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<sup>8</sup> Heiskanen & Mitchell 1985, 113.

<sup>9</sup> Bennett 2001, 16–17. Lowndes 2018, xiv.

<sup>10</sup> Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 509.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 509. Translation of the quote by the undersigned.

<sup>12</sup> Bennett 2015, 135.

<sup>13</sup> See Historical Background and Previous Research.

<sup>14</sup> Lindfors & Salo 1988.

Master's thesis on hippies in the 1960s Finland, that, generally speaking, the hippie culture was relatively subdued and arrived late to Finland.<sup>15</sup>

In the early 1970s a political singer-songwriter movement blossomed among the leftist youth, beginning to wither away from 1973 onwards.<sup>16</sup> Following the rock 'n' roll craze uplifted by the success of the rock act Hurriganes, rockabilly, or 'neo-rockabilly', and teddy boy youth cultures re-emerged in the mid-1970s.<sup>17</sup> By the end of the decade, punk and new wave inspired young people to express themselves through DIY music-making.<sup>18</sup> Part of this 'new wave' culture, was the founding *Elävän musiikin yhdistys* ('Live Music Association') (ELMU) in 1978, and squatting the central place of this thesis – Lepakkoluola – in 1979.<sup>19</sup>

In August 2019, it will be forty years since Lepakkoluola was first squatted in 1979. During its twenty-year existence, it gradually gained fame until Lepakkoluola was eventually canonised by the media as one of the central birth places of urban culture in Helsinki.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, during its first years in the early 1980s, nicknamed 'Lepakko', the space was most likely *the* central place for youth culture in the whole of Helsinki.<sup>21</sup> Adding to its tale, Finland's first commercial and youth-oriented radio station Radio City was founded in the space in 1985. According to Pasi Mäenpää (2005), the station was part of youthful and groundbreaking media that provided a platform for urban culture to thrive in the late 1980s. By the 1990s, urban culture had expanded from its initial clusters to the wider city centre of Helsinki and become a common part of everyday life for the city's inhabitants.<sup>22</sup> As time has worn on, social changes on a macro-level have placed a greater emphasis on individualism for many young people, forcing them to face a variety of new options for identity construction and alternative life paths.<sup>23</sup> By the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the youth of the metropolitan area in and around Helsinki were seen to have atomised into fragmented and fluid culture groups that broke with the traditions of the past decades.<sup>24</sup>

Today, some of the participants of early youth cultures are past retirement age. Their 'post-youth' association pose new questions on how ageing youth culture

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<sup>15</sup> Poikolainen 2008, 97–98.

<sup>16</sup> Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 496–497.

<sup>17</sup> See Salmi 2010 and Eklund 2003.

<sup>18</sup> Kallioniemi 2003, 489–492. Moore 2007, 446–447. Saaristo 2002, 95–96.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, 92.

<sup>20</sup> See for example Vesalainen 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Silvanto 2007, 12.

<sup>22</sup> Mäenpää 2005, 11.

<sup>23</sup> Kallioniemi 2003, 489–492.

<sup>24</sup> Salasuo 2006. The study has also been criticised for overemphasizing the fragmentation of the youth's identities (Piispa 2007).

participants maintain and refashion their involvement as they face the everyday constraints of adulthood.<sup>25</sup> A growing body of academic literature is thus focusing on the identities, leisure practices and associated occupational dimensions of these ageing participants.<sup>26</sup> Reflecting on the academic interest in the career paths that stem from youth culture participation, Andy Bennett (2018) has recently coined the concept of ‘DIY Career’ in a special issue of the *Cultural Sociology* journal. He sees that a growing amount of young people facing employment challenges in the contemporary society are creating work career trajectories from the skills they have acquired when participating in youth culture.<sup>27</sup>

This study explores the DIY careers and life courses of the scene participants initially involved with production of youth culture in Lepakkoluola and its background organisation (ELMU) whose careers have been based on their youth culture participation, and all of whom are still involved in production of music and urban culture in one way or another.<sup>28</sup> The five interviewees of the study have been named (for reasons of anonymity) after the Fab Four, and Pete Best. Paul (born 1950) has a career that includes being a music event producer and facilitator, part of the ELMU administration, Lepakkoluola and Radio City, and a multisectoral entrepreneur and worker in culture. Ringo (b. 1957) has likewise been an event producer and facilitator, part of the ELMU administration, Lepakkoluola and Radio City, but also a radio host, information technology consultant (on an entrepreneurial basis) and a redistributer of vacant city spaces ‘time researcher’.<sup>29</sup> John (b. 1961) has worked as a musician, event producer, radio host, music and film producer, and a sauna entrepreneur. George (b. 1962) has also worked as a musician, event producer, DJ and radio host. Finally, Pete (b. 1962) has been a musician, event producer, audio-equipment entrepreneur, carpenter and worked in a music shop.

The thesis asks how participation in the Helsinki (Lepakkoluola) scene transformed itself into a lifelong career. Additional research questions are also posed, such as how the historical time and place has influenced the formation of the interviewees’ life-courses and DIY careers. The core of a local music scene is a network

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<sup>25</sup> Bennett 2015, 52.

<sup>26</sup> Bennett 2018a, 141.

<sup>27</sup> Bennett 2018b.

<sup>28</sup> Sorjanen 2014.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Time research’ is a discipline of some sorts and seems to be made up by Ringo. However, time research includes redistributing vacant spaces owned by the City of Helsinki or private actors for usage of people involved in the culture sector.

of people clustered around producing music in a certain physical infrastructure,<sup>30</sup> and this thesis asks how such a network – the linked lives of the scene – have influenced the formation of the interviewees’ agency in relation to youth culture practices and consequentially their life courses? In addition, the influence of a special form of ‘subcultural capital’ – coined by Sarah Thornton (1995) and associated with what the scene values – is scrutinised from the informants’ experiences. Finally, the thesis presents how the careers of the interviewees – rooted in their scene participation – sometimes transgress our idea of what work is and can be.<sup>31</sup>

To answer the research questions, seven interviews were conducted with the above five scene participants, and the data produced is treated as oral history.<sup>32</sup> The analysis presents how the course of each interviewee’s life has panned out according to their subjective experience. The interview data has been analysed within in the life course framework by using grounded theory as the method for coding and categorisation. The life course analysis methodology, with its background assumptions such as agency, timing, social aging, and the accumulation of the life course as well as the influence of others linked lives and historical time and place, forms theoretical basis on life course’s development. Some of the principles of life course analysis’ have also been used in the coding and categorisation process – for example life transitions, turning points, linked lives and historical time and place.<sup>33</sup> Additional categories in the analysis are derived from the youth culture literature and emerge from the data, formed by the procedural coding, re-coding and categorisation of grounded theory.<sup>34</sup>

The main finding of thesis reveals that there are four developmental stages to a DIY career: (i) first contact, (ii) immersion, (iii) realisation, and (iv) maintenance. First contact is a preliminary stage, in which the individual makes their initial acquaintances and begin to take part in youth culture practices; during the immersion stage, this expands and they begin to gain a small income from it; in the realisation stage, the individual becomes employed in the production of youth culture; and in the maintenance stage they sustain a life course based on their earlier stages. During the last stage, their participation in the scene lessened or ceased.

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<sup>30</sup> Bennett 2004, 226–228. See also, Straw 1991.

<sup>31</sup> Additional and more detailed research questions are posed in Chapter 3.

<sup>32</sup> Abrams 2016.

<sup>33</sup> Elder Jr. & Giele 2009.

<sup>34</sup> Charmaz 2006.

The thesis presents these stages – constructed expressly for the purposes of this thesis – first and foremost as analytical tools, but it also argues that they actually reflect developmental stages in life-long DIY careers that began with a participation in youth culture. The four stages are based on the combination of several life course events and other influencing factors. However, the idea of using stages to outline the development of a life course is not unique. The developers of grounded theory, for instance, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss (1971) have outlined a theory for status passages which expand Arnold van Gennep’s thoughts about age-linked status transitions connected with childhood, adolescence, adulthood and marriage. Glaser and Straus, however, also describe these statuses as ‘stages of existence’. For example, two airplane pilots can be on the same stage based on their status, or youthful deviants might be at the same temporal stage based on their age.<sup>35</sup>

Referring to their theory, Mike Brake (1985) notes how the ‘moral career’ of subcultural participants can also be seen as a series of stages or sequences. He suggests that the research focusing on the formation of moral careers concentrate on: (i) how subcultures deviate from the rest of society; (ii) the societal reaction to this deviation; (iii) the socialisation of said ‘deviant’ individuals – including the accompanying change in conception of themselves; and (iv) that individual’s participation in broader society – including their deviancy’s influence on occupational status and income.<sup>36</sup> In other instances, life course stages have been used in contexts as diverse as studying smoking habits<sup>37</sup>, migration<sup>38</sup>, division of household labour<sup>39</sup> and mentoring relationships<sup>40</sup>.

In broader academic discussions, the thesis is placed in between the youth culture and transition studies. Dan Woodman and Bennett (2015) have voiced a wish to bridge these two research traditions as they could complement each other very well. According to them, transition studies focus on work-life transitions while neglecting young people’s own agency in relation their life course outcome; while youth culture studies have concentrated mainly on subcultures such as punks, hippies and rave culture at the expense of looking at how these might affect work transitions and thereby neglecting the many participants in youth culture who are *not* aligned with some subculture.<sup>41</sup> Robert

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<sup>35</sup> Glaser & Strauss 1971, 1–2, 87, 175.

<sup>36</sup> Brake 1985, 18–19.

<sup>37</sup> Gilman, Abrams & Buka 2003.

<sup>38</sup> Kley 2010.

<sup>39</sup> Horne et al. 2018.

<sup>40</sup> Keller 2005.

<sup>41</sup> Woodman & Bennett 2015, 1–7.

MacDonald and Tracy Shildrick (2007) embark on a similar attempt to connect youth culture and transition studies by using the concept of ‘leisure careers’ to describe how a youth’s leisure activities and identities may affect their later life course.<sup>42</sup>

According to Vesa Puuronen (2006), Finnish youth research has stressed the socialisation aspect to the point where, in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, young people were seen as ‘oversocialised beings’ who were either the consequence of social structures, or a hindrance to them.<sup>43</sup> Until this millennium, Finnish youth research rarely acknowledged young people’s agency in the formation of their lives. In fact, youth culture studies in Finland overall have been scarce. During the 1980s, a few domestic subculture studies were conducted, but after Tommi Hoikkala<sup>44</sup> (1989), Jari Ehrnrooth<sup>45</sup> (1988) and Jaana Lähteenmaa<sup>46</sup> (1988) targeted their critique on British subculture theory in a Finnish context, the interest in youth culture and subculture waned in the early 1990s.<sup>47</sup> According to Mikko Salasuo and Janne Poikolainen (2018), however, a few sociological studies concentrating on youth culture have sporadically emerged during the 2000s.<sup>48</sup>

The idea of concentrating on life courses in the research of youth culture participation, and its eventual significance for each participant, comes from Paul Hodkinson (2016). Hodkinson also extends youth cultures significance to society as a whole.<sup>49</sup> Interestingly, the report on the future of work initiated for the Finnish government by the Committee for the Future, stresses inner motivation as the key to productive work. The three components of inner motivation are independence, ability, and a sense of community.<sup>50</sup> While the aim of this thesis is not to specifically pinpoint this kind of fulfilment in work, this possible implication should be borne in mind when reading it.

After this introductory chapter, the historical background and relevant previous research is provided in Chapter 2. It first relates the current state of knowledge concerning the history of youth culture in Finland and places Lepakkoluola, ELMU, and Radio City in a wider sociohistorical context. Relevant literature and research is then presented

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<sup>42</sup> MacDonald & Shildrick 2007, 339–340.

<sup>43</sup> Puuronen 2006, 260.

<sup>44</sup> Hoikkala 1989, 37–38.

<sup>45</sup> Ehrnrooth 1988.

<sup>46</sup> Lähteenmaa 1988.

<sup>47</sup> See also Hoikkala & Suurpää 2005, 290.

<sup>48</sup> Salasuo & Poikolainen 2012, 22–23. Lähteenmaa (2000) re-evaluated the usability of the British culturalists approach in the Finnish context in her doctoral thesis.

<sup>49</sup> Hodkinson 2016, 637.

<sup>50</sup> Martela & Jarenko 2014, 6.

covering the later history of urban culture in Helsinki, Finnish life courses, and about ageing, occupational and entrepreneurial youth culture participants.

Chapter 3 introduces the detailed research questions of the thesis, while Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical framework. This places the thesis in the tradition of youth culture research rooting to the concept of subculture from the Chicago School of the 1920s, but it distances itself from the focus there on deviant and ‘problem’ youth.<sup>51</sup> The study discards the concept of a socially defined subculture in favour of a theoretical frame that is centred instead around the notion of youth culture as framed by James Côte (2014).<sup>52</sup> In addition to youth culture, the key theoretical concepts in this thesis are youth culture practices, scene, subculture (as a cultural concept), subcultural capital, and DIY career.

Chapter 5 introduces the study’s three-fold methodology comprised of life course analysis framework; an epistemology and interpretation based on oral history; and coding and categorising according to constructivist and ‘informed’ grounded theory. The methodology chapter ends with an introduction to the ten steps taken in getting to the research result. Before entering the analysis, Chapter 6 presents the primary interview data and what is utilised as secondary data, discussing the anonymous data reference system and the relevant ethical and legal aspects of interviews conducted for research-purposes. The data analysis is divided into four chapters, one for each stage. These chapters are divided into subchapters based on relevant themes that emerged in the analysis. The thesis then ends with a conclusion that summarises the life courses of the interviewees and discusses the study’s implications for current and future research as well as highlighting limitations of the research setting.

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<sup>51</sup> Blackman 2014, 496–498.

<sup>52</sup> Côte 2014, 159–160.

## 2 Historical Background and Previous Research

### 2.1 Historical Background

In a European context, Finland modernised relatively late. However, once the process began it was rapid and intensive. According to Riitta Hjerppe (1989), from a relatively low starting point, the gross domestic product of Finland grew annually an average of 4.9 per cent from 1946 onwards until the oil crisis hit the country's economy in 1974. After the crisis, growth slowed to an annual 2.7 per cent for the following decade. During the same period, the economy changed quite radically; in just three decades, Finland had switched from a mostly agrarian society with a heavy primary production sector, to a service-led economy. Finland bypassed the heavy industry that was the common route between these two.<sup>53</sup> Accompanying these structural changes to the economy, came changes in social structure. During the 1960s and '70s many people moved from the countryside to live in towns and cities in their tens of thousands per year.<sup>54</sup> The migration was especially towards Southern Finland and Helsinki.<sup>55</sup> In effect, Finland went from being an agrarian society to an urban one in just a few decades.

Along with economic growth and urbanisation, and pertinent to this study, came social changes that reflect the modern era. In the late 1960s, the working week shortened from six to five days; laws governing the sale and use of alcohol made medium-strength beer available in retail stores, when before the only place you could buy them (and any stronger alcohol) was the state-run monopoly *Oy Alkoholiliike Ab*. In the 1970s, the sale of alcohol in restaurants, bars, and discotheques also increased.<sup>56</sup> At the time, it may not yet have been deemed proper for women to go to a bar by themselves, but the legal position of women had improved to the same level as men's, while the feminist movement continued to address gender inequality by promoting the position and self-realisation of women. During the 1970s, the proportion of women in the workforce increased from being roughly half to 79 per cent.<sup>57</sup> Laws and norms governing sexuality were relaxed, and the process was bolstered by the legalisation of abortion, and introduction of the

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<sup>53</sup> Hjerppe 1989, 49–50.

<sup>54</sup> Karisto, Takala & Haapola 1988, 43–44.

<sup>55</sup> Mäenpää 2005, 13.

<sup>56</sup> Sarantola-Weiss 2008, 186–189.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, 187, 36–39.

contraceptive pill.<sup>58</sup> In 1971, for instance, homosexuality was decriminalised, although disapproving statements were still left in the law.<sup>59</sup>

In other words, Finnish society was at the point, or thereabouts, where it was waving its goodbyes to an agrarian past, while turning to embrace a global and modern culture. Antti Häkkinen (2014) has called the generation born in the decades after the Second World War as the ‘network generation’ (*verkostosukupolvi*) and the following born in the early 1960s as the ‘urban generation’ (*urbaanisukupolvi*). The network generation differed from its forbears by having more chances of getting educated, travelling, and experiencing life elsewhere. Above all, it believed, unlike earlier generations, that it could change society to suit its new world view.<sup>60</sup> In another instance, Häkkinen (2013) emphasises this generation’s historical position bridging agrarian and modern Finland, with the result that ‘many of the generations representatives looked for different and new ways and models of living’, while ‘[o]thers stuck to the old models.’<sup>61</sup>

According to Tommi Hoikkala and Petri Paju (2008), the youth of the 1970s and 1980s were part of what they call ‘the well-being generation’ (*hyvinvointisukupolvi*). They witnessed both economic prosperity and the creation of the welfare state, which entitled them to social benefits such as student grants and family allowances which made life easier, especially for young people. At the same time, they were usually too young to be affected by the recession in the late 1970s. Generational mobility was created through the Koirjärvi movement, new wave music, fanzines and the Green party. During the 1980s, many aspects of what the youth of this generation had experienced became commercialised in Finland; and eventually, they began to manifest their way of being via particular urban aesthetics, lifestyle and experiences.<sup>62</sup>

Youth culture provided important practices for the generation that Hoikkala and Paju describe; its arrival – like many themes of social history – is difficult to uncover due to the lack of suitable source material. However, existing research suggests that large numbers of Finns really started engaging in youth culture somewhere around the late 1960s to mid-1970s. Exactly when youth culture actually arrived in Finland is hard to say though. Based on previous research and record sales statistics, Pekka Jalkanen and Vesa Kurkela (2003) pinpoint its arrival to have happened by the mid-1970s in their book,

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<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, 53–57.

<sup>59</sup> Sorainen 2000, 21.

<sup>60</sup> Häkkinen 2014, 39.

<sup>61</sup> Häkkinen 2013, 51. Translation of the quote by the undersigned.

<sup>62</sup> Hoikkala & Paju 2008, 280-283.

*Suomen musiikin historia: Populaarimusiikki*.<sup>63</sup> They argue that in the 1950s, international culture flows, including rock 'n' roll music and its culture may well have reached the shores of Finland, but had a very limited effect. In the following decade, underground and hippie cultures arrived and gained a bit more media visibility but, ultimately, they also remained small.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, with Finland having been late to modernise overall, it is quite plausible that youth culture took off relatively late compared to elsewhere in the world.

According to the doctoral thesis of Janne Poikolainen (2015), there existed at the turn of the '70s – the *rasvis* ('greaser') and *poppari* ('bopper') fan-groups – semi-equivalent to the earlier 'mods' and 'rockers' in the UK in the 1960s.<sup>65</sup> According to him, these groups were divided by their socioeconomic and educational background. *Rasvis* youths were from lower-class, vocationally trained families, while *poppari* came from better off families and had probably been to *oppikoulu* (upper secondary and high school). There was also a very clear division among young people between those who, in the first place, participated in youth culture and those who simply did not.<sup>66</sup>

In 1985, Ilkka Heiskanen and Ritva Mitchell published an extensive study they had conducted on Finnish youth culture from the 1950s to the early 1980s. The first part of the research was based on a qualitative categorisation of periodicals and newspapers, while the second part built on top of this. They found that the media's depiction of youth from the mid-1960s onward, saw youth culture as inevitable, and as a part of the societal change Finland was going through. By the mid-1970s, this 'rise of the youth' was generally accepted by young and old alike. At this point, youth culture began to be more self-evident and to divide into different subcultural groups.<sup>67</sup>

The second part of their study starts from the premise that, whereas previously pockets of youth culture had existed in only a few sites scattered round the country; the spread of fanzines, music shops, rockabilly, and new wave culture enabled it to gain ground all across the country by the early 1980s. According to their survey of 233 pupils, aged between 14 and 16 in the Helsinki area (exact locations and regions are not given), 23 per cent considered subculture products meaningful, and seven per cent actually used these products, found them meaningful, and identified with a subculture. However, 70

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<sup>63</sup> Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 514.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, 487–490.

<sup>65</sup> See for example Cohen 1990.

<sup>66</sup> Poikolainen 2015, 214–215. See also Vuori 1971, 94–96.

<sup>67</sup> Heiskanen & Mitchell 1985, 204–205, 237.

per cent did not find the products meaningful, and 50 per cent did not even recognise them.<sup>68</sup> Criticisms levelled at the research were that they were using subculture theory in a reductive fashion and that the methodology used was unclear and ambiguous.<sup>69</sup>

## 2.2 Previous Research

With the research cited above in mind, it is relatively safe for us to assume that by the time our five protagonists embarked on their journey into youth culture in the early 1980s, many of Finland's youth were listening to (or even making) rock music. According to Mitchell (1980), 80 per cent of the 14-year-olds from Uusimaa in her study (304 in total) said that rock was their favourite music in 1978.<sup>70</sup> According to Mikko Salasuo's (2014) study, however, based on people remembering their youth in Finland, he found that it was not until the mid-1980s that Finns (born in the 1970s) began to listen to rock on a large-scale.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, this would both tally with record sales statistics from the mid-1980s and tie in with the rise of Finnish *suomirokki* and *manserokki* bands in the early 1980s.<sup>72</sup> Rock music also began to be played more on the radio as programmes began to be broadcast that were specifically dedicated to it.<sup>73</sup>

The setting of this study – Lepakkoluola – has been the subject of two books already. The first one is used as secondary data in the thesis. It is a collection of interviews compiled in 1988 by people from ELMU (the live music organisation), who were basically part of that same scene themselves. ELMU had a big part to play in the squatting of Lepakkoluola and used the space for the entirety of its twenty-year existence.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps the most definitive history book on the subject, however, is *Lepakkoluola* (2000) by Miska Rantanen, published by the City of Helsinki a year after the venue's demise in 1999. In addition to its history as a venue, the book covers the time leading up to this, from its initial construction in 1940 as the warehouse of a paint factory. In 1967, the space was left empty, but due to an especially ruthless winter that proved fatal for many homeless people that winter, the City of Helsinki was pressurised by young social activists into making it into a shelter for the homeless. What had originally been planned

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<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, 304, 312. 17% of those who did not recognise or find subcultural products meaningful still used them, however.

<sup>69</sup> Puuronen 2006, 116-117.

<sup>70</sup> Mitchell 1980,

<sup>71</sup> Salasuo 2014, 182.

<sup>72</sup> Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 602.

<sup>73</sup> Kilpiö, Kurkela & Uimonen 2015, 145.

<sup>74</sup> Lindfors, Salo & Väänänen 1988. See Chapter 6.

as temporary shelter, then maintained this function until the summer of 1979 when the space was left vacant again.<sup>75</sup>

At this point, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1979, Lepakkoluola was squatted by musicians and young people from ELMU and some from left-wing political organisations. Two days earlier, ELMU had officially asked the City of Helsinki to let them use it as a space for culture. However, on this sunny Sunday morning, a person closely associated with the organisation had decided to go one step further and had already begun to peacefully squat the building. Although this was not officially done in the name of ELMU, it certainly had the blessing of some of its board members. The city initially resisted the squatting by emptying the space with the help of police and relocking the doors, but it gave in after a few weeks of continuous demands and protests.<sup>76</sup>

After the space was finally granted to ELMU, it was cleaned up, renovated, and concerts were organised in and around the space. By 1982, it was opened officially to the public. From then on, Lepakkoluola held rock concerts, and it also contained 40 training spaces for bands, a demo studio, two editorials for periodicals, a composing room for printing, a darkroom for photography, and various craft shops.<sup>77</sup> In other words, the space began to facilitate DIY music and art. First and foremost, the place became a haven for local rock music, musicians, and their audience;<sup>78</sup> but according to the doctoral thesis of Marja Silde (2018), the space also facilitated theatre and performance art – especially that of emerging artists who normally acted outside institutional contexts.<sup>79</sup> The space was also featured in Eeva Jäntti and Helena Sulva's (1985) study on the employment effects of alternative living and working communities in Helsinki.<sup>80</sup>

According to Teppo Turkki, when he and his associates founded Radio City, it signalled the 'second coming of Lepakkoluola' in the mid-1980s, or so he recounts in *Ruohonjuurista elämänpuuksi: Suomalainen vaihtoehtoliikehdintä* (1996) – an edited volume of reminiscences about alternative movements in Helsinki.<sup>81</sup> Meanwhile, the former radio host turned author, Pekka Kemppainen (2015), claims in his latest book that Radio City played also a seminal role in the history of commercial radio in Finland. The radio station was the first commercial local radio station in Finland, directed at the youth

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<sup>75</sup> Rantanen 2000, 1–79.

<sup>76</sup> Rantanen 2000, 80–123.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.*, 80–123.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, 80–123.

<sup>79</sup> Silde 2018, 41.

<sup>80</sup> Jäntti & Sulva 1985.

<sup>81</sup> Olavinen 1996, 17.

and at the listeners of rock music in particular. Besides music programmes, the repertoire included programmes that gave voice to the marginal opinions of groups such as the sexual advocacy organisation SETA, and the peace organisation PAX.<sup>82</sup>

There is even less research on later developments in youth culture practices, popular music, and the Helsinki scene. These themes are touched on in the popular music history book, *Jee jee jee: Suomalaisen rockin historia*<sup>83</sup> (1999) and in some edited academic volumes such as *URBS*<sup>84</sup> (2000), *City on Sinun*<sup>85</sup> (2000), *Tanssiva katusulku*<sup>86</sup> (2002), and *Festivaalien Helsinki*<sup>87</sup> (2007). The doctoral thesis of Pasi Mäenpää, *Narkissos kaupungissa* (2005) deals with the rise of urban culture during the ‘second wave of urbanism’ in Helsinki. Mäenpää sees that ‘the urban enthusiasm of the 1980s became a part of everyday life during the 1990s.’ The culture sector’s previous resistance to commercialism transformed instead into a culture that would celebrate consumption. Mäenpää suggests that the main reason for this societal change was younger generation media outlets, such as Radio City, and the magazines *City* and *Image*. At the same time, the younger generation’s role in defining what constituted urban life increased, as they were both the producers and target audience of the new urban experience revolving around cultural events and practices. Mäenpää also notes that in contemporary society ‘urban culture and youth culture seem to be interconnected’.<sup>88</sup>

The rise of urban culture is also touched upon in Merja Sillanpää’s (2002) account of Finnish restaurants in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As mentioned earlier, the 1960s saw restaurant life began to liberalise, but it was not until the 1980s when attitudes and legislation – meaning the lifting of alcohol licensing restrictions – became more tolerant of night life in bars and clubs.<sup>89</sup> Regarding the latter, Mikko Salasuo and Pauliina Seppälä (2005) have written about the rise of the rave scene in Helsinki:

In the early 1990s, a small underground club culture began to develop, but it only embraced a few hundred people. [...] At that time, only a few clubs were opened, and some large rave parties were organised. It was not until 1996 that a club culture

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<sup>82</sup> Kemppainen 2015, 171–178.

<sup>83</sup> Bruun, Lindfors, Luoto & Salo 1999.

<sup>84</sup> Stadipiiri 2000.

<sup>85</sup> Isokangas, Karvala & von Reiche 2000.

<sup>86</sup> Korhonen & Tikkanen 2002.

<sup>87</sup> Silvanto 2007.

<sup>88</sup> Mäenpää 2005 11–20, 353–357. Translation of the quote by the undersigned.

<sup>89</sup> Sillanpää 2002, 180–214.

started to grow and was noticed by the media. Even then the scene was quite modest compared to other cities with a similar sized population (500,000).

According to the authors, in the early 2000s, that the rave scene really began to make itself felt in mainstream night life.<sup>90</sup>

The pioneer of Finnish life course research is the longstanding sociologist, J.P. Roos, who published a book on Finnish biographical narratives in 1988. He conducted his research using free-form narrative interviews and an oral history methodology, combined with a selection of autobiographical writings.<sup>91</sup> Life course research also forms the basis for the biographical collection, *Suomalainen elämäntulkku*, edited by Eino Heikkinen and Joni Tuomi (2000),<sup>92</sup> which gives comparison to the life courses of interviewees born between 1955 and 1962. Tuija Martelin, Kari Pitkänen, and Seppo Koskinen (2000) present the life courses of two generations born in the mid-1950s and in the late 1970s. Around a third of the older generation, and over 55 per cent of the younger generation completed secondary high school (*lukio*); their education lasting on average around 12 and 19 years respectively. The older generation were relatively likely to marry in their early 20s, but then waited longer for the right moment for having a child. They transitioned to the labour market after their high school graduation, but – especially if they enrolled in higher education – this transition was gradual.<sup>93</sup>

Three books written by Mikko Piispa, Mikko Salasuo and Helena Huhta (in various combinations) on the life courses of young artists (2014)<sup>94</sup>, top-ranking athletes (2015)<sup>95</sup> and the ‘unusual’ life courses of artists and athletes<sup>96</sup> give comparison to highlight the non-normative life courses of DIY careerists. The essential turning point in the life courses of the young artists was when they realised that art could be a meaningful pursuit. Their art careers have been moulded by learning both in institutional and non-institutional contexts. The interviewees perceived themselves to have grown into artists after accumulating experiences of success.<sup>97</sup> These studies provide a methodological role model for the present thesis, as they also used life course analysis framework within which to analyse interviews using grounded theory.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Salasuo & Seppälä 2005, 142.

<sup>91</sup> Roos 1988, 139. See also Fingerroos & Peltonen 2006, 27 on oral history methodology in Finland.

<sup>92</sup> Heikkinen & Tuomi 2000.

<sup>93</sup> Martelin, Pitkänen & Koskinen 2000, 45, 50–52.

<sup>94</sup> Piispa & Salasuo 2014.

<sup>95</sup> Salasuo, Piispa & Huhta 2015.

<sup>96</sup> Piispa & Huhta 2013.

<sup>97</sup> Piispa & Salasuo 2014, 210–211.

<sup>98</sup> *ibid.* 2014, 9, 20–27. Salasuo, Piispa & Huhta 2015, 26–44.

The theoretical discussion surrounding DIY careers will be discussed in detail in the Chapter 4, but at this point we can look at research on the life courses of participants and commercial actors in youth cultures around the world. In his research on the subculture of ‘straight edge’, Ross Haenfler (2018) describes how ‘straight edgers’ experienced that their affiliation with this youth culture has affected their career choice, given them a certain entrepreneurial disposition, and a tolerance for risk and uncertainty.<sup>99</sup> In the contemporary music and art scene of Newcastle (Australia), researched by Steven Threadgold (2018), the young participants choose a lifestyle that places flexibility over monetary gain, so that they can participate actively in a lively music and art scene.<sup>100</sup> Likewise, Silvia Tarassi’s (2018) ethnographic research reveals how professionals in the Milano music scene often work without economic reward as they consider it reward enough to indulge in their passion for music and have new artistic experiences. Consequently, many of them pursue several professions at once so they can make a livelihood out of their music-oriented lifestyle.<sup>101</sup>

In his article ‘Subcultural entrance practices in UK Punk culture, 1976–2001’, Alastair Gordon (2014) describes three levels of scene-participation: peripheral, semi-peripheral, and core. The different levels reflect social embeddedness, commitment and participation in the reproduction of the scene.<sup>102</sup> Gregory J. Snyder (2011) has written about skateboarders who reach their career peak at usually around the age of 30. After this, they are faced with the challenge of how to stay involved. For them, the scene provides opportunities as professional skateboarding also requires various professionals to document the sport and create the skateboarding photographs and films essential for the subculture to flourish.<sup>103</sup> In another instance, Snyder (2017) mentions how professional skateboarders avoid the deviant connotations of the subculture by developing their skill-levels in a highly competitive setting.<sup>104</sup>

Linda Andes (1998) has noted that most of the over-30 participants of the punk scene are involved with the production of youth culture. They have entered a ‘transcendent’ stage where they might still participate in the scene and express their identity through its style but emphasise their own individuality over an identity derived

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<sup>99</sup> Haenfler 2018.

<sup>100</sup> Threadgold 2018.

<sup>101</sup> Tarassi 2018, 216–217

<sup>102</sup> Gordon 2014. For a similar division of scene participation see also Fox 1987.

<sup>103</sup> Snyder 2011, 326.

<sup>104</sup> Snyder 2017, 134.

from the subculture.<sup>105</sup> According to Andy Bennett and Paul Hodkinson (2012), youth culture participants must renegotiate their relationship with the culture as they age. They need to answer ‘new demands, expectations and compromises created because of work and family commitments that invariably accompany the transition from early to middle adulthood’.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, Joanna R. Davis (2012) has pinpointed three aspects of ageing that punks must learn to accommodate as they grow beyond their youth: financial realities, family or partner responsibilities, and ‘growing up’.<sup>107</sup>

In the Finnish context, it is also worth mentioning the documentary which premiered in March 2019 called *Tee se itse elämä* (‘Do It Yourself Life’), which focuses on the Finnish punk label, Combat Rock Industry, which was most active during the first decade of the 2000s. The documentary follows the lives of the label’s two founders and points out how they acquired the skills necessary to start a record label company by participating in a youth culture that they eventually had to let go as record sales began to lower during the 2000s, and adulthood and offspring brought with them new financial demands.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Andes 1998, 218.

<sup>106</sup> Bennett & Hodkinson 2012, 4.

<sup>107</sup> Davis 2012, 64.

<sup>108</sup> Tanskanen & Asikainen 2019.

### 3 Framing and Defining the Research Questions

Already by the early 1960s, Bennett M. Berger (1963) was asking in his essay ‘On the Youthfulness of Youth Cultures’, what happens to those ‘whose “youthful rebelliousness” turns out to be not “a stage they’re going through”, but a series of subculturally rewarding experiences?’<sup>109</sup> Berger’s question went largely unanswered at the time, and only relatively recently has there been research into how youth culture participation may affect an individual’s later life course. Andy Bennett (2013) notes that (in post-industrial countries) the generation that is currently middle-aged is the first generation that was born into a completely mediatised and commercialised world. As they age, these individuals carry with them their taste in popular culture and expression of it in their lifestyle preferences.<sup>110</sup> Angela McRobbie (2002) emphasises how scene participants also transform their enthusiasm for music into careers in club promotion and other kinds of cultural entrepreneurship in the creative world.<sup>111</sup> Bennett has called such employment trajectories – with their roots in youth culture participation – DIY careers.<sup>112</sup>

Nevertheless, not a lot is known on how scene participants form careers from their participation. This thesis asks how DIY careers are formed, and what kind of life course developments do DIY careerists go through. In addition, several supplementary questions are posed. What are the prerequisites for the formation of a DIY career; and what is the role of popular music, and youth culture, in a DIY careerist’s childhood and adolescent years? As local scenes are essentially social networks within a certain physical infrastructure,<sup>113</sup> this thesis also asks how the linked lives in a scene contribute to the formation of DIY careers; and how participation in youth culture turn into employment. What is the role of subcultural capital in the formation of professional lives of DIY careerists? How does ageing, and the responsibilities and social expectations that come with it influence a DIY career; and how does the historical time and place (in this case, Helsinki from early 1980s onward) influence the formation of DIY careers? Finally, what is the role of agency in a DIY careerist’s life course?

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<sup>109</sup> Berger 1963, 331.

<sup>110</sup> Bennett 2013, 184.

<sup>111</sup> McRobbie 2002, 520.

<sup>112</sup> Bennett 2018a; Bennett 2018b.

<sup>113</sup> Bennett 2004, 226–224. See also Straw 1991.

## 4 Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts

This study broadly aligns itself with an academic tradition which treats the social formations of young people around tastes in popular music, dressing, and lifestyle as ‘subcultures’; but it also follows several scholars’ suggestion of leaving the concept of (social) subculture behind and proceeding into the territory of youth culture instead, or what Bennett (2011) proposes to be called ‘youth cultural studies’.<sup>114</sup> In this chapter, the thesis introduces the theoretical framework behind the notion of subculture and, from this, proceeds to discuss the suggestion of youth cultural studies. In addition, the concepts of youth culture, (cultural concept of) subculture, scene, youth culture practices, subcultural capital, and DIY career are introduced. The chapter ends with a discussion of Anthony Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory which is integral to the methodology of this thesis – in terms of agency in life-course analysis. In doing this, it also explains how the study views macro-level change to be rooted in the reproduction of society by the everyday actions of its embedded actors.<sup>115</sup>

This study also falls within the broad Finnish research tradition of ‘youth’s cultures’ (*nuoruuden kulttuurit*), which Leena Suurpää and Pia Aaltojärvi (1996) have coined as an umbrella paradigm to describe research that has broad multi-disciplinary interest in the cultural aspects of youth. These include subculture theory, but also other approaches under the themes of social landscapes, youth cultural expressions of power, gender discourse, and associated mentalities (or ‘states of mind’). The present thesis subscribes to their statement that ‘Culture is [...] a constantly changing process rather than permanent structure, system, or model’.<sup>116</sup>

### 4.1 On the Concept of Subculture

Shane Blackman (2014) has written extensively about the history of subculture theory and the concept’s usage throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to him, its theoretical roots stretch back to Émile Durkheim’s ideas, published in several volumes at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, about the relationship between social groups and collective representations. Making use of Durkheim’s thoughts, Alfred Kroeber from the Chicago School coined the concept of subculture in a study on the offspring of California’s

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<sup>114</sup> Bennett 2011, 502. See also Hodkinson 2016, 632. Hesmondhalgh 2005. Salasuo & Poikolainen 2012, 10, 15.

<sup>115</sup> Giddens 1984.

<sup>116</sup> Suurpää & Aaltojärvi 2006, 393–396.

indigenous people in the 1920s. The concept was thereafter widely adopted by other researchers in the school. Subcultures were seen by them as being a consequence of the cultural and social context that the youth of their day faced. In this respect, their notion of subculture was referring to certain groups of youth as a deviant social problem bordering on pathology; and consequently this concept, as used by the Chicago School, was later adopted by other disciplines such as criminology.<sup>117</sup>

Most notably the theory surrounding the concept of subculture continued to be developed by criminologist A.K. Cohen and sociologist Talcott Parsons in the 1950s. In their conceptualisations, subcultures were also seen as a negative phenomenon and as a theoretical tool to understand the ‘unusual’ and ‘unwanted’. Cohen’s theory was influenced by Robert Merton and Sigmund Freud, and he saw the relationship between social structure and culture as the driving force behind how subcultures were formed. Cohen framed subcultures as a collective response to the ‘status frustration’ that lower-class youths experienced in their everyday life. The theory suggested that youths in a subculture react to being undervalued by the broader society around them by despising everyone outside their subculture. According to his theory, subcultures are a form of psychological pathology that manifests itself in deviant group behaviour.<sup>118</sup>

In the following decade, Howard Becker (1963) used the subculture concept to formulate his theory of labelling or ‘societal reaction’ in his classic study, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. Becker pointed out that labelling groups ‘deviant’ is a self-fulfilling prophecy, as it will marginalise them and create a social mechanism whereby they will act according to the deviant expectations put on them by that label. He refers to various social groups – such as marijuana users and dance musicians – as subcultures, but his usage of the concept is not that systematic.<sup>119</sup> In *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (1972), Stanley Cohen demonstrated how subcultures spread through a mediatised labelling process, using as his example the violent rivalry between two local groups in a small seaside town in the UK. Indeed, between the early/mid-1960s and early 1970s, the media had been picking up on this phenomenon and reframing it as the conflict between ‘mods and rockers’. These subcultural labels then became attached to local

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<sup>117</sup> Blackman 2014, 497–498. See also Salasuo 2018.

<sup>118</sup> *ibid.*, 499–500.

<sup>119</sup> Becker 1963.

groups, leading to more youths joining the conflict between the two subcultures, thereby making it come true.<sup>120</sup>

Just a few years after Cohen's book appeared, the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in the UK opened up a new paradigm of cultural subcultural studies which left the criminological study of subcultures behind to live a life of its own. Constructing on top of American subculture theory and Marxist ideology, researchers at CCCS formulated a theory on subcultures, which they published in a groundbreaking book, *Resistance Through Rituals* (1976). The theory hinges on the Gramscian notion of hegemony that youth subcultures challenge by creating an alternative outer style and lifestyle that they share, and which distinguishes them from the 'dominant culture'. The theory has remained influential to this day as a theoretical device for understanding social groups that revolve around shared musical tastes and lifestyles. CCCS saw subcultures as a kind of 'magical solution' for working-class boys' frustrated at the social pressure for upward mobility that was out of their reach due to their class position, and due to the rupture of traditional working-class culture in Britain at that time. The theory presents subculture as being the glowing *alternative* somewhere between a hegemonic and dominant *mainstream* and the *working-class* culture of their parents.<sup>121</sup> By adding this concept of double articulation to their subculture theory, CCCS was reframing what previous theories had seen as deviant and resistant.<sup>122</sup>

The theory was also different in that it did not emphasise the importance of neighbourhood and locality in the notion of subculture. CCCS saw shared style and consumer tastes – in slang, clothes, and hairdressing – as the defining feature of a subculture. This emphasis on style brought what became known as the 'spectacular' youth cultures of mods, teddy boys, punks and hippies to the forefront of subcultural research. First and foremost, through the concept of double articulation, the theory suggested that the subcultural style is the material form of a youth's experience of their subordinate position in life. This outer aesthetic is seen as a resource which they can use to express not only their resistance to both hegemonic and parent cultures, but also their commitment to the values and lifestyle of their subculture.<sup>123</sup> By referring to the use of *bricolage*, CCCS painted subcultural youth as being active agents of their own styles and therefore

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<sup>120</sup> Cohen 1990.

<sup>121</sup> Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts 2003, 9–74.

<sup>122</sup> Hargreaves & Hammersley 1982, 140.

<sup>123</sup> Bennett 1999, 600–601. Stahl 1999, 4–10. See also Ehrnrooth 1988, 178. Blackman 2014, 501–504.

identities.<sup>124</sup> This was a paradigmatic shift from preceding subculture theories, which saw them as a passive result of the social structures they were contained in.

CCCS' theory has been widely criticised since (at least) the early 1980s, yet is still widely used in research and so is relevant even 40 years after it was written.<sup>125</sup> The weightiest criticism of the theory is that it describes subcultural youth as being resistant and class-bound, seen as a consequence of the school's Marxist ideology.<sup>126</sup> Also there are objections to the concept of 'style as homology', in other words the idea that shared tastes alone are enough to form a cohesive entity that somehow reflects the whole subculture's class-conscious values and identity; when style could in fact be 'just one kind of link between community and social practice'.<sup>127</sup> Likewise, the concept of double articulation has been deemed reductive, due to the assumption of class-resistance in the theory.<sup>128</sup>

Hoikkala has also questioned whether CCCS romanticises youth subcultures in his licentiate work from 1989.<sup>129</sup> Above all, he questions the applicability of subculture theory in the Finnish and Nordic context, arguing that the CCCS concept of subculture is too deeply embedded in a British societal context that is more urban and densely populated than Finland.<sup>130</sup> According to a summary by Salasuo and Poikolainen on the use of subculture as a concept in Finnish youth research from the 1980s to 2000s, the critical consensus was that a class-based interpretation of subcultures did not fit the Finnish context,<sup>131</sup> and so, due to a few trials that deemed the theory unfit in the 1980s, youth culture research has not really taken root in the Nordic context.

Later criticisms come from Paul Hodkinson (2016), who sees that CCCS frames subculture boundaries too rigidly, leaving no space for flexibility or individualisation,<sup>132</sup> while Bennett notes how the theory, in many ways, suggests that there is some kind of 'pure subcultural being' that does not really equate with real life.<sup>133</sup> Also, due to the

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<sup>124</sup> Blackman 2014, 502. *Bricolage* here describes the imaginative appropriation of symbols from a dominant culture so that their meaning is changed – either by reshaping them or their context. An example of this is the safety pin (used by the dominant culture in 'domestic "utlity" context') but used by punks as 'gruesome ornaments through the cheek, ear or lip' (Hebdige 1979, 107).

<sup>125</sup> Hoikkala & Suurpää 2005, 290.

<sup>126</sup> Hodkinson 2016, 631.

<sup>127</sup> Toynbee 2000, 114. Cf. Hesmondhalgh 2005, 34. Williams 2011, 74.

<sup>128</sup> Bennett 1999, 602.

<sup>129</sup> Hoikkala 1989, 39.

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*, 64.

<sup>131</sup> Salasuo & Poikolainen 2012, 20–21.

<sup>132</sup> Hodkinson 2016, 631.

<sup>133</sup> Bennett 2015, 46–48.

semiotic methodology and media data that CCCS used, their research has been criticised for neglecting the meanings that subculture participants themselves assign to their style choices and other subcultural practices.<sup>134</sup> By concentrating on the ‘spectacular’ subcultures, the research has been criticised for ignoring the cultural practices of ‘ordinary youth’.<sup>135</sup> Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber (1991) also flag up the fact that CCCS neglects the subcultural practices of girls by focusing solely on boys.<sup>136</sup> McRobbie (1991) also points out the less exciting fact that ‘few writers seemed interested in what happened when a mod went home after a weekend on speed. Only what happened on the streets mattered’.<sup>137</sup>

The aftermath of international criticisms was the emergence of a ‘post-subcultural’ paradigm in the 1990s.<sup>138</sup> Post-subculturalists attempted to fend off some of the above critiques by supplementing the CCCS version of subculture with postmodern theory on identity and society. This too, however, also met with considerable criticism from the early 2000s onwards. Bennett has summed up several points of this criticism in his article, ‘The Post-Subcultural Turn: Some Reflections 10 Years on’; the main one being that subcultural theory has been too fragmented to provide any real analytical help in understanding the social formations of today’s youth. Following the theories of Giddens (among others) on how post-modern identities are fragmented, fluid and flexible, post-subcultural theory saw the youth as self-conscious forgers of their own identity; adopting a naïve stance on the culture industry’s potential to meld youth identity, whilst ignoring the influence of economic factors on their life chances and ability to participate in youth culture.<sup>139</sup>

#### 4.2 Post-Post-Subcultural Studies

The post-subcultural turn nevertheless had (at least) two major impacts on the academic discussion surrounding subculture. The first was to highlight the growing gap in research between the post-subculturalists and proponents of CCCS’ original theory of subculture. In ‘The Post-Subcultural Turn’, Bennett even suggests dismissing the concept of subculture for

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<sup>134</sup> Bennett & Kahn-Harris 2004.

<sup>135</sup> Hodkinson 2016, 635.

<sup>136</sup> McRobbie and Garber 1990.

<sup>137</sup> McRobbie 1990, 19.

<sup>138</sup> Weinzierl and Muggleton 2003, 4.

<sup>139</sup> Bennett 2011, 494.

the development of a refined strand of *youth cultural studies* in which elements of post-subcultural and subcultural theory are combined to forge a more effective mapping of a contemporary youth cultural terrain in which youth identities forge an increasingly complex mix of global and local cultural influences.<sup>140</sup>

Similar pleas to create a new paradigm have been mooted elsewhere by scholars such as Paul Hodkinson (2016) and David Hesmondhalgh (2005).<sup>141</sup> The second consequence of the post-subcultural turn is the appearance of the ‘scene’ perspective. Post-subculturalists suggested supplementing or replacing the notion of subculture with new concepts such as Michel Maffesoli’s neo-tribes, lifestyles, and scenes, to better reflect the relationship with shared aesthetic and social groups. These concepts have nevertheless received only modest popularity as analytical tools, with scene as the most prominent concept especially in literature dealing with music-based subcultures.<sup>142</sup>

Patrick Williams (2011) has suggested a theory that unites subcultures and scenes under the same paradigm, by reframing subculture as a culturally defined concept.<sup>143</sup> His suggestion owes a debt to symbolic interactionism, as described by Alan Fine and Sherryl Kleinman (1979). They introduced the idea of a culturally defined subculture that uses ‘communication interlocks’ as a continuous reference point for the subculture’s participants. Communication interlocks share, spread, create, and negotiate the common cultural content of the subculture, so that

cultural information and behaviour options are diffused, resulting in the construction of a common universe of discourse throughout the social network in which they spread [...]. Cultural forms are created through the individual or collective manipulation of symbols. From its point of creation, the cultural form is communicated to others, and diffused outward from the individual's own interaction partners. The transmission of culture is therefore a product of interaction.

In the same way, cultural content could then be transmitted further via the media.<sup>144</sup>

But whereas Fine and Kleinman talk of ‘communication interlocks’, Williams suggests that the ‘scene’ is the social space where the cultural content of a subculture is negotiated. According to the influential essay by Will Straw (1991), scenes are ‘that cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other

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<sup>140</sup> *ibid.*, 502. Emphasis added.

<sup>141</sup> Hodkinson 2016, 632. Hesmondhalgh 2005.

<sup>142</sup> Bennett 2015, 495–496.

<sup>143</sup> Williams 2011, 35–38.

<sup>144</sup> Fine & Kleinman 1979, 8–9. See for example Thornton (1995, 116–163), Cohen (1990, 167) and Hebdige (1979) for the role of media in defining and spreading subcultures.

within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization.’<sup>145</sup> Bennett (2004) has divided scenes into three different types: local, trans-local and virtual. A local scene refers to a diverse group of actors constructed around varied cultural practices in a certain local physical infrastructure. A trans-local scene, stemming from criticism of the concept of local scene, is an expansion of the local scene concept, following its definition but emphasising the existing connections between actors located in different local scenes divided by geographical distance. Finally, a virtual scene refers to those that exist primarily on social media and online.<sup>146</sup>

### 4.3 Theoretical Alignment of Thesis and Key Concepts

The aim in this thesis is to create a theoretical framework that is (i) free from the early twentieth-century bias associated with ‘deviant youth’; (ii) is not constricted by the narrow CCCS view of subculture, and (iii) is more practical analytical framework than the loose theory of the post-subculturalists. It follows those scholars who have suggested developing a paradigm of research which distances from current contending subculture theories. As we have already seen, Bennett suggests the paradigm to be called ‘youth cultural studies,’<sup>147</sup> For the concept of ‘youth culture’ itself, the present study follows Côte’s suggestion of an overarching concept that makes good of the ongoing discussion about subcultures and post-subcultures. Côte sees that most of the younger generation are part of a general culture in their everyday life, and engage in various popular culture practices in their leisure time. Nevertheless, only some of them actually commit themselves more fully to these practices, and they will use this as a means of distinguishing themselves from others in their generation whose identity is more bound to the general culture.<sup>148</sup>

Bennett has also suggested a shift in the paradigm of youth culture research to focus on *practices* of youth culture. Examples of such practices might be drinking, clubbing, and partaking in the DIY scene, and they are carried out in social and cultural contexts where aesthetics and lifestyles come together in a mixture that fits well that the particular social network. The youth culture practices may have resistant qualities, but

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<sup>145</sup> Straw 1991, 373.

<sup>146</sup> Bennett 2004, 226–231.

<sup>147</sup> Bennett 2011, 502.

<sup>148</sup> Côte 2014, 159–160. Côte uses the word ‘activities’ that are centred around popular culture. However, for the purposes of clarity, the concept of ‘practices’ is used here.

these are restricted less to class or demographical factors, and more to a variety of leisure choices and preferences in everyday life, such as avoiding the ‘encroachment’ of large corporations, having a certain disposition to sexual politics, and having different (or no) alcohol consumption habits to the mainstream.<sup>149</sup> In the present thesis, youth culture practices refer to the activities of the interviewees that take place either in the scene or are directly or indirectly related to popular culture. Such practices might be attending a concert, performing in one, or organising one. In order to distinguish youth culture practices from the interviewees’ other aspirations outside youth culture, the analysis chapter will refer to the latter as ‘*activities*’.

The present study does not reject the concept of subculture altogether; rather, it follows Williams’ suggestion of using the concept of subculture developed by Fine and Kleinman.<sup>150</sup> A *subculture* is a type of youth culture centred around particular practices, and seen as defining itself by certain shared knowledge of cultural and symbolic content of what is used in their social construction. Mods, teddy boys, punks, and hippies, for instance, are all subcultures that distinguish themselves by certain music, clothes and idea of fun that form the subcultures point of reference. For example, to be a punk in late 1970s London did not mean just listening to punk bands, but also the right *proto-punk* bands of previous decades; dressing up in bondage gear; wearing safety pins; taking certain drugs; and engaging in narcissism, nihilism, and gender confusion.<sup>151</sup> By framing such subcultures as culturally constructed entities, the theoretical framework here also includes the ‘ordinary youth’ who may not be in any particular subculture but engage in youth culture practices.<sup>152</sup>

This thesis also aims to put the juxtaposition between the concepts of subculture and scene to rest. The *scene* is defined here as the sociocultural network revolving around youth culture practices, and it is only one of the social networks (such as school, neighbourhood, hobbies, work, and family) that participants are embedded in. In a scene, different subcultures may exist side by side, although not always in co-existence.<sup>153</sup> In Lepakkoluola and early 1980s Helsinki, the scene was primarily a local network, but there were also trans-local connections between the participants and other local scenes in

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<sup>149</sup> Bennett 2015. See also Lowndes (2018, xiv) on ‘DIY activities’ as the basis of ‘DIY movement’ in music and art.

<sup>150</sup> Williams 2011, 35–38. Kleinman & Fine 1979.

<sup>151</sup> Hebdige 1979, 25–26.

<sup>152</sup> See Bennett (2015, 45–47) for his criticism on CCCS’ neglect of ‘ordinary youth’. In the article, however, Bennett does acknowledge the problematic nature of the term ‘ordinary youth’ in this context.

<sup>153</sup> This conflict manifested itself in violent encounters in the late 1970s for a few years. (Hänninen 2017).

Finland and abroad.<sup>154</sup> For the purposes of this study, however, these national and international connections proved to be rarely relevant in the analysis.

To provide analytical support in understanding points of appreciation in the scene, Thornton's notion of *subcultural capital* is also used. Following Pierre Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural capital', subcultural capital is a form of intangible 'capital' associated with subcultures. Subcultural capital is what the scene cherishes. It can be both objectified (for example by owning a rare record) and embodied (for example by using the right slang). Subcultural capital determines the status of scene participants in the eyes of their peers. In addition, subcultural capital is used to define the insiders and outsiders of the scene.<sup>155</sup>

The prestige of subcultural capital is maintained through maintaining a subtle balancing act between exposure and overexposure, the media and the subculture, and the mainstream and the underground. Thornton sees that subcultural capital is convertible into economic capital, but at a poorer exchange rate than cultural capital.<sup>156</sup> Threadgold (2015) has also argued that subcultural capital converts into economic capital, but only via cultural capital. This is achievable through a reflexive process which includes deliberate tactics, negotiations, and renegotiations to ensure the continuing 'value' of the capital.<sup>157</sup>

Perhaps the most important concept in this thesis though is *DIY career*. Due to the ideological position of the CCCS, subculture studies neglected, for a long time, the very real potential of youth cultures to encourage economic activity.<sup>158</sup> However, since the aforementioned post-subcultural turn, the DIY career and similar concepts have begun to appear in the literature. Bennett has proposed a definition for the DIY career in a special themed issue of *Cultural Sociology* in 2018. He argues that, faced with increasing job-insecurity and declining life prospects, the youth of today are crafting their own work trajectories based on the capabilities they developed through participating in youth culture practices: '[...] armed with skills and competencies learned as young practitioners in music and associated cultural scenes, young people are increasingly drawing on these resources in an attempt to forge alternative career paths [...]'.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Bruun, Lindfors, Luoto & Salo 1999, 246–365.

<sup>155</sup> Thornton 1995, 184–189.

<sup>156</sup> *ibid.*, 184–189.

<sup>157</sup> Threadgold 2015, 54.

<sup>158</sup> Muggleton and Weinzierl 2003, 7–8. See also Snyder 2011 and McRobbie 2002.

<sup>159</sup> Bennett 2018a, 134.

It should be pointed out that the DIY careerists in this thesis were facing a different kind of economy to the present one. They ‘entered’ the labour market at a time when the Finnish *markka* was enjoying an exceptional period of stability during the currency’s history and domestic fiscal policy worried about economic overheating.<sup>160</sup> Of course, certain structural factors also shaped the life courses of the protagonists in this thesis, but these will be resolved in the analysis. From the historical perspective it is relevant that the DIY careerists of this thesis did not enjoy the benefit of role models. There was no Billy Childish – the British musician-poet who made his DIY career while living on the dole for decades – or Jyrki Siukonen – an active Finnish scenester, and later artist who eventually built an academic career on top of his participation in the art and music scenes.

#### 4.4 Giddens’ Structuration Theory and Agency

The concept of *agency* is a widely used academic concept that requires rigid definition due to its multifarious and manifold uses across different disciplines. In this study, agency has dual origins – Giddens structuration theory, and the life-course analysis framework that will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5. The end result of this dual approach is close to social psychologists James Côte and Charles G. Levine’s (2002) conceptualisation of agency as ‘an individual’s sense of responsibility and control on their own life, decisions and the outcome and an experience of self that is able to overcome obstacles and make advances in the chosen life course’.<sup>161</sup>

According to Giddens, social structure is fundamentally a recursive set of rules and resources in a certain historical time and place. This structure both enables and restrains the actor. The relationship between the actor, engaging in agency, and the structure works both ways: the actor reproduces the structure and the structure guides the formation of the actors. However, the actors know about the structure – at least to the degree that they are able to engage with the social structure and reproduce it. Giddens sees that actors are, however, also able to self-monitor their behaviour and so influence the reproduction process, even if macro-level change might require mass behavioural change.<sup>162</sup> Similarly, Tony Bennett et al. (1981) suggest that culture is reproduced by the

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<sup>160</sup> Kiander 2001, 8–22.

<sup>161</sup> Côte & Levine 2002. Cf. Schwartz, Côte and Arnett. 2005, 201.

<sup>162</sup> Giddens 1984, 25–27.

everyday actions of agents whose activities are, in turn, influenced by their experience of a certain social position.<sup>163</sup>

## 5 Methodology

The thesis is a qualitative study on the life courses of Lepakkoluola's DIY careerists, and it uses three complementary methodologies. Life course analysis and its various principles provide the major basis for the analysis, while data from the life-course interviews is seen through the prism of oral history methodology. The data is then parsed as a logical and systematic entity by following informed constructivist grounded theory's coding, recoding, and categorising themes from the empirical evidence. A similar three-fold research setting is vouched by Piispa and Salasuo who have written that: '[...] the axioms of life course analysis proved a suitable combination with the grounded theory approach.'<sup>164</sup> After introducing the methodology, Chapter 5 presents ten methodological steps that were taken for the research result.

### 5.1 Life Course Analysis

A life course analysis framework is a methodological tool for examining data which treats the different aspects of human life as a hermeneutic entity. The method focuses on the sequential, overlapping and continuous positions in an individual's life and the factors that influence these positions. According to Glen H. Elder Jr. and Janet Z. Giele (2009), the roots of the framework are in longitudinal and social context studies in the two decades following World War II. When the two paradigms converged, it allowed for the specificities of human lives to be viewed from the perspective of historical time and place, and vice versa. By the 1970s, a number of studies were using a life course analysis framework.<sup>165</sup> While an influential body of quantitative life course research does exist, Joan Miquel Verd and Martí López Andreu (2011) argue that it is a useful qualitative tool, as it allows for human action to be contextualised – the agency of individuals can be pinpointed in relation to the societal structures surrounding them.<sup>166</sup>

According to Elder Jr. (1994), the four key elements that influence an individual's life course and development are: (i) historical time and place; (ii) linked lives; (iii) human

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<sup>163</sup> Bennett, Martin, Mercer & Woalcott 1981, 10.

<sup>164</sup> Piispa & Salasuo 2014, 25. Translation of the quote by the undersigned.

<sup>165</sup> Elder Jr. & Giele 2009, 3–4.

<sup>166</sup> Verd & López 2011.

agency; and (iv) the timing of events and social roles. *Historical time and place* refers to the influence of social structures on the individual who lives in a certain geographical location and chronological era. The social change surrounding historical time and place varies in length; both, the sudden emergence of a new musical genre, or the slow change of mentalities in a society over time. In this respect, every cohort faces a society with different obstacles and possibilities. *Linked lives* refers to the interdependence of human lives. Elder sees this element as the most important, seeing as all human life is embedded in social relationships. For example, family, kin, peers, friends and co-workers will influence the outcome of one's life course. Social relationships create both possibilities and constraints for the individual. Especially through family and kin, the concept of 'linked lives' carries with it an intergenerational aspect.

Human *agency* refers to an individual's aspirations and goals, and the actions they take to achieve these when faced with challenges or opportunities they come across. Personal differences in agency exist between individuals in terms of how they manage to shape their life courses.<sup>167</sup> Piispa and Salasuo suggest that an individual's life aspirations and values will guide both their short- and long-term agency within the limits of their capabilities.<sup>168</sup> Victor W. Marshall (2000) recognises three kinds of agency in the life-course pioneer Elder's work: agency as capability, agency as resistance, and agency as transition. Capability refers to individuals' ability to make decisions that consciously influence their own biographical development. Resistance is their ability to deviate from social norms, expectations, conventions and institutions. Finally, transition refers to the ability to discontinue 'habitual patterns of behaviour'.<sup>169</sup>

*Timing of events and social roles* refers to life events (such as the first time an individual picks up a musical instrument) and social role (when, for example, said individual was student), and how these relate to temporal markers such as age, duration and sequence. Human age carries with it normative expectations of life events, achievements, behaviour and responsibilities that are enforced socially. For example, if one has begun to play an instrument at the age of seven, it might be considered 'early' when compared to other life courses, while enrolling in higher education at the age of 30 might be seen as 'late'.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Elder Jr. 1994, 5–7.

<sup>168</sup> Piispa & Salasuo 2014, 25.

<sup>169</sup> Marshall 2000, 6–8.

<sup>170</sup> Elder Jr. 1994, 5–7.

Jan Kok (2007) calls these life events and changing roles in a life course *transitions*. The concept of transition emphasises the hermeneutic nature of a life course analysis framework. Life events may cause the individual's social role to change from one to another. Leaving school can mean changing roles from that of a student to an employee. Transitions are also the basis for the concept of *trajectories*, which describe the sequence of transitions in the life course of an individual. Meanwhile, *turning points* are those transitions or moments that mark a significant change in an individual's life course. In societies there are also certain *cultural scripts* that are age-related trajectories common to that particular society. For example, a simplified common cultural script would be compulsory education as a child and teenager, followed by leaving school around the age of majority, continuing to higher education after this, and finding a place of employment after graduation.<sup>171</sup>

Norman K. Denzin (2001) has written about inner turning points, or epiphanies, during a life course. Epiphanies are psychological turning points that consequentially influence the individual's life to a great degree. Denzin divides epiphanies into four types: major, cumulative, illuminative, and relieved. After a major epiphany, the person's life takes a new direction. A cumulative epiphany 'occurs as the result of a series of events that have built up in the person's life'. In an illuminative epiphany, underlying tensions are revealed; and a relieved epiphany is re-experiencing a life-course turning point that brings understanding of a greater perspective and meaning to life.<sup>172</sup> Ben Green (2015) has used the concept in the context of 'peak music experiences'. His research participants 'credited their peak music experiences with inspiration, influence, conversion and continuing motivation' throughout their life course.<sup>173</sup>

Jan Kok (2007) acknowledges the four key elements introduced by Elder Jr., but in addition, he views the whole life course as *cumulative*.<sup>174</sup> Antti Häkkinen (2012) – a notable Finnish advocate of life course analysis as a historical method – goes so far as to call the cumulative whole the fifth key element in a life course analysis framework. Together the five elements are in a reciprocal and interdependent relationship. In his description of life-course accumulation, he cites H.S. Becker's concept of commitment, stating that the various sequential roles the individual goes through in a life course

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<sup>171</sup> Kok 2007, 204.

<sup>172</sup> Denzin 2001, 37.

<sup>173</sup> Green 2015, 346.

<sup>174</sup> Kok 2007, 204.

develop the individual's functional abilities in terms of behaviour, social conduct, and ways of thinking. Life-course accumulation means that an individual's life events, experiences, and memories accumulate, so that elements of the past are ever-present, as we will see in the next subchapter, when we look at the narratives of life-course interviews.<sup>175</sup>

## 5.2 Interpretive Oral History

The present thesis subscribes to the oral history tradition. Oral history refers both to a way of producing data from the past and to principles that guide the interpretation. Oral history sources are always based on recollections of the past; and constructed in a reciprocal process between the informant and researcher.<sup>176</sup> Indeed, a common way to produce oral history data is via interviews, but in the Finnish tradition, prize essays (from writing competitions about given themes) and other written sources are also employed.<sup>177</sup> The oral history informant constructs their speech simultaneously using the 'cultural constructions in public discourse' that are available at the moment of recollection and at the recollected moment in the past. To adequately interpret oral history data, the researcher must be, as Fingerroos and Häänpää note, self-reflexive and conscious of the methodological and epistemological limitations of the data produced.<sup>178</sup>

According to J.P. Roos (1988), a life-story interview will always reflect the social context in which the life course has run. While the fidelity of the story is not being questioned, the interview setting puts a degree of pressure on the interviewee to construct a full story that is cohesive insofar as the events recounted (and selected with hindsight) are interlocked with one another to form a series of logical occurrences. For the sake of consistency, the story is usually presented as causal.<sup>179</sup> John Clausen (1998) has also written about how individuals construct different segments of their life course in an interview situation. Segments may be rooted in the sociocultural material at large – such as childhood and adulthood – but also in individual life transition periods such as 'pre-marriage', or when the interviewee was moving out of a foster home. These periods are often described in terms of peak and nadir experiences, or continuities and discontinuities

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<sup>175</sup> Häkkinen 2012, 380

<sup>176</sup> Abrams 2016, 1.

<sup>177</sup> Fingerroos & Peltonen 2006, 27.

<sup>178</sup> Abrams 2016, 54–59. See also Fingerroos & Haanpää 2006, 41.

<sup>179</sup> Roos 1988, 146–147.

for the interviewee.<sup>180</sup> Vilma Hänninen (2000) has meanwhile pointed out that, in addition to recalling their story, narrators will opt for an inner narrative in which they answer the interviewer, but also express and make sense of their current and past lives, intentions, values, and identities. In other words, the inner narrative is equally aimed at both interviewee and interviewer.<sup>181</sup>

In historical inquiry, oral history data can be both a source of information and the target of research.<sup>182</sup> Among researchers in the field, there exists a consensus that oral history is constructivist by its epistemological nature. Outi Fingerroos and Riina Haanpää (2006) recognise three epistemological perspectives in the oral history tradition: (i) ‘interpretive’ (*ymmärtävä*), which treats data as the subjective result of interaction between the researcher and the interviewee, with the understanding that any research findings are the result of an interpretative analysis of the interviewee’s narration; (ii) ‘explanatory’ (*selittävä*), rooted in a positivistic, realistic perspective; and (iii) ‘critical’ (*kriittinen*) with its roots in the emancipatory features of knowledge.<sup>183</sup>

In this respect, the epistemological perspective of this thesis is somewhere between (i) interpretive, and (ii) explanatory. The recollection of life experiences by these interviewees is seen to reflect actual events in their life course, while also showing the different meanings they attached to the events which reflect their inner story and identity. In other words, the life course events that have been coded and categorised from the data for this thesis are seen to have taken place *de facto*, while the meanings attached to them, and other categories emerging from the data, are seen to reflect how the interviewees view themselves, and how they want to express their current identity in an interview situation.

### 5.3 Informed Constructivist Grounded Theory

The constructivist nature of oral history corresponds to Cathy Charmaz’s (2006) constructivist approach to grounded theory.<sup>184</sup> Grounded theory is a systematic qualitative research method in which empirical data is collected, organised, and eventually made sense of in an abductive process. According to grounded theory’s developers, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967), the aim of the method is to develop a theory based on

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<sup>180</sup> Clausen 1998, 201–202.

<sup>181</sup> Hänninen 2000, 31, 176.

<sup>182</sup> Fingerroos & Peltonen 2006, 28.

<sup>183</sup> Fingerroos & Haanpää 2006, 38–40.

<sup>184</sup> Charmaz 2006.

empirical evidence by gradually evolving conceptual categories to identify themes and patterned relationships between them.<sup>185</sup> According to Jane Mills, Ann Bonner and Karen Francis (2006), however, there are two divergent research traditions in the grounded theory paradigm: apart from the constructivist approach, there is also a positivist version that treats grounded theory data as reflecting an unambiguous truth about the world. However, this study subscribes to the constructivist tradition – which acknowledges that data is produced in a reciprocal relationship between researcher and informant. Data is seen as subjective and the interpretation of data is expected to reflect the subjectivity of both researcher and research participants.<sup>186</sup>

Mills, Bonner and Karen have called positivistic grounded theory ‘traditional’, and constructivist grounded theory ‘evolved’, finding both these epistemologies in the initial proposal for grounded theory by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s, but later it seems their views have diverged. Whereas Glaser continued to hold to the positivistic tradition of grounded theory, Strauss (and later his co-author Juliet Corbin<sup>187</sup>) took grounded theory in a constructivist direction. Nevertheless, Mills, Bonner and Karen cite Charmaz as being the key proponent of constructivist grounded theory.<sup>188</sup> Underlining the importance of interpretive oral history, which is also a cornerstone of the present study, her epistemology of grounded theory admits that ‘[w]e are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices.’<sup>189</sup>

According to Charmaz, the grounded theory research process includes various phases. The process starts by defining research questions, then there is open-ended coding of the data. After this, by writing memos, recurrent codes are chosen as tentative categories. The refining of each category is continued, and the data supplemented if necessary. At this point, focused coding also begins, where large segments of the data are organised and synthesised. In the following step, some of the categories are adopted as theoretical categories to be used in the interpretation. In the last step before completing the first draft of the research paper, memos are integrated, and concepts are drawn up. As working with data and codes gives the researcher more analytical sense of how to treat

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<sup>185</sup> Glaser & Strauss 1967.

<sup>186</sup> Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006, 26–28.

<sup>187</sup> See for example Strauss & Corbin 1998.

<sup>188</sup> Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006, 28–31.

<sup>189</sup> Charmaz 2006, 10.

them, writing the first draft might lead to further coding and category refinement as the researcher becomes more sensitised to the data.<sup>190</sup>

In practice, the main difference between the coding and categorisation in Charmaz's approach and that of traditional grounded theory, is the emergence of core categories that are then used as theoretical concepts in the analysis. According to Glaser's positivist approach, the core categories should be lifted straight from the data by 'saturation'. Recurrent categories become fundamental explanatory categories.<sup>191</sup> In Charmaz's approach the interpretation of grounded theory data is emphasised. The theoretical understanding of the contents in a category are what gives it meaning, making it possible to construct analytical categories from scattered and recurrent phenomena in the data by specifying the conditions, pointing out the conceptual relationships, and creating a forecast of consequences for the research. The interpretive categories may exceed the research results beyond any definitive evidence.<sup>192</sup>

However, other differences exist between the two approaches. One of the ideals of traditional grounded theory is to dismiss all literature before the analysis, so as to reach an unbiased analysis rooted in data.<sup>193</sup> In Mills and her co-authors' interpretation of Strauss and Corbin's grounded theory, however, they find a suggestion for the use of outside theory to add another viewpoint in the analysis.<sup>194</sup> In the present thesis such a viewpoint comes from the theoretical concept of DIY career, and concepts from both life course analysis and youth culture theory also feature. In this sense, the study follows Robert Thornberg's (2012) approach of 'informed grounded theory' where the constructivist approach to grounded theory is supplemented with external literature, which in turn provides tools for the coding process – in other words, theoretically derived categories and sensitivity towards the data.<sup>195</sup>

#### 5.4 Methodology in Practice: Analysis in Ten Steps

This study combines oral history data to be analysed in a life course analysis framework with a grounded theory approach. The methodological steps of the study are: (i) the

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<sup>190</sup> *ibid.*, 11–12.

<sup>191</sup> Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006, 31.

<sup>192</sup> Charmaz 2006, 147–148.

<sup>193</sup> Glaser & Strauss 1967.

<sup>194</sup> Mills et al. 29.

<sup>195</sup> Thornberg 2012.

researcher produces interview data; (ii) the data is transcribed;<sup>196</sup> (iii) the data is coded in Atlas/ti using concepts from life course analysis, youth culture practices, subcultural capital, and a broad ‘bottom-up’ open-ended coding; (iv) recurring codes are then used to develop the created code tree; (v) a working paper is written based on the coding, during which the four stages of the DIY career began to emerge;<sup>197</sup> (vi) the data is recoded, categories are honed, and stage categories created; (vii) the four stage categories are then applied to all the other categories attributable (from surrounding clues) to a certain stage in the interviewee’s life course; (viii) the relationship between stage categories and other categories are then analysed using the Atlas/ti ‘code co-occurrence table’ (see Appendix D); (ix) the secondary data is categorised using the same code tree; and (x) the analysis is finally written following the principles that guide the interpretation of oral history data.

## 6 Data

### 6.1 Primary Data

The data of the thesis includes seven interviews from five informants born between 1950–1957. The interviews were conducted by yours truly; all of the interviewees were selected based on the fact that they were part of the Lepakkoluola scene in the period 1980–1984 (following Rantanen’s notion of what constituted the ‘early years’ of Lepakkoluola); and they all turned out to be male by their legal gender.<sup>198</sup> In 1985 when Radio City was founded in Lepakkoluola, a broader change of mindsets took place. In the early years, the space was renovated with limited means by scene participants on a voluntary basis – they were also the space’s main users. In the mid-1980s, university students and subculture-friendly start-ups (such as Nokia) found the place and began to rent it for their events and parties. At that time also, Arja Samulin founded her dance studio in Lepakkoluola. Basically, by the mid-1980s, a commercialisation process had already begun in

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<sup>196</sup> See 6.1 for more detailed information about data.

<sup>197</sup> This first draft was abandoned almost in full, but this memo-writing allowed the researcher to develop a sensitivity for the salient themes in the data. (Charmaz 2006, 72–95) During this process, the four stages of the DIY career began to emerge.

<sup>198</sup> Many women are reported to have been present in Radio City from the mid-1980s onwards (for example, Baba Lybeck, Outi Popp, Taina Värri). However, during the search for informants, it was less clear whether their life-courses constitute a DIY career. In the search for Lepakkoluola scenesters from the early ’80s, the space’s fanzine, *Äiti* was consulted, and three names were found, but I was unable to reach them.

Lepakkoluola, which eventually led to the legal incorporation of ELMU in the early 1990s.<sup>199</sup>

The interviewees were chosen on the condition that they have had a life-long career built on their earlier participation in youth culture practices. The magnitude of their activity in relation to youth culture today was not considered so relevant, but all the informants saw themselves as still involved with youth culture in varying degrees. Whether the interviewees derived their livelihood either fully or partially from their DIY career was not considered to be meaningful in their selection. The interviewees were found by reading previous literature and media coverage on Lepakkoluola. In the interviews, a snowball technique was used, where one informant could give information on other possible informants.

The data for the study was collected using life-story interviews<sup>200</sup> that could be then analysed within a life course analysis framework. Before interviewing, some background information was acquired from the informants,<sup>201</sup> and their conception of ‘youth culture’ was discussed to ensure that the interviewer and interviewee were roughly on the same page. Some highlighted the problematic nature of ‘youth culture’ in everyday speech even before the question was posed. The first question of the interview was an open-ended one to recall the individual’s life course through his involvement with youth culture. The aim of an open-ended question is to prevent researchers from creating results themselves, which they might do otherwise if they asked only pre-formulated pointed questions.<sup>202</sup>

Once a clear picture of the interviewee’s life course had been established, the interviews continued in the tradition of a semi-structured thematic interview, where the researcher chooses themes to be discussed during the interview and creates a list of questions beforehand related to that theme. However, the questions were only to be used as a guideline, and the researcher could choose to diverge from them if the interviewee opened up on a particular subject.<sup>203</sup> At such points, the interviews aspired to a conversational approach as advocated by Taina Ukkonen (2000). With this interview method, the researcher tries to react to weak signals made by the interviewee which hint

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<sup>199</sup> Rantanen 2000, 135–136. Rantanen 2002, 360–362.

<sup>200</sup> See Bertaux & Kohli 1984.

<sup>201</sup> These were: name, birth year, parents’ occupation, experience of belonging to what social class, what youth cultures were participated in, and any roles that were had in youth culture production.

<sup>202</sup> Lynd 2014, xiv.

<sup>203</sup> Kvale & Brinkman 2009, 130.

at topics unknown to the researcher.<sup>204</sup> The interviewees were also asked to bring up topics that they saw as relevant to the research topic that the interviewer may have missed.

The interviews were digitally recorded, and transcribed in full except for a few exceptions when the discussion went off on a few lengthy tangents – such as when interviewees espoused their views on topics as wide-ranging as the religious life of dinosaurs. The transcription process causes inevitable changes in the speech, as text cannot transmit all the non-verbal cues such as tone of voice, rhythm of speech, or the implicit meanings of pauses.<sup>205</sup> The quotes were then also translated into English which means that some colloquial expressions may have lost some of their connotative meanings; nevertheless this was done as accurately as possible and with the help of a native speaker. During the transcription and translation process the language was also stylised for reading by reducing the amount of non-verbal cues and pauses that otherwise obscured the meaning of the quote. All of the original interview quotes in Finnish are included in Appendix IV.

## 6.2 Secondary Data

This thesis uses two books as secondary data: *Nupit kaakkoon! ELMU kymmenen vuotta* by Jukka Lindfors, Markku Salo and Ritva Väänänen (1988); and *Miksei aina voi olla perjantai*, edited by Taina Värri (2018). The first was written to celebrate the ten-year anniversary of ELMU, and it is mainly lengthy interview quotes from people involved with the founding of ELMU and Lepakkoluola. Each chapter covers a particular theme and is introduced with brief pieces of narration from newspapers and ELMU's own archive.<sup>206</sup> Its rawness makes it ideal secondary data for an interview-based study. The second is a collection of writings from different people involved with Radio City. These offer diverse viewpoints and memories of the station and its history.<sup>207</sup> The two books were categorised with the same code-family as that used for the primary data. In principle, only a few references to the secondary data are made in the final analysis.

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<sup>204</sup> Ukkonen 2000, 70.

<sup>205</sup> Portelli 2005, 66.

<sup>206</sup> Lindfors, Salo & Väänänen 1988.

<sup>207</sup> Värri 2019.

### 6.3 Anonymity, and Legal-Ethical Considerations

For the purposes of this thesis, data has been anonymised and identifiers, apart from Radio City, ELMU and Lepakkoluola have been removed. Nevertheless, the interviewees – who are all at least semi-public figures – will be recognisable to the well-informed reader. Indeed, references to published books in which the interviewees' names appear also make the identity of the interviewees traceable, but they have been made aware of this and have given their consent. To make sure that no ethical problems arise, the thesis manuscript was sent to the interviewees with information about the pages where their quotes appear so they could check before publication.

All of the interviewees filled out and signed an agreement allowing for the interview recordings to be archived in *Musiikkiarkisto*.<sup>208</sup> This was done to promote openness and reproducibility in science, and for cultural preservation purposes – archiving data about a phenomenon that is, by its informal nature, not usually the subject of national archive practices. The interview recordings are published under a Creative Commons licence (CC-BY or CC-BY-NC), which outlines how the data may be used in future, while the archive has its own code of conduct which also asserts legal and ethical restrictions on how data may be reused – hence sensitive information about the interviewees or third parties has been removed. The licence agreement also takes into account the EU's demands – under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) – concerning the storage of personal information (such as name, contact information, location and birth year).

During the thesis process, the undersigned became aware of the GDPR and the legal implications of storing the research data. Although national legislation on GDPR does not yet exist, the EU law is enforced, according to which, research data including personal information should be stored in a safe place that is inaccessible to third parties. In electronic devices, this means, among other precautions, encrypting software and regularly updating firewalls. If there is any concern that the data might have been breached, a notice to the Data Protection Ombudsman within three days is enough to avoid legal consequences.<sup>209</sup> In the analysis, the interviews are referred to by pseudonyms and in the references by a formula like this – M1962\_Q2:2 – where M stands for the

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<sup>208</sup> The interviews are available from June 2019 onwards.

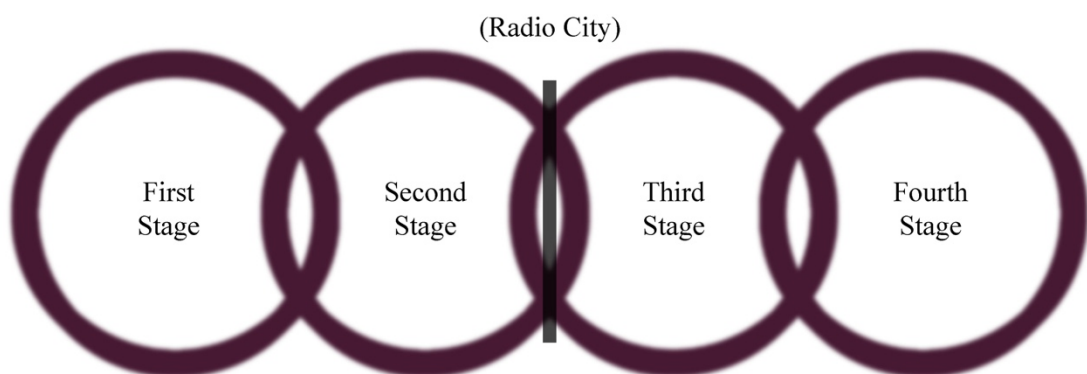
<sup>209</sup> Salasuo 2018.

informant's legal gender; the following four-digit number is the year of their birth; and the numbers after are the file number and code in the Atlas/ti analysis software.

## 7 Analysis: Four Stages of a DIY Career

The four stages in the DIY careers of the participants interviewed for this thesis reflect more than just developmental stages of their working careers. The stages are broad entities, where youth culture practices met the interviewees' other life events, pursuits and activities. The stages have been constructed from the relationship between recurrent categories found in the data. In addition, the principles of the life course – the influence of historical time and place, linked lives, agency, timing, and accumulation – as well as subcultural capital are discussed in relation to the relevant categories. For example, timing manifests itself as social expectations of certain age; historical time and place is sometimes discussed through the observations and perceptions of the interviewees; but the social context and how it changed is mainly derived from literature dwelling on the development and spread of urban youth culture in Helsinki. As Tamara K. Hareven (2000) points out, life course transitions can be constructed either subjectively or objectively.<sup>210</sup> With this in mind, the transitions in the analysis have been constructed as 'objectively' as possible by the researcher's interpretation of the interviewee's life course. However, due to the methodological limitations of oral history data, the transitions are of course based on the subjective accounts of the interviewees.

Figure 1. Transitions between the Four Stages of a DIY Career



<sup>210</sup> Hareven 2000, 153, 329. cf. Kok 2007, 204.

The purpose of Figure 1 is to clearly show that the DIY career stages in nearly every case overlapped – the transitions were not clear-cut moments (such as finishing school) but gradual. The exception to this was Radio City – for two of the interviewees – as will become evident in 7.3 below. Figure 1 should not be taken to imply that each transition occurred at the same time for each interviewee though. All lives are individual, and the transitions and their timing differ from each other during all stages. In fact, the older the informants got, the more the transitions to the next stage diverged from one another – it is their sequential nature, not the timing that is important. During the first three stages, the interviewees move from being, what Gordon calls, peripheral scene participants to becoming semi-peripheral, and then eventually core participants creating the scene.<sup>211</sup>

The analysis is divided into four subchapters, each of which describe a stage in these DIY careers. The stages are: (i) *first contact* – a preliminary stage where the participants make their initial acquaintance with youth culture, and the first seeds of agency are sown; (ii) *immersion* – when they expand their life-course agency through increasing involvement in youth culture practices; (iii) *realisation* – when they establish a more stable and fully-fledged DIY career related to producing youth culture; and (iv) *maintenance* – in which they continue to maintain a life and career based on an involvement with youth culture practices. In the conclusion to each of these subchapters, the stage is summarised and life-course developments, which are relevant to the interviewees' transition to the next stage are highlighted.

### 7.1 First Stage – ‘First contact’ or Acquaintance with Youth Culture

‘First contact’ happens during childhood and adolescence. According to James E. Côte and Anton L. Allahar (1994), during their youth, individuals go through an identity ‘moratorium’ in which it is typical to experiment with different roles, ideologies, beliefs, and lifestyles on a path to a more serene adulthood.<sup>212</sup> For the interviewees of this study, this meant various leisure time activities, some of which introduced them to popular music, youth culture and eventually youth culture practices. At this stage the interviewees had a peripheral role in the scene, a position that Gordon attributes to the influence of media, friends, and family acting as the mediators of youth culture.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Gordon 2014, 158.

<sup>212</sup> Côte & Allahar 1994, 73–74. Cf. Puuronen 2006, 67.

<sup>213</sup> Gordon 2014, 162.

This subchapter is divided into three sections and a conclusion. In 7.1.1, the interviewees are introduced to listening, making, and producing popular music, and youth culture is scrutinised in more detail. In 7.1.2, their leisure and recreational activities outside youth culture are discussed. In 7.1.3, their formal schooling and its influence on their participation in youth culture is addressed. In 7.1.4., the stage is summarised and the relevant life course events and factors for the transition to the second stage are highlighted.

#### 7.1.1 Beginning to Listen, Play and Produce Popular Music

The first crucial steps towards a DIY career happened when our participants were introduced to popular music and youth culture, and eventually to its rudimentary production. All the interviewees described how they got into music, but only three of them became musicians. Considering the fact that it was rock that they started to listen to and play, reflects the historical time and place. In the late 1970s, punk and new wave were the latest trends in popular music. With them came a message that encouraged young people to pick up an instrument and play it. Consequently, by the turn of the 1980s, there was a burgeoning DIY music scene in Finland and many new bands were formed.<sup>214</sup> Our five protagonists here are thus part of a broader societal phenomenon and they were surely encouraged to do what they did because of the shared mentality and lifestyle they shared with the youth culture of that time.

Piispa and Salasuo write in their book on young artists, that the milieu in which children grow up will determine what kind of sociocultural networks are readily available to them and how likely it will be that they eventually participate in a youth culture.<sup>215</sup> In this respect, it was the ‘linked lives’ of their peer group that proved to be the pathway which introduced the interviewees to popular music. Three of the interviewees discussed at length how they got into music, having all become musicians later in life. This reflects the fact that they experience these stories as a meaningful part of their identity – part of which is based on musicianship.<sup>216</sup> In the following quote, George explains how he was first introduced to popular music by an older peer.

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<sup>214</sup> Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 594. According to Mitchell 30.3% of the Helsinki metropolitan region youth were playing an instrument that they learned by themselves (compared to 26.3% that took up music an institutional context such as conservatories). She also states that playing rock and other popular music was growing in urban areas. (Mitchell 1980, 76)

<sup>215</sup> Piispa & Salasuo 2014, 53.

<sup>216</sup> Hänninen 2000, 60–62.

It was kind of handed down from the older kids, to the younger. I remember, as a little boy, playing in the garden then some bigger teenager would play some record out of the window [...] maybe it was the Beatles, sometime in the 1960s.<sup>217</sup>

Pete, meanwhile, remembers getting enthusiastic about music in an after-school club he took part in when he was about 13 or 14 years-old.

It was there that I learned to smoke cigarettes, and the older blokes brought records [...]. It was the best thing about that club, those blokes bringing the records in and we'd listen to them there in that club room – the Raggar gang [...]. It was there that I heard all the classic proto-heavy bands like Black Sabbath and so on. Then I suddenly realised that 'this kind of music exists' and began to [want] 'more, more more'.<sup>218</sup>

His experience resonates with Green's peak music experiences mentioned earlier. Green's research participants felt their peak music experiences had encouraged them to engage in certain youth culture acts that then led to others, and ultimately shaped the outcome of their biography.<sup>219</sup> Pete soon realised that playing punk was relatively easy and within most people's reach, when he realised that 'these guys aren't technically super-talented. They just play with the right feeling'. He sees this 'musical' epiphany led to him becoming a band member a few years later.<sup>220</sup> This teenage musicianship reflects the first seeds of his agency in relation to youth culture's role in his life course. A closer look into his experience highlights how linked lives also enhanced his agency. In the following quote he recalls how it was a group decision they made with like-minded peers.

And then some of my friends began to say 'hey, we can play too, I mean not that well [...], but let's try!' Then we began to borrow electric guitars and someone wanted to become a drummer and banged on some plastic tubs [...].<sup>221</sup>

John's musical initiation – and agency interconnected to linked lives – corresponds largely to Pete's. He experiences that he felt the first stirrings of interest in his local neighbourhood as a young teenager. He acknowledges that it was his father 'was not a professional musician but a certificated clarinetist', who encouraged him to first take up an instrument, and it was 'through him that music became important'.<sup>222</sup> As the

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<sup>217</sup> M1962\_Q4:6.

<sup>218</sup> M1962b\_Q5:6.

<sup>219</sup> Green 2015, 342.

<sup>220</sup> M1962b\_Q5:7.

<sup>221</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>222</sup> M1961\_Q3:98.

only mention of familial support in the data, this might reflect the fact that at this time, popular music was more or less frowned on by older generations.<sup>223</sup> Showing how linked lives enhanced his youth culture practices and agency, John says he continued with the instrument after a few years' break, 'and then at that point we also began this band thing with the kids on our block. We started the first attempts at a band around the age of 15.'<sup>224</sup>

For George, it was school itself that provided his first contact with music. In this respect, he was not yet acting out his agency though, as his music-making was initiated by (and limited to) the institutional context. He did not see himself as being active in youth culture or the production of music.

We, of course, had a class band in school where I had sung, but then [...] we were just at school, and I felt like I was just passively enjoying the music there, that was all, and it was quite enough for me.<sup>225</sup>

Paul is the only one of the interviewees who was already producing youth culture events in his teenage years, and this early involvement illustrates how linked lives enhanced his agency as a music facilitator later on. In the mid-1960s, he was barely 15 and already involved with the mod scene – participating briefly in renting a space and running a club in it. The club was illegal, but had an entrance fee, live music, and served alcohol.<sup>226</sup> After this period, he went on a school exchange to London in 1967. There, he saw how psychedelic light effects worked at music events and how he might be able to do them himself.<sup>227</sup> When he returned to Helsinki, he began to do lighting for local bands. As he created a new social network in the music scene, so his agency was enhanced, creating further possibilities for getting involved with youth culture at a deeper level.

Then I began to do this with some of the guys I knew, like for example [band 1]. And with [band 2] I did it. One time I was at this gig with [band 2] at [venue] where there was some kind of [...] autumn jazz festival. There I met [band 3] and [person's name] that were part of this underground [...]. So then I began to do lights for them too, but I also worked for [band 2] on the side.<sup>228</sup>

With others in this 'underground' scene, he began another attempt to create a space for youth culture in Helsinki. By the summer of 1968, he and a group of his peers

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<sup>223</sup> Poikolainen 2015, 214–215. See also Cohen 1990.

<sup>224</sup> M1961\_Q3:5.

<sup>225</sup> M1962\_Q4:9.

<sup>226</sup> M1950\_Q2:12.

<sup>227</sup> M1950\_Q2:2.

<sup>228</sup> M1950\_Q2:4.

rented out a space in the centre of Helsinki.<sup>229</sup> By autumn, he was back in education though and he had less involvement in producing youth culture.<sup>230</sup> Nevertheless, Paul sees his ‘mod period’ as an important preliminary stage to more serious involvement with the production of youth culture. ‘This mod period was relatively short – from the age of 15 to 17 – but this was a first taste in promoting and organising clubs.’<sup>231</sup>

### 7.1.2 Other Leisure Activities

In addition to these early experiences of youth culture, our interviewees engaged in several other leisure activities. Subcultural theory is sometimes criticised for coming up with ‘pure subcultural beings’ that only seem to exist in an imaginary parallel universe created specifically for this purpose.<sup>232</sup> This section aims to remedy that with a much deeper view of John, George, Ringo, and Pete’s leisure activities during their adolescence. Some of the interviewees specifically attached their personal agency to these activities that took place before their youth culture participation, providing evidence to show that our they are certainly not examples of ‘pure subcultural beings’.

Two of the interviewees described their childhood and youth at length. Based on the categorisation of their experiences, the striking feature of this stage for them is the wide variety of leisure time activities. Categories for sports, nature and hiking, and youth organisations emerged, for instance. In the quote below, Ringo describes the manifold activities of his childhood and youth growing up in a suburb of Helsinki in the 1960s. ‘There were a lot of club activities. I was part of the chemistry club and the nature club, and the music club [...]’.<sup>233</sup> He says that in these extra-curricular school clubs he and his peer group were ‘beginning to study different things [...]’. Eventually these activities expanded beyond school and into his leisure time and life in general. ‘We just carried on with the same outside of school too; and we still do.’<sup>234</sup>

As he grew up, he noticed that, with his cohorts, he had grown into a certain political niche of youth culture. ‘At some point, as a teenager, you’d suddenly become aware that you were part of these different culture groups. One was the politically active’.<sup>235</sup> For him, it was involvement with political youth organisations that led to his

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<sup>229</sup> M1950\_Q2:5.

<sup>230</sup> M1950\_Q2:6.

<sup>231</sup> M1950\_Q2:13.

<sup>232</sup> Bennett 2015, 46. See also McRobbie 1990, 19.

<sup>233</sup> M1957\_Q1:8.

<sup>234</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> M1957\_Q1:1.

agency in youth culture. In the 1970s, a plan was being made to dry out the lake called Koijärvi so that the land could be used for agriculture. This coincided with the rise of environmental activism in the country and the plan met with widespread resistance as the lake was considered a significant habitat for birdlife. In 1979, the issue attracted numerous environmental activists in a protest where they built a dam, chained themselves to the work machinery, got media attention, and successfully stopped the plan.<sup>236</sup> Ringo also joined the protest, but as a politically-oriented journalist, and there he had an illuminative epiphany. In his own words, he ‘went as a journalist and returned an activist’. Being part of the protest felt like his first experience of youth culture practice and it introduced him to operation models outside the institutional context of youth organisations and school: ‘from that came this way to act where [...] you could squat buildings [...], and argue that since these buildings were empty, why couldn’t you use them [...] for youth and culture, for instance.’<sup>237</sup> It was a turning point in his life course, after which it took a new direction.

John also followed a wide variety of activities in the first stage; but as a child, he felt these were more to do with nature than popular culture. ‘From an early age I saw myself as an environmental protectionist and, in that way, I was interested in nature’. He sees that this lasted until his early adulthood when became more involved with youth culture: ‘Then music began to lead, although things like trekking in Lapland continued somewhere around 20-years-old.’<sup>238</sup> Nevertheless, in the interviews, John traced the first stirrings of agency to these ‘pre-youth culture’ leisure activities and clubs.<sup>239</sup> He also noted that he was a member of the school board, which he sees to possibly having also given him a certain disposition towards agency, as did participating in the local youth club:

If there were bad records playing at the youth club, I said to the other kids ‘hey we need better records here, and we want them now!’ Or then we would organise our own thing, not necessarily gigs, but trips somewhere or something else together.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Sommar 2013.

<sup>237</sup> M1957\_Q1:5.

<sup>238</sup> M1961\_Q3:61.

<sup>239</sup> For more on how top Finnish artists experienced their first artistic inclinations in their childhood play, see Piispa 2013, 148

<sup>240</sup> M1961\_Q3:60

Pete also traced the beginnings of agency to this period too, but he connects it more to school. In the following quote he explained how in a recent class reunion his former classmates had already noticed this trait in him:

Loads of people were saying that ‘already back then it was plain that you were going to become someone, a musician, creator, performer [...]. To them it was somehow clear that ‘you’re going to become a musician or some kind of performer’.<sup>241</sup>

### 7.1.3 Basic Schooling

According to the timing principle of life course analysis, a person’s age carries with it normative expectations of certain social roles, and these are enforced by society.<sup>242</sup> In 1980, 34 per cent of 20–24 year-olds had completed their basic education (that lasted usually up to the age of 15–16), and 29 per cent had gone on to high school.<sup>243</sup> Among the baby boomers (born between 1945–1950), just over half the population had completed basic education, with 17 per cent of the male population and 24 per cent of the female population continuing high school. Meanwhile, just over half of the population went on to do second-degree vocational training.<sup>244</sup> While these figures are for schooling that could have been completed at any time in an individual’s life course, they do show most children had been to school, and that less than one fifth of male teenagers went to high school. In our case, four out of the five interviewees (rather than one out of five) went on to high school and so can be said to be relatively well-educated.

Pete is the only one of the interviewees who left school after nine years of basic education. He sees that his participation in youth culture practices took him away from the normative cultural script. He recalls having enrolled into vocational school but dropping out after a few weeks.<sup>245</sup> His agency found its outlet by him choosing youth culture over other life options, and it seems he did this quite consciously, choosing music over more traditional life choices:

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<sup>241</sup> M1962b\_Q5:13.

<sup>242</sup> Elder Jr. & Giele 2009, 10–11.

<sup>243</sup> Tilastokeskus 1980, 39.

<sup>244</sup> Savioja et al. 2000, 62.

<sup>245</sup> M1962b\_Q5:7.

I must have felt at the time that this [music making] was a good thing and ‘this I want to do’. Didn’t really think about money or future at that time. What was going down was just really good [...].<sup>246</sup>

However, even if youth culture was beginning to fill his life – ‘I was not short of things to do in my free time [...]’<sup>247</sup> – this did not yet mean a fully-fledged involvement in the production of music.<sup>248</sup> Pete first had to go through a period of doing odd-jobs or, as he phrased it, ‘those kind of old-fashioned assistant jobs where you could make money even if you were underage.’<sup>249</sup> Pete was doing a stage earlier in his life course what the other four would have to do in stage two.

In stage one, most of the interviewees were still at school, which took up a great deal of their resources and time. School made it difficult to engage in youth culture practices, as Paul admitted in the following quote regarding a cultural space he was helping set up in the summer of 1968: ‘it’s clear that the energy required to take care of something like that is a bit difficult to find when sat in a classroom [...]’. Indeed, Paul then recounted how their temporary space was eventually closed down that autumn, after which ‘junkies took over the building some time in November. Then [the owner of the building] must have covered the windows with planks and chipboard.’<sup>250</sup>

#### 7.1.4. Conclusion and Implications for Transition to Second Stage

In this section, stage one is summarised and its essential features highlighted for the transition to stage two. The interviewees all grew up in a society where popular music was increasingly beginning to mean rock music. The closer the interviewees got to the second stage, the more rock (and its sub-genres) began to dominate their listening preferences.<sup>251</sup> In remembering how they first got into music, our interviewees highlighted the importance of historical time and place, and the principle of linked lives – they were introduced to new form of music by their peers close to where they lived.

During this first stage, the interviewees engaged in various kinds of extra-curricular and leisure activities. Above all, they moved on from simply absorbing popular music, to actually participating in youth culture practices with their peers. Linked lives

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<sup>246</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>247</sup> M1962b\_Q5:61.

<sup>248</sup> M1962b\_Q5:7.

<sup>249</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>250</sup> M1950\_Q2:6.

<sup>251</sup> Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 514.

steered their life-course agency towards forming their first bands, participating in the production of live music events, and even founding a temporary cultural space. However, it is noteworthy to highlight that three of the interviewees traced their nascent agency back to a personality trait that was already noticeable in their other childhood activities.

Bennett sees DIY careers to combine formal education with lessons learned as young practitioners in music scenes.<sup>252</sup> In light of this, discovering and starting to produce popular music provided a turning point that had an indirect (but significant) influence on each participant's later life course. Transition to the second stage could not have taken place without this initial introduction to youth culture. An equally important factor for this stage transition to occur, was finishing school at the end of stage one – this freed up time and allowed them to transition to a new life phase with its respective age-bound expectations.

## 7.2 Second Stage – ‘Immersion’ in Youth Culture Practices and Life Course

### Agency

According to Jeffrey Jensen Arnett (2007), emerging adulthood takes place any time from the late teens to the late twenties. Emerging adulthood is the most heterogeneous life phase as it is the least structured by reciprocal commitments of adults and children. The emerging adult goes through developmental tasks, in which their dreams and aspirations meet realistic possibilities in their lives. Five features of the life course are at their peak during this life phase – identity exploration, instability, self-absorption, feeling in-between, and possibility<sup>253</sup> – as the individual moves out of their parental home and seeks monetary independence. This may include both studying for a vocation and working full-or part-time.<sup>254</sup> According to Mike Brake (1985), in the time between being a late teenager and getting married, youth culture participants experiment with free time to find the company of like-minded peers.<sup>255</sup> Using Gordon's punk-scene participation roles, the interviewees were in a semi-peripheral role during stage two – they played an active part in youth culture events and were sometimes creating them too. Gordon associates this role with an increasing commitment to youth culture.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Bennett 2018a, 134.

<sup>253</sup> Arnett 2007, 68–70.

<sup>254</sup> Arnett 2000, 471.

<sup>255</sup> Brake 1985, 190.

<sup>256</sup> Gordon 2014, 155.

This subchapter is divided into four sections and a conclusion that brings forth the stage's implications for the following stage transition. The first (7.2.1) focuses on the odd-jobs and studies undertaken in the second stage. In 7.2.2, the immersion into youth culture practices is discussed via three subsections: the first looks at the influence of Lepakkoluola on the five life courses; the second is on the expansion of youth culture practices among the interviewees who became musicians; while the third looks at the same for those who became music facilitators. In 7.2.3, 'a zest for agency' of each interviewee is set forth – how they experienced different societal restrictions and how this motivated them to engage more in youth culture practices within the scene and in relation to their life courses.

### 7.2.1 Working Odd-Jobs and Studying

As mentioned before, Pete was already doing odd-jobs in the first stage after he dropped out of school.<sup>257</sup> After successfully completing high school in 1970, Paul became a measurer on construction sites in the suburbs of Helsinki.<sup>258</sup> He remembers trying to find a traditional job that followed society's cultural script. The quote below highlights the uncertainty he felt over working in youth culture production 'After this summer, I found myself a normal job. I thought that if I stuck to only the fast life, no good would come out of it.'<sup>259</sup>

Straight after completing high school, John worked as a supply teacher in a primary school for ten months<sup>260</sup> – which he recalls as being 'truly the longest continuous job I've ever had in my life.'<sup>261</sup> Overall, there are few mentions in the data of working odd-jobs, which reflects how the interviewees' identities are rooted in youth culture participation and other life pursuits (of which some can be considered 'successful'). Nevertheless, John remembered that '[a]t that time there were all kinds of jobs; maybe cleaning, or during the holidays some other summer jobs. [...] I remember also writing my first pieces of journalism that I got paid a pittance for.'<sup>262</sup> It is safe to say that the odd-jobs of their youth were not considered as meaningful part of their contemporary identity and life.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> M1962b\_Q5:7.

<sup>258</sup> M1950\_Q2:8.

<sup>259</sup> M1950\_Q2:10.

<sup>260</sup> M1961\_Q3:10.

<sup>261</sup> M1961\_Q3:70.

<sup>262</sup> M1962\_Q3:69.

<sup>263</sup> Hänninen 2000, 63.

Besides the second-stage category of finding employment in the data, there was also studying. Two of the interviewees enrolled at university straight after school: Ringo studied math, physics, and astronomy,<sup>264</sup> and John enrolled in teacher-training.<sup>265</sup> For Ringo, the student organisations were an important aspect of his life overall. In these organisations, he developed skills he used later in life when making adverts for music events. ‘I worked as the secretary and communications officer for [students’ organisation]. There I began to use – among other things – the printing press that they had there and learnt to print things.’<sup>266</sup> He also organised music events for these organisations, and notes that he was never that much into his actual studies, adding that he was involved with producing youth events a lot before deciding to drop out: ‘I was maybe doing too much stuff for [organisation 1] and [organisation 2], organising and having parties.’<sup>267</sup> He finally left university after arguing with an older professor, whose views on religion he did not agree with. From that point on, he effectively dropped out, focusing his agency instead on youth culture: ‘I may have studied something, but I finished university at that point and moved towards production, parties, organisations, and squatting.’<sup>268</sup>

John pursued his teacher-training for the whole of the second stage until he became a host at Radio City, at which point he quit: ‘I felt immediately that it would be my thing.’<sup>269</sup> After being accepted, he knew immediately this would be his thing: ‘at that point I ended my university studies at the the Department of Teacher Training, straight off.’<sup>270</sup> His fairly abrupt transition to the third stage reflects a major epiphany, fulfilling certain wishes in his life,<sup>271</sup> and this meant engaging in greater agency as he took the necessary steps to achieve them. Nevertheless, during the second stage, the interviewees had all laid the foundations for their transitions to the third by immersing themselves in the production of youth culture for some time beforehand.

In an influential study aligned with the subculture theory tradition of the CCCS, Paul Willis (1977) describes how a group of working-class ‘lads’ may create an anti-school culture that ultimately reproduces their subordinate class-position valuing manual

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<sup>264</sup> M1957\_Q1:11.

<sup>265</sup> M1961\_Q3:7.

<sup>266</sup> M1957\_Q1:11.

<sup>267</sup> M1957\_Q1:12.

<sup>268</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>269</sup> M1961\_Q3:13.

<sup>270</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>271</sup> Denzen 2001, 37.

labor over white-collar jobs. Ultimately though, when it comes to dropping out of school on the fifth grade, most choose to stay as they realise the importance of formal qualifications.<sup>272</sup> The interviewees in this study do not seem to back up this theory though: while nothing is known about their attitude towards basic education, their willingness to drop out is due to an interest in creating music that was far greater than their interest in what the university had to offer upon completion of a degree.

### 7.2.2 Entering Lepakkoluola and Expanding Youth Culture Practices

During the second stage, as the interviewees' involvement with youth culture practices expanded, they began to gain a minor income from it. For most of them, this expansion happened in Lepakkoluola, which provided new social relationships that enhanced and encouraged their life-course agency towards increasing participation in youth culture. In the first of three subsections under 7.2.2., Lepakkoluola's influence on the interviewees' life courses is considered through the concept of historical time and place, before the other two subsections deal with the interviewees' individual pathways to expansion of their youth culture practices and agency.

#### *(i) Lepakkoluola, the Scene and DIY*

Through the principle of historical time and place, Lepakkoluola offered new possibilities for our protagonists. The space was squatted in 1979, and in just a few years the space had 40 rehearsal spaces, a venue for live music events, a demo studio, a cafeteria, two printing presses, a photo lab and several handicrafts workshops.<sup>273</sup> It provided a rehearsal space for George and Pete's bands,<sup>274</sup> and a venue that all the interviewees used for organising gigs and clubs. However, Lepakkoluola's main role was to provide a social network, the local scene, where the five interviewees met other like-minded practitioners, and this participation continued well into most of the third stage for all five too.

According to Silde, Lepakkoluola was an important hub that attracted a variety of actors from different backgrounds, connected them, and eventually created new kinds of operation models.<sup>275</sup> The interviewees' experience of the space would seem to support this notion. In John's opinion, 'Lepakko was like a magnet that drew various actors

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<sup>272</sup> Willis 1977, 76.

<sup>273</sup> Rantanen 2000, 134.

<sup>274</sup> M1962\_Q4:11, M1962b\_Q5:45.

<sup>275</sup> Silde 2018, 45. See also Karisaari 2017, 38–42.

towards it, and was a focus for musical activity at that time.<sup>276</sup> For George, it was a place where, through their practices, smaller youth culture groups got together with other groups. ‘Our inner circle, or club [...] our clan if you like [...], it expanded into a broader tribalism.’<sup>277</sup> He then goes on to describe how he saw the subcultural variety of the scene’s various ‘clans’:

And there were these guys who came dressed in black who must’ve been goths or something [...]. People were all so different, when these youth cultures were starting off, then they got bigger. Punks became Hardcore, and old punks became maybe something like goth or post-punk [...]. Modern people were there, too, and they got inspired to play all kinds of music [...], influenced by whatever was happening at the time.<sup>278</sup>

John, too, notes how the space attracted a large number of people who came from a variety of subcultures:

A lot of the regular audience would act like Lepakko was their own place. And there were hundreds or thousands, well, at least hundreds of them. They could be punks, or from some other tribe. And in this way, people in Lepakko experienced quite a sense of community.<sup>279</sup>

Before going into more detail about the scene’s linked lives encouraging agency, we should first note some points about the various subcultures George and John described here. CCCS framed subcultural participation in terms of uniform homogenous groups consisting exclusively of one subculture’s members.<sup>280</sup> The theory that challenges this – the scene perspective – sees youth culture practices taking place in subculturally manifold social networks, defined more by their operation models than a common musical genre and style of dressing.<sup>281</sup> The interviewees’ experiences seem to reinforce scene theory’s conceptualisation of music-making happening in non-static networks with several subcultural actors. Besides people from these subcultures, the scene also included what George refers to as ‘modern people’ who seem to equate with Bennett’s aforementioned ‘ordinary youth’.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> M1961\_Q3:47.

<sup>277</sup> M1962\_Q4:19.

<sup>278</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>279</sup> M1961\_Q3:86.

<sup>280</sup> Bennett 1999, 602.

<sup>281</sup> Straw 1991, 375.

<sup>282</sup> Bennett 2015, 45. See footnote 151. See also Fox (1987, 363) on ‘spectators’ in the punk scene.

In the scene, the interviewees met peers they considered to be like-minded and identified with them as George illustrates in the quote below. It also shows that, once he discovered Lepakkoluola, he immersed himself heavily in the scene:

I met people there who thought like me. They'd listened to new Finnish punk bands as well as stuff from abroad [...]. They were like-minded [...], and then I noticed being there, if not every day, well most of the week [...].<sup>283</sup>

By engaging in youth culture practices with other scene participants, our five participants all expanded their agency in relation to youth culture, or as Pete puts it in the following quote that demonstrates 'the spirit of Lepakkoluola' that other interviewees also brought forth:

At that time, [it was like] 'hey, let's form a band'... it was 'do it, do it, do it' – we were learning through doing. It was the same with many other things, whether it was organising a club or gig [...]. Say if we just decided we wanted to play, well we had a band already, and so it was just 'hey, let's organise a gig!'<sup>284</sup>

Pete quite literally stresses the importance of DIY youth culture practices, of learning through 'doing'. Lowndes has drawn attention to how DIY operation models often follow the 'aesthetics of necessity' due to a lack of finance.<sup>285</sup> John's explanation of the way things were done in Lepakkoluola would appear to confirm this: 'you had to do everything yourself. There wasn't the means to do otherwise, or else you learned there was no one else you could get to do the job so you'd have to find some other way yourself.'<sup>286</sup> Now we turn more specifically to how Lepakkoluola increased the agency of each interviewee in the following two subsections.

*(ii) Expanding Youth Culture Practices and Agency – Musicians*

For the musician-participants in this study, Lepakkoluola was the focal point for expanding their agency. During this second immersive stage in their DIY careers, their bands became 'real' bands, as they gained popularity, made records, played gigs and made (at least vague) plans for the future. In this way, the scene's linked lives were encouraging them to channel their agency further into youth culture practices. Pete

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<sup>283</sup> M1962\_Q4:70.

<sup>284</sup> M1962b\_Q5:55.

<sup>285</sup> Lowndes 2018, xiv.

<sup>286</sup> M1961\_Q3:38.

described having a ‘quite small circle of friends’ from which several new band projects emerged. He saw the scene as being a lively one, where new band projects were established among the scene participants habitually: ‘there bands came and went. Every month there was some new band forming.’<sup>287</sup>

For George, Lepakkoluola became a focal point for his leisure,<sup>288</sup> and he described how this continuous involvement with the scene eventually encouraged him to become a musician:

But then we suddenly realised that everyone’s in a band, and everyone has a job in it of some sort. Then I was of course, like, ‘sure I can squeal and sing as good as anyone else’. So, when someone in the rehearsal room was asking like ‘we don’t have anyone to sing’, I thought I could give it a try.<sup>289</sup>

John also participated in the Lepakkoluola scene at this point by performing with his band in the space. However, he observed that, at this point, his involvement with the space was quite remote: ‘It certainly featured in my life, but it didn’t feel like it was really the place for me yet.’<sup>290</sup>

It is fair to suggest that as the bands became more popular, this created a feedback loop, which further enhanced their immersion in music-making. Nevertheless, the bands popularity lasted only for a couple of years. Essential for the transition from second to third stage in the DIY career was the fact that, while musicians immersed themselves in creating music, their youth culture practices also expanded as they began to facilitate music in other ways – through organising live music events, clubs, and festivals. In addition, when the band was popular it provided at least a meagre income achieved through the interviewees’ own agency.

Pete sees that after a few years of rehearsing and band practices, he felt himself to be something resembling a musician.<sup>291</sup> This meant that he and his band mates started to make music that was more ambitious and forward-looking, and is an example of him concentrating his (and the band’s) agency in relation to youth culture:

[...] we practised and composed and got more serious about it, and we thought about it a bit longer, so it was more like ‘hey, it would be nice to do these kinds of things,

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<sup>287</sup> M1962b\_Q5:45.

<sup>288</sup> M1962\_Q4:70.

<sup>289</sup> M1962\_Q4:11.

<sup>290</sup> M1961\_Q3:77.

<sup>291</sup> M1962b\_Q5:8.

with this kind of a band, and these kinds of gigs, in these sorts of venues [...]’. This way, there was some minor planning going on – about three months in advance.<sup>292</sup>

Pete recorded albums, performed live, and toured Finland with this band. Pete described the band’s three-year life span in these terms: ‘we rehearsed for a year, and recorded the songs for our first release; had a year of the worst hassle, with lots of gigs and popularity [...]; then a year of slowing down [...]’.<sup>293</sup>

John says that with his band, too, he also immersed himself in youth culture practices. ‘We made records, organised gigs. We organised clubs.’<sup>294</sup> This lasted from 1982 to 1986.<sup>295</sup> For George, his music-making, which had begun as ‘well I can squeal and sing’ led to ‘doing gigs around Finland for the whole year’ in 1983.<sup>296</sup> On top of the band, he began to produce clubs and other music events, and this kicked off his DJ trajectory. ‘Then in our clubs I was, of course, [...] well I was nearly always the DJ. It was fun, so [...] we started all kinds of clubs and organised parties with different themes and so on.’<sup>297</sup>

With more serious music-making came an income from music. All the musicians reported getting some money for their efforts, and none of them to have earned a lot. However, their experience of the proportion is connected to their different life situations. John, for instance, felt the amounts to have been significant, as he was a student at the time and felt responsible for more than just his own livelihood:

Amongst other things I can remember is that [...] we had this tour for about a month where we got maybe a hundred Finnish marks of daily allowance or other pay [about 35 euros today<sup>298</sup>]; I remember sending the money home. I married young. I sent about half of it to the missus at home. Money for food. So it was a way to work, really, and to make money.<sup>299</sup>

For George, who lived with his parents at the time, the income was ‘enough to live on quite nicely for the summer.’<sup>300</sup> Pete, however, says he never really saw music as a profession. ‘I have only ever seen it as a hobby for myself, really – at least that is how

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<sup>292</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>293</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>294</sup> M1961\_Q3:9.

<sup>295</sup> M1961\_Q3:69.

<sup>296</sup> M1962\_Q4:2.

<sup>297</sup> M1962\_Q4:18.

<sup>298</sup> With exchange rates from 1984 and 2019. (Rahamuseo.fi 2019)

<sup>299</sup> M1961\_Q3:69.

<sup>300</sup> M1962\_Q4:9.

it's felt.' But then he remembered a brief period when he was earning a meagre income from his music. 'For a few years I lived on a weekly allowance... Or like a monthly salary.'<sup>301</sup>

What is important here in the formation of their DIY careers is not whether they thought they were earning a little or a lot, but the fact that it formed basis for a cumulative epiphany.<sup>302</sup> In other words, the interviewees realised that they were able to make livelihood out of their youth culture practices. As John pointed out, 'from there on I learned to consider music as a possible occupation.'<sup>303</sup> This might explain why the music event production trajectory in all three musicians' DIY careers grew stronger in the third stage – and for some it even became their primary occupation.

*(iii) Expanding Youth Culture Practices and Agency – Music Facilitators*

The two interviewees who were primarily music facilitators began to immerse themselves in youth culture practices and exercised agency before Lepakkoluola. Both got brief or part-time, but paid positions producing youth culture relatively soon after leaving high school. After his year as a surveyor, Paul got a position as a part-time event producer for a weekend club in centre of Helsinki.<sup>304</sup>

Meanwhile, Ringo's involvement with political youth organisations led him to become the chairman of a student organisation's major cultural event in 1980.<sup>305</sup> During his studies, Ringo worked as a substitute for someone away on maternity leave in a student organisation. This was a nine-month post organising music events.<sup>306</sup> Although it allowed him to produce youth culture, he saw it as something quite different from what he was involved with in his free-time. He saw it as a temporary job to make ends meet. Whereas organising events and other youth culture practices are an intrinsic part of his identity; here he isolates the job as something that would facilitate his youth culture practices later:

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<sup>301</sup> M1962b\_Q5:3.

<sup>302</sup> Denzin 2001, 145.

<sup>303</sup> M1961\_Q3:9.

<sup>304</sup> M1950\_Q2:11.

<sup>305</sup> M1957\_Q1:1.

<sup>306</sup> M1957\_Q2:10.

It wasn't so much that I saw myself as having just a job, but more that I had a special task. And that's what made it different from the other times I'd replaced someone on maternity leave or had, for example, a summer job.<sup>307</sup>

On a side note, Ringo's quote seems to reflect his life's inner narrative. According to Lesley Andres and Johanna Wyn (2010), the generation in Australia who came of age in the 1980s and 1990s facing a turbulent economy and rapidly changing job market have separated their notion of a 'job' and longer-term plans in life.<sup>308</sup> Considering that Ringo has, since the 1980s, lived the majority of his later life course as a 'time researcher'; been involved with redistributing vacant spaces in Helsinki; and gained a livelihood as an IT consult, his distinction between a meaningless 'job' and a meaningful 'mission' is part of his inner narrative. Through the narration, he creates a meaning for his life course – both for himself and others.<sup>309</sup>

During the second stage, Lepakkoluola offered Pete the possibility of being employed periodically to facilitate music. According to a study by Jäntti and Sulva, 30 different kinds of professional – in different employment relationships – worked everyday in Lepakkoluola during the early 1980s.<sup>310</sup> Once again, it was the linked lives of the scene that immersed Pete in youth culture practices and fostered his agency. 'After two to three years in Lepakko, someone thought "hey, he could probably become one of the staff that have responsibilities too."' After he was invited to join the staff, he then became part of ELMU's board and worked in the space as a subsidised employee. However, during this second stage of his career, his life course was characterised by sporadic periods of employment. 'I had periods when I was even being paid by the city, like these six-month training periods, aided employment, whatever was going really.'<sup>311</sup>

### 7.2.3 A Zest for Agency

The beginning of the 1980s has been framed as a time when the somewhat monotonous and narrow mentality of 1970s 'consensus-Finland' began to crumble in the face of growing tolerance for new cultural trends.<sup>312</sup> Nevertheless, for many of the older generation, popular music continued to represent something subcultural, deviant, and in

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<sup>307</sup> M1962\_Q1:64.

<sup>308</sup> Andres and Wyn 2010, 159. Cf. Threadgold 2018, 159.

<sup>309</sup> Hänninen 2000, 60–62, 69

<sup>310</sup> Jäntti & Sulva 1985, 76.

<sup>311</sup> M1962b\_Q5:33.

<sup>312</sup> Kortti 2012, 51–52.

some cases even countercultural.<sup>313</sup> In his structuration theory, Giddens writes about self-conscious actors who use their agency to influence the reproduction of society through certain behaviour,<sup>314</sup> while in life-course analysis literature, agency is seen to be more driven by the individual's values and wishes for their future.<sup>315</sup>

One motive the interviewees gave for expanding their youth culture practices during the second stage, was a desire to change society. They were aware that these practices would come up against the societal forces that governed youth culture participation. The restrictions and hindrances they came across can be framed in three ways: in legal terms, in terms of social governance; and in terms of there being insufficient societal structures for youth culture participation. Ultimately, it seems that facing these societal restrictions influenced the interviewees to embark in agency and therefore influenced the formation of the interviewees' life course.

A reflection of the general attitude in the early 1980s towards popular culture, was the fact that legislation governing it was very different to that governing the 'high arts'. Whereas the former was subject to a 'leisure tax' (*huvivero*), the latter was tax-exempt.<sup>316</sup> Ringo and Paul both described how their pursue to get the existing legislation changed was their initial motivation for engaging in youth culture practices. Ringo described the times as follows:

It may have been a colourful world – just like this – but busking was forbidden. You weren't allowed to play on the street, because it was a nuisance. And we had other similar restrictions, like a leisure tax, which meant that if you organised something, you needed to declare it and pay a tax to the state.<sup>317</sup>

He then went on to highlight how this restrictive legislation actually motivated him to resist it, 'of course I then wanted to take part personally in the live music movement – which was trying to remove the restrictions on busking'.<sup>318</sup>

Meanwhile Paul, who was ten years older than the others and already in the third stage of his DIY career at this point, was also involved with a workgroup – this one against the leisure tax.<sup>319</sup> In *Nupit kaakkoon* he says how the workshop achieved its goal

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<sup>313</sup> Poikolainen 2015, 214–215.

<sup>314</sup> Giddens 1984, 25.

<sup>315</sup> Piispa & Salasuo 2014, 25.

<sup>316</sup> Bruun, Lindfors, Luoto & Salo 1999, 241.

<sup>317</sup> M1957\_Q1:35.

<sup>318</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>319</sup> M1950\_Q2:19.

and was able to repeal the leisure tax with consequences he considers significant for the spread of youth culture in Helsinki later in the 1980s. ‘It was a significant political achievement. This whole club scene that nowadays exists in Helsinki, would not be here if we still payed that 30 per cent leisure tax – I’m damn well certain of that.’<sup>320</sup>

The other governing force that emerged from the data was social – some people seemed hostile towards youth culture. In the following, George describes an event where his subcultural style prevented him and his friends from getting into restaurants, meaning they were restricted from participating in their cherished youth culture practices. ‘We couldn’t get into restaurants, [although] we had dressed up neatly and we weren’t drunk. But when you had dyed hair, or earrings, and some bloke has put on make-up, they were like ‘no you can’t come in here, this is no circus.’<sup>321</sup> He experiences that this was one reason why they needed to start to organise their own club.<sup>322</sup> Pete described similar discrimination:

It was difficult to even get into bars [...]. Back then, every place had a doorman and if you had a studded jacket and your hair up [...]. If you’d done yourself up in some way, with different clothing or maybe even make-up, well, [...] you just couldn’t get in [...].<sup>323</sup>

Besides these societal restrictions, the interviewees expressed their dissatisfaction at the existing structures for youth culture practices. During the 1970s when rock was becoming more and more popular among the younger generation, Finland’s urban population was rapidly growing. This meant the beginning of a process that led to major social and spatial upheavals, and the birth of a semi-urban lifestyle.<sup>324</sup> In addition, live music venues were increasingly being replaced by discotheques, due to the boom in disco music in the late 1970s.<sup>325</sup> This lack of rock venues was another motive for the interviewees to create a space of their own for creating, rehearsing and performing rock music in Helsinki.

John’s following quote describes this lack of venues. ‘In Helsinki restaurants, not every place hosted music. It was just certain restaurants where they had live music.’<sup>326</sup> Ringo’s experience was similar: ‘back in the 1970s, there was no room for this kind of

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<sup>320</sup> Lindfors, Salo & Väänänen 1988, 49.

<sup>321</sup> M1962\_Q4:26.

<sup>322</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>323</sup> M1962b\_Q5:16.

<sup>324</sup> Mäenpää 2005, 13–14.

<sup>325</sup> Bruun, Lindfors, Luoto & Salo 1999, 240.

<sup>326</sup> M1961\_Q3:48.

culture. This could be seen in how the Kaivopuisto concerts [...] these unique events on a summer afternoon would gather people together – they would come by train from all over the capital region’.<sup>327</sup> For Ringo, the essential focus of his youth culture practice at this time was ‘to make it possible for us to create different rehearsal and performance places’<sup>328</sup> – in other words, to create structures so that he and others could participate more in youth culture. For him, this meant participating in the illegitimate squatting of Lepakkoluola, regardless of whether or not the general public approved.<sup>329</sup> Paul, too, elaborated on how the lack of venues contributed to his agency to create structures with other scene participants for youth culture participation.

We came to the conclusion, with the bands on [name of tour], that compared with all the events and dance-halls in the countryside, there was actually nothing going on in the cities [...], so we decided to set up an association where fans and musicians could get together to organise these clubs.<sup>330</sup>

The structure that the group went on to found, was ELMU in 1978.

#### 7.2.4 Conclusion and Implications for Transition to Third Stage

During the second stage of their DIY careers, the interviewees began to search for their place in the world. The central defining characteristic of the second stage is the plurality of life aspirations. The interviewees worked odd-jobs and some enrolled in higher education. Above all, their trajectories consisting of youth culture practices began to expand and strengthen during the second stage. Their involvement with youth culture that had begun in the first stage had got to the point where it began to bear fruit. The musicians’ skills reached a point in the second stage where they were in bands that had wider audiences and were ‘successful’ for a brief period, and this led to involvement with producing music events. At the same time, the music facilitators found temporary and part-time positions producing youth culture. During the second stage, all five began to gain at least a sporadic and meagre income from their own practices.

The growth of agency in relation to youth culture did not happen in a vacuum. The squatting of Lepakkoluola provided the historical time and place, for those of the five whose second stage began at the turn of the 1980s. It not only facilitated the expansion

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<sup>327</sup> M1957\_Q1:51.

<sup>328</sup> M1957\_Q1:35.

<sup>329</sup> M1957\_Q1:5. Rantanen 2002, 357.

<sup>330</sup> M1950\_Q2:18.

of the interviewees' youth culture practices, but encouraged a deeper immersion into them via the linked lives and networks it provided, as the DIY careerists found like-minded peers and other 'novice' youth culture practitioners. These actors fostered each others agency by providing chances and encouragement in the creation and production of music. As their motive for agency, the interviewees recalled the legal and social restrictions and the insufficient societal support that youth culture was facing. While all of the interviewees engaged in agency during the second stage, the two university students among them made the decision to drop out of their respective institutions as they transitioned to the third stage. They actively chose a career in youth culture production over what university was preparing them for.

These DIY careers diverge from the common Finnish cultural script. The interviewees' practices were exceptional and 'unusual' especially during this second stage. In this respect, it is reasonable to suggest that entering Lepakkoluola was an important – if not the most important – turning point in the interviewees' life courses. Without the social relationships and support it provided, the interviewees' agency would not have been directed towards forging the positions of employment they eventually held in youth culture production later. Gaining income from their enterprise at this stage may well also have added fuel to the interviewees' cumulative epiphany,<sup>331</sup> at which point their life courses really began to carve their own alternative niche to the normative cultural script. Finally, by involving themselves with making and producing DIY rock, the interviewees accumulated a degree of subcultural capital they could use in the transition to the third stage – as will be visible next.

### 7.3 Third Stage – 'Realisation' of a Career Producing Youth Culture

In the third stage, the DIY careers came true. The third stage is defined by the transition into a more stable and fully-fledged – but not always a full-time – position in the production and creation of youth culture. These positions stemmed from the interviewees' youth culture practices. All of their trajectories as event producers continued, but some were employed in other instances. The musicians' made less music or ceased altogether, at the latest, when transitioning to the third stage. In terms of Gordon's scene participation

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<sup>331</sup> Denzin 2001, 37.

roles, the third stage saw our participants move to the core of their scene and getting involved in reproducing youth culture.<sup>332</sup>

This subchapter is divided into three sections and a conclusion. In 7.3.1, the interviewees' live music event production trajectories are introduced. In 7.3.2 Lepakkoluola is examined in terms of being an important historical time and place which gave our participants the chance to found Radio City in 1985. In 7.3.3, the activities outside youth culture practice are explored.

### 7.3.1 The Trajectory of Event Production

For the interviewees, the historical time and place offered new possibilities as live music event producers. According to Kurkela, between the early 1970s to the end of the 1980s, Finnish rock music developed from a marginal phenomenon into a genre with a mainstream audience.<sup>333</sup> With the rise of popular music in general, the demand for music events grew. In the late 1980s, the liberalisation of alcohol serving licences and the growth of youth and urban culture in the centre of Helsinki encouraged this development further and offered new possibilities for the interviewees.<sup>334</sup> During this stage, all the interviewees continued their involvement with event production to varying degrees. For two of them, music event production became their main vocation while for the others, it formed a periodic trajectory of sporadic involvement.

For Paul and Pete, live music production became their main trade. In the second stage, Paul had been a part-time event producer, but in 1974 he was forced to leave the job after 'some kind of a political turn' in the administrative structure of the venue where the club was held. Which he sees to have complicated, the space's usage for youth culture.<sup>335</sup> When given the opportunity of becoming fully involved with youth culture production, he jumped at the chance. He was asked to join a politically aligned booking agency, yet in practice he saw that he was 'responsible for starting it'.<sup>336</sup> His trajectory in the production music events – that had begun by doing lighting for events in his teens – had thus brought him, by the age of 24, to a position where he could start a booking agency that would eventually lead him to manage a tour of the Nordic countries.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>332</sup> Gordon 2014, 155.

<sup>333</sup> Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 602. See also Muikku 2001 129, 131, 162, 212.

<sup>334</sup> Sillanpää 2002, 210, 194. Iskokangas, Karvala & von Reiche 2000, 134–137.

<sup>335</sup> M1950\_Q2:14.

<sup>336</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>337</sup> *ibid.*

Pete also transitioned to the third stage via his involvement with music event production. He described here how something he had begun doing for pleasure became a profession at this point:

At first organising gigs and events was just for fun, let's do something as there's nothing else going on, but then I found myself doing it for the next 10–15 years [...] until I was getting paid for running a club in the 1990s [...].<sup>338</sup>

It is important that he consciously chose to work in music event production because he considered it the most pleasurable option at the time. This also reflects his agency towards choosing youth culture production over other life opportunities. In brief, he believed his choice was 'the nicest, in my opinion, the nicest and easiest'.<sup>339</sup>

With time, however, he sees that the meaning of music event production changed for him. What had begun as a series of meaningful tasks became a series of chores, as his quote below reveals:

Finland is quite a small country, so if you have four [gig-]evenings a week or something [...], or maybe five [...], well, it begins to get a bit boring. The same bands, same performers [...], it wasn't always that great, and it became more of a chore [...].<sup>340</sup>

During the later period of his career as an event producer in the 1990s, he also began to organise events outside youth culture. '[M]y job involved organising all kinds of so-called company events, like Christmas parties for firms [...], and through a booking agency. [It would be like] if someone in some company, in an IT company held enormous parties somewhere.<sup>341</sup> His life as an event producer came to an end just before the new millennium. At the time, it was the network of linked lives, provided by the scene, which influenced his agency. However, whereas the scene had previously guided his agency towards youth culture, now it was steering Pete away from it. Essential in the following quote is how the natural cohort replacement in youth culture brought with it a new kind of music – and subcultural capital – that Pete was unfamiliar with, and so he decided to stop producing youth culture events.

My age group, everyone I knew, when they began to be over thirty, they began to go out less. Then I had no idea anymore about what 18-year-olds are doing. All

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<sup>338</sup> M1962b\_Q5:1.

<sup>339</sup> M1962b\_Q5:40.

<sup>340</sup> M1962b\_Q5:22.

<sup>341</sup> M1962b\_Q5:32.

these new genres came along which didn't really say anything to me. Rap and [...] techno.<sup>342</sup>

A sporadic trajectory in the production of live music is common to the third stages for the other interviewees. In the early 1990s, when rave music hit Helsinki,<sup>343</sup> George was enthusiastic, unlike Pete, and began to operate in that scene. His earlier involvement with a band and in live event production transformed into a career as a DJ in this stage. As an aside, his quote below demonstrates also how the interviewees grew further apart from each other as they aged. This new music that was unbearable for Pete, was fully embraced by George.

I moved from performing live music into deejaying. It was interesting music, so much was going on [...]. Then after techno and house came this rave-thing, and then Manchester and others [...].<sup>344</sup>

Reflecting again on how the interviewees' agency in relation to youth culture and scene's linked lives are inextricably linked, it was perhaps hardly any wonder that before long George's reputation would lead to him being asked to DJ by participants in the rave scene.<sup>345</sup> Interestingly, he says his sporadic involvement with youth culture practices was intentional, and for reasons of 'balance' – social belonging – it would seem: '[y]ou can always find interesting new people who want to do something [...]. And you get involved with it in suitable amounts.'<sup>346</sup>

Ringo's involvement with live production at this stage happened in cooperation with a partner he had met when organising live music events in a student organisation at university. In the late 1980s, he became a part-time entrepreneur organising festivals and one-off music and cultural events in the centre of Helsinki.<sup>347</sup> However, he stresses his open-mindedness with regard to event production at this stage: 'we called it "What Productions Should We Do Next?" We had all kinds of ideas, along the lines of "let's make the city more fun". So, what did we do next? We began to do it.'<sup>348</sup>

During the third stage, John's participation in youth culture practices in Lepakoluola began to expand. He not only produced live music events there but was also

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<sup>342</sup> M1962b\_Q5:40.

<sup>343</sup> Salasuo & Seppälä 2005, 142.

<sup>344</sup> M1962\_Q4:55.

<sup>345</sup> M1962\_Q4:64.

<sup>346</sup> M1962\_Q4:56.

<sup>347</sup> M1957\_Q1:45–46.

<sup>348</sup> *ibid.*

organising art exhibitions, flea markets and ‘all kinds of things you could do there’.<sup>349</sup> In the middle of the 1990s, in collaboration with other scene participants, he started a sauna club, which connected performance art with sauna bathing.<sup>350</sup> This was to become the focal point of his life in the fourth stage. However, for that to happen his involvement with next step of his DIY career – Radio City – would have to first flourish then come to an end.

### 7.3.2 Careers in Radio City

With the exception of Pete, Radio City crossed the paths of all the interviewees. Founded in 1985, the channel reflected the rise of popular music at that time in Finland. Radio City was the first commercial radio station in the country. It was also a local station that aimed to let the countercultural, subcultural and those without a voice be heard. Especially in the very beginning, the channel had non-traditional and non-professional radio hosts and journalists working on it.<sup>351</sup> As regards the history of Lepakkoluola, Radio City marked the turning point after which the space became more mainstream and commercial. Nevertheless, the space continued to arouse a certain degree of awe and trepidation among Helsinki inhabitants.<sup>352</sup>

The pathway to Radio City for three out of the four interviewees who ended up there was via scene participation. Paul and Ringo – the two music facilitators – were the founders of the station, and its main administrative employees. Ringo explains his involvement with the station in *Miksei aina voi olla perjantai*, and how it came to be. To celebrate World Youth Day in 1984, there was a panel discussion arranged in Helsinki. Ringo represented ELMU there, and in the discussion he suggested that a youth radio should be founded in Helsinki. With great enthusiasm and social support, ELMU went through the necessary paperwork and got the necessary technical equipment in less than a year, and Radio City was up and running by 1 May, 1985.<sup>353</sup> Ringo was involved in the background organisation and had fun ‘making some radio show, and reporting traffic live from a helicopter etc.’<sup>354</sup> Paul, meanwhile, became the radio station’s CEO.<sup>355</sup>

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<sup>349</sup> M1961\_Q3:83.

<sup>350</sup> M1961\_Q3:20.

<sup>351</sup> Kemppainen 2015, 173–175.

<sup>352</sup> Rantanen 2000, 149. See also Olavinen 1996, 17.

<sup>353</sup> Värri 2018, 12–13.

<sup>354</sup> M1957\_Q1:24.

<sup>355</sup> M1950\_Q2:27.

For John and George, the channel became the key turning point in the formation of their DIY careers. Both became involved with the station in the spring of 1985. George was one of the two hosts the station hired through the scene's grapevine.<sup>356</sup> 'Paul just came up to me and said "so, you come and make a programme, OK?"'<sup>357</sup> Meanwhile, John applied for the position through an ad in a paper and was accepted on a trial period, which soon transformed into a position in Radio City that seemed uncertain, but proved to be stable. 'Even though I was in Radio City for ten years, I was always employed on these four month contracts.'<sup>358</sup>

In light of the transition to Radio City, the essential experience the interviewees had acquired in their previous life courses was subcultural capital. In fact, at the beginning, skills and knowledge related to youth culture were preferred over skills and previous experience in the fields of media or radio.<sup>359</sup> In John's experience, he was chosen because of his subcultural capital: 'I was familiar with music. And in some sense also the city of Helsinki, and its culture was quite familiar.'<sup>360</sup> Similarly, George believes that it was the subcultural capital he embodied that got him the job: 'I represented that certain group there. I was their guy. Then there were some other people who represented something slightly different [...]. Different strands and personas – they wanted to collect together different cultures there.'<sup>361</sup>

Once they left Radio City, it signalled that our interviewees were transitioning to the fourth maintenance stage of their DIY career. For Ringo this happened already in the early 1990s, after which he also moved on from producing music events.<sup>362</sup> The background company of Radio City was sold to Scandinavian Broadcasting Systems in 1995, which led to internal changes in the radio station.<sup>363</sup> For our protagonists, this meant the end of their radio careers. John left the station in 1995 and Paul left in 1997.<sup>364</sup> George, meanwhile, chose to leave at the end of the 1990s, as he was given a position in another radio station.<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>356</sup> Lindfors, Salo & Väänänen 1988, 240.

<sup>357</sup> M1962\_Q4:32.

<sup>358</sup> M1961\_Q3:71.

<sup>359</sup> Lindfors, Salo & Väänänen 1988, 258.

<sup>360</sup> M1961\_Q3:101.

<sup>361</sup> M1962\_Q4:46.

<sup>362</sup> M1957\_Q1:22.

<sup>363</sup> Kemppainen 2011, 287.

<sup>364</sup> M1961\_Q3:15. M1950\_Q2:28.

<sup>365</sup> M1962\_Q4:35.

### 7.3.3 Other Activities and Trajectories

During the third stage of the DIY career, all of the interviewees engaged in other activities outside event production and Radio City. The other activities ran parallel to their third stage employment and for some, they formed trajectories that continued and gained importance for the interviewees' life courses in stage four. For some of the interviewees, their other activities were relatively brief. In the 1990s, George's career in the media expanded from radio to television.<sup>366</sup> He does not recall other major activities during this stage. In other words, during the third stage George acted as a host on radio and television and, on the side, played records in clubs. Likewise, Pete was mainly involved with event production, but also acted as support personnel for a band. 'I was managing everything and [...] being a roadie and a driver and all kinds of things, looking after things [...].'<sup>367</sup>

For three of the interviewees these other activities were significant due to their magnitude. In the case of Paul, his main activity in the third stage was to be part of founding ELMU. Paul clearly saw his involvement with the scene as an event producer and tour manager in the late 1970s as crucial to ELMU's establishment. His vocation had acquainted him with both musicians and audiences in growing numbers. With the scene participants, he began to sketch out an organisation to facilitate live music in Helsinki, which became ELMU in 1978.<sup>368</sup> Afterwards, Paul continued producing music events, but also engaged in the administration of ELMU and Lepakkoluola, becoming a member of ELMU's board in 1985.<sup>369</sup>

In light of the fact that he had not made any final decision to dedicate his life to the production of youth culture even after entering the third stage (this was the same year as Lepakkoluola was squatted), Paul decided to apply for university and got a place to study economics. Nevertheless, Lepakkoluola was to become his 'destiny'. After a year of studying 'quite well', Lepakkoluola was occupied. He says his resources were not sufficient enough to both attend university and be involved with the organisation though. Paul remembered his frustration, 'so many problems began to crop up [...]. Maybe you could have studied there on the side, maybe not [...].'<sup>370</sup> Eventually he decided to continue making youth culture when faced with the possibility to study and follow the cultural script of the life course. On the other hand, the event highlights how his

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<sup>366</sup> M1962\_Q4:2.

<sup>367</sup> M1962b\_Q5:4.

<sup>368</sup> M1950\_Q2:18.

<sup>369</sup> Lindfors, Salo & Väänänen 1988, 319.

<sup>370</sup> M1950\_Q2:25.

involvement with youth culture was not set in stone during the third stage – even when he was basically running a booking agency on his own and was a member of a music advocacy organisation.

John and Ringo, meanwhile, started working for the City Council in Helsinki during the third stage. John was elected as a member of it, while Ringo was made a substitute member of the Buildings and Public Works Sub-Committee, having got the position through a childhood friend.<sup>371</sup> In John's experience, his election was influenced by the linked lives of the scene. First of all, he was encouraged to run for the council by Ringo.<sup>372</sup> In addition, he felt that his involvement with youth culture and Radio City, and the reputation derived from it had somehow benefited him in the election.

There were probably, a hundred or eighty candidates. I was one nominee among the many, but I didn't do any kind of campaigning. [...] And I would never have been elected had I not previously been a host working under my own name in Radio City for eight years.<sup>373</sup>

According to Thornton, subcultural capital is strongly connected to age, generation, music taste and style which define its distinctive power. The most important factor governing this subcultural capital is age.<sup>374</sup> Both John and Ringo recalled how their previous involvement with youth culture was actually a disadvantage when working in a local government. John felt himself to be seen as a 'lesser' politician due to his involvement with youth culture:

I was then 32 or 33 years old, so I'd been seen for a long time as a representative of youth politics, having clearly come from ELMU and Lepakko. This annoyed me a little bit. I was this kind of youth politics professional there.<sup>375</sup>

Ringo similarly detected strong disapproval from some of the *Kokoomus* (Conservative) city representatives that he was involved with: '[they] said to me afterwards that "we should have had you arrested and carried out of here immediately" [...] Some of them saw us as sowing the seeds of terrorism in Finland.'<sup>376</sup> In other words, the subcultural capital that benefited interviewees' in the Radio City transition, did not work here.

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<sup>371</sup> M1957\_Q1:59.

<sup>372</sup> M1961\_Q3:51.

<sup>373</sup> M1961\_Q3:52.

<sup>374</sup> Thornton 1995, 187.

<sup>375</sup> M1961\_Q3:23.

<sup>376</sup> M1957\_Q1:42.

Ringo also developed his skills as an information technology consultant during this stage. He recalls having learnt computing already in his high school years in the 1970s.<sup>377</sup> In the early 1980s, while at university, Ringo had started to use a printing press to make adverts for live events.<sup>378</sup> Later that decade, he made them by using a process camera to reproduce advert graphics, but in the late 1980s, Ringo was involved with making what he perceives to be some of the first computer-made adverts in Finland.<sup>379</sup> This trajectory began to expand as he entered the fourth stage of his DIY career and he began to gain his livelihood as an information technology consultant in the mid-1990s.

#### 7.3.4 Conclusion and Implications for Transition to Fourth Stage

During the third stage of their DIY careers, the interviewees found and created vocations that produced youth culture. For four, the historical time and place (of Radio City in 1985) offered the possibility of working more fully in youth culture. Radio City also coincided with new possibilities in music event production during the 1980s and 1990s. Overall, the third stage was characterised by the fact that youth culture practices often ran parallel to other activities. The interviewees were involved in varying degrees with Radio City and event production, but also with individual activities in local organisations and government bodies in Helsinki.

The transition to the third stage reflects Bennett's conceptualisation of DIY careers<sup>380</sup>, the interviewees' vocations made use of their skills and knowledge from their earlier practices. However, it was knowledge, subcultural capital that proved to be more important for working at Radio City than any prior experience of working in media. Subcultural capital also helped in music event production, which all the interviewees continued to be involved in and which employed two of them fully during the third stage. However, when working for local government, subcultural capital proved to be more of a hindrance – and was in fact a source of social labelling and sanctioning in this part of life.

When the interviewees left, or were fired from, their third stage occupation, all of the interviewees faced the challenge of maintaining their lives and careers after a 15–25-year involvement in the production of youth culture. This was a challenge aggravated by

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<sup>377</sup> M1957\_Q1:72.

<sup>378</sup> M1957\_Q1:11.

<sup>379</sup> M1957\_Q1:25.

<sup>380</sup> Bennett 2018a, 134.

the fact that the interviewees lacked a higher education degree of any kind when they entered the fourth stage. By the end of the 1990s, at the latest, they also began to grow apart and distance from Lepakkoluola and the scene. Now they began to act out their agency individually without a connection to the linked lives of the scene left behind.

#### 7.4 Fourth Stage – ‘Maintenance’ and Continuation of a DIY Career Trajectory

The essence of the fourth stage is maintaining and continuing a life and career built on a decades-long involvement with producing youth culture. According to Bennett, rather than trying to resist the passage of time, ageing youth culture participants evolve strategies that allow for the practice and articulation of youth culture identities alongside the adult roles they are required to perform.<sup>381</sup> During the fourth stage, the interviewees’ life courses began to diverge from one another, and they began to carry out agency individually to engage in new and distinct practices, activities, and occupations, without an immediate relationship with other scene participants. Related to the fourth stage’s quest to find a livelihood based on the interviewees’ previous practices and the social expectations of their age, the interviewees also engaged in various accommodating processes.<sup>382</sup>

This subchapter is divided into four sections and a conclusion: 7.4.1 is a brief look at how society in Helsinki has changed during the life course of the interviewees; 7.4.2 introduces their career development after the third stage; 7.4.3 introduces the accommodating processes used by them as they made the transition to the fourth stage; and 7.4.4 is a close examination of how the interviewees experienced four aspects of their own life course development. These aspects are (i) what they saw as turning points; (ii) reflections on the sporadic nature of a DIY career, (iii) reflections on societal approval, and (iv) what they saw as the driving motives behind their life-course agency.

##### 7.4.1 Societal Change During the Interviewees’ Life Course

The societal change that has taken place in Helsinki over the life course of our interviewees – that is, the alteration of the historical time and place – has partly shaped the fourth and final stage in the DIY careers of our interviewees. In this stage they have found themselves in various positions either in the production of culture, or in fields

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<sup>381</sup> Bennett 2015, 51.

<sup>382</sup> Davis 2012.

related to it. In the Finnish context, research on youth culture in the 1990s and 2000s is quite possibly scarcer than research concerning youth culture before that. Besides the cultural changes that otherwise took place in the 1980s, the liberalisation of alcohol laws in 1987 might have had something to do with the number of restaurants in Finland doubling within a decade, and this gave rise to a new kind of urban life.<sup>383</sup>

Sampo Ruoppila and Timo Cantell (2000) state that while urban culture arrived late in Helsinki, when it did come, it spread swiftly.<sup>384</sup> Mäenpää has suggested that during the process the culture sector became more tolerant of commercialism and consumption. He argues that the process also increased the younger generation's role in defining the new urban lifestyle. They were not only on the receiving end of this new urban culture, but also producing it. Mäenpää maintains that it was the media preferred by some of the youth that furthered this social change.<sup>385</sup>

Some of the interviewees gave their own view of this societal change as they have witnessed it since the early days of Lepakkoluola. Ringo said, for instance, that there are certainly more cultural events than there used to be.

Back then the situation was different in the sense that Kansanjuhla, organised by ELMU, was almost the only culture and music event anywhere in the whole capital region, or maybe an even larger area. There could have been a concert somewhere, of course, but [...]specially in the field of pop music, it was the only event there really was. [...] If you think about the whole metropolitan region, the situation has changed quite drastically in relation to supply. [...] If we look at how much time has gone by between 1979 to 2018, quite a lot of things have been turned on their head.<sup>386</sup>

In addition, he showed he was aware that the production of youth and other culture had become professionalised and commercialised, when he said 'And now we live in times that are a bit different – as you have may have noticed, people even talk about a culture industry.'<sup>387</sup>

George – who was involved with rave and other subcultures of the 1990s – describes how the new cohort's youth culture practitioners began to share their musical influences within the scene and how this gave rise to new subcultures in Helsinki.

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<sup>383</sup> Sillanpää 2002, 210–211.

<sup>384</sup> Ruoppila & Cantell 2000, 51.

<sup>385</sup> Mäenpää 2005 11–20, 353–357.

<sup>386</sup> M1957\_Q1:34.

<sup>387</sup> M1957\_Q1:51.

Back then there were so few people doing stuff that there weren't really events. When [name of the band] started, there were just a few bands that played music that was in some way funkier. [...] But through hip hop many also began to play funk, and the next thing was of course jazz. But it came around maybe in about 2000, this jazz phase [...].<sup>388</sup>

In the following quote George summarises how today there exist so many cultural events that he does feel the same need anymore that he once did to be involved in live event production. 'Nowadays it's easy, I don't need to organise [events].'<sup>389</sup>

#### 7.4.2 Livelihood Beyond the Third Stage

After the interviewees stopped regularly producing live events, and their involvement with Radio City came to an end, they were faced with the challenge of finding a new focus for their energies and means of livelihood. George's career in media had been the longest of the five, and his career had also been the most stable one overall. The sale of Radio City and adopting computer-led operation models brought with it structural changes – such as a diminishing role for the host, a pre-fabricated playlist, and personnel changes (including 'letting go' most of his 1980s colleagues).<sup>390</sup> For George it was a sign that he should look for a new place of employment. 'I suddenly realised "okay, what should I do now" [...], and then I saw that all these interesting things that are going on in the city [...].'<sup>391</sup>

In 1999, Lepakkoluola was demolished because of the declining condition of the building, and plans for a technology centre to be built where Lepakkoluola was standing.<sup>392</sup> As the time for demolition approached, its two-decade life was celebrated by a temporary radio station that was set up to broadcast live from the space. George said that the people behind 'Project Radio' had come to the conclusion that "'this is what was needed – at that point when everything was about to change.'"<sup>393</sup> Faced with the prospect, George made the decision to become involved with the group, and together they founded a new local radio station where George is still employed to this day. As an aside, his experience of making the conscious decision to get involved with a radio station that was

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<sup>388</sup> M1962\_Q4:71.

<sup>389</sup> M1962\_Q4:41.

<sup>390</sup> Kemppainen 2015, 326–327.

<sup>391</sup> M1962\_Q4:45.

<sup>392</sup> Rantanen 2000, 172–173.

<sup>393</sup> M1962\_Q4:45.

not bound by chart playlists at an age approaching 40, reflects what Green has written about as the potential of peak music experiences to have a long-lasting influence on individuals and their biographical choices.<sup>394</sup>

With the exception of George, the fourth stage for the interviewees was characterised by project-based or fragmented work. The four were all, at least briefly, entrepreneurs during the fourth stage too. After Pete's third stage, as a live event producer and supporting bands came to an end at the turn of the new millennium, he engaged his agency to start up a business – 'a kind of second-hand audio shop'. As an entrepreneur he was able to use his experience in live event production, '[t]o sell everything a band needs [...], everything that is but instruments – stage equipment. microphones, cables.'<sup>395</sup> This lasted for around ten years until the growth of selling audio-visual equipment online a decade later forced him to quit the business. Since then, he has made ends meet with odd-jobs as a sales clerk in a music shop and restoring old wooden furniture for resale.<sup>396</sup> On top of this he has started playing music again, performing some reunion shows with his band from the early 1980s. Recently, a record label from the US has expressed interest in the band and they recorded and released a new album in 2018.<sup>397</sup>

After Radio City folded, Paul founded a new media enterprise, but this went bankrupt in 2003. After that, he 'got a gig' as the temporary president of a Scandinavian magazine outside Finland.<sup>398</sup> Since this came to an end, he has been involved with culture enterprises and organisations as a consultant offering his expertise and perspective, 'doing quite a lot of mentoring work [...]. I'm on some boards that all somehow relate to culture.'<sup>399</sup>

John's trajectory as a city councillor continued until the early 2000s, when he was out of office for a four-year term, then back in office again for another four years.<sup>400</sup> When his Radio City trajectory came to an end in the mid-1990s, John had begun to produce records and events as a freelancer for a major label in Finland. In around 2010, he also worked briefly in the film industry as a producer, and continued to produce events.<sup>401</sup> One of the events he began to produce after Radio City ended, was a sauna club in

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<sup>394</sup> Green 2016, 337–340, 345.

<sup>395</sup> M1962b\_Q5:41.

<sup>396</sup> M1962b\_Q5:39.

<sup>397</sup> M1962b\_Q5:10.

<sup>398</sup> M1950\_Q2:40.

<sup>399</sup> M1950\_Q2:29.

<sup>400</sup> M1961\_Q3:57.

<sup>401</sup> M1961\_Q3:16.

Lepakkoluola, but when the premises were demolished, the club no longer had a space.<sup>402</sup> Early in the new millennium, he founded an event production company that organised among other events, a mobile version of the sauna club, then in 2006 he signed a contract which gave him fixed premises and became a sauna entrepreneur, managing events and music production on the side.<sup>403</sup>

Ringo is the only of the interviewees who has a source of income that is separate from his youth culture practices. Nevertheless, after his involvement with Radio City came to an end, he transitioned into what he calls ‘time research’, which one could argue is indirectly linked. Time research is a discipline that he seems to have made up himself, but it basically involves acting as a broker between the City of Helsinki – who owns urban spaces that are sometimes left vacant – and people who need the space for various work and hobby activities.<sup>404</sup> His role is to redistribute these spaces among the latter and it has provided him with project-based employment. However, his primary livelihood has been derived from working as an information technology consultant.

As an IT consultant, I’ve been able to put food on the table but I barely make the rent [...], so I’ve spent the 2000s being a consultant, but with a parallel involvement in this [...]. It means having simultaneous jobs, that take me in all kinds of interesting directions.<sup>405</sup>

### 7.4.3 Accommodating Processes

As the interviewees began to near middle age during the fourth stage, they described going through various different accommodating processes. These processes reflect the negotiation between normative expectations of social ageing, the responsibilities that come with it and the continued participation in youth culture.<sup>406</sup> The interviewees’ descriptions of their accommodating processes fall under the three processes pinpointed by Davis – financial realities, family, and ‘growing up’.<sup>407</sup> It is worth noting that transitions between third and fourth stages, which involved starting a business for instance, is already one way of accommodating to the financial expectations of adulthood.

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<sup>402</sup> M1961\_Q3:20.

<sup>403</sup> M1961\_Q3:21.

<sup>404</sup> M1957\_Q1:29.

<sup>405</sup> M1957\_Q1:48.

<sup>406</sup> Bennett & Hodkinson 2012, 4.

<sup>407</sup> Davis 2012,

It should be also noted that it was in relation to this transition that many of the interviewees discussed making accommodations.

For George and Pete, the central accommodating process of the fourth stage was, for each of them, becoming a parent. The birth of a first child was seen as a reason to restrict usage of time for other things, and it was seen to bring new financial responsibilities. George emphasised that the time the child required was the main reason why his active participation in youth culture practices came to an end. ‘I had to choose, when venues are open until four [...]. You cannot even imagine what it’s like having a child in that situation. When there is the day job on top of that.’<sup>408</sup>

For Pete, it was more that after his first child was born, he had to reconsider the uncertainty of a live event producer’s career – ‘then you had to think, “I’m going to still need work in six month’s time”’.<sup>409</sup> He sees that while the concern for his future did not steer him completely out of live-event production, it changed his mode of operation towards safer artistic choices to ensure his salary.

Many times you had to book some acts that are secure [to bring in audience], so that at least some revenue comes in [...]. So, basically since it was out of my own pay, I took fewer risks. Maybe a little bit more risk-taking would have been good though, to book all kinds of weird acts to play [...].<sup>410</sup>

Ringo, meanwhile, clearly went through an accommodating process that reflects ‘growing up’. At the time of his transition to ‘time research’ and IT consulting, he underwent a maturation process that led to a separation from his involvement with the scene: ‘I began to look at what I’d been doing from the perspective of an outsider, to analyse my practices [...] and it actually put me off wanting to be a party organiser completely.’<sup>411</sup> His relationship to youth culture practices and radicalism had changed with age, and he began to question the ethics of ‘organising unplanned events’ and squatting – ‘these days I thoroughly think through the things I do.’<sup>412</sup> It led to a radical change in his *modus operandi*: ‘today, it is making contracts and negotiating rent. It’s nothing as gritty as climbing a window anymore.’<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> M1962\_Q4:57.

<sup>409</sup> M1962b\_Q5:35.

<sup>410</sup> M1962b\_Q5:22.

<sup>411</sup> M1957\_Q1:47.

<sup>412</sup> M1957\_Q1:55.

<sup>413</sup> M1957\_Q1:29.

John sees his transition to becoming an entrepreneur as the point at which he finally became an adult. Before this, he tried to apply for ‘jobs in marketing and advertising’.<sup>414</sup> These ended in failure, and he registered as unemployed for what he recalls as being ‘just a short’ while.<sup>415</sup> Illustrating the accommodating process, he recalls how he had to adjust his life wishes to his current life situation by becoming an entrepreneur. During his youth, he would never have imagined becoming an entrepreneur and fully responsible for his own livelihood: ‘I remember that in my school days, being an entrepreneur seemed such a terrible thing, and the last thing I would do. It seemed weird to think that you would need to [...] be the one taking care of your own salary.’<sup>416</sup> However, as his responsibilities and social expectations were such, and he was without steady employment and the required qualifications, he felt his only choice was to become an entrepreneur in a field he knew and was competent in: ‘so it was half by accident I just developed into one, and perhaps it was partly because no-one would hire me.’<sup>417</sup> It should be pointed out that he began to prefer a life based on his own agency at this point. ‘So I had to just come up with things to do or develop, and I also learned to want to do that.’<sup>418</sup> John summed up this process of accommodation quite clearly, as a illuminative kind of epiphany: ‘I was forty. So, I had become an adult, and from that point on I was a wholehearted entrepreneur.’<sup>419</sup>

Interestingly, Paul does not see any accommodating processes occurring in his life course. While this might be a shortcoming in the data gathering process, it could be simply that he does not feel that any accommodating was necessary. He has made his livelihood out of youth culture since his early twenties onward and his relationship to the financial side was always quite realistic from the start. One reason he gave for leaving the politically aligned booking agency during the 1970s, was that it was economically unfeasible as a venture: ‘I gave up thinking [name of the agency ] would ever be possible’.<sup>420</sup> Paul also recounted a similar moment while working as the financial manager of Lepakkoluola: ‘at some point I left in a fit of anger, because I thought they

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<sup>414</sup> M1961\_Q3:44.

<sup>415</sup> M1961\_Q3:45.

<sup>416</sup> M1961\_Q3:43.

<sup>417</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>418</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>419</sup> M1961\_Q3:17.

<sup>420</sup> *ibid.*

had such ossified ideas [...]. For five years Lepakko had been in quite a lot of financial trouble, but somehow it was always able to stay afloat.<sup>421</sup>

Paul does not explicit any accommodation processes in his life course. While this might be a shortcoming of the data gathering, it is also possible that he does not have experienced to have gone through any accommodation processes. He has made his livelihood out of youth culture from his early twenties onward and his relationship to the financial side of youth culture production has been quite realistic from the get-go. He describes his departure from the politically aligned booking agency during the 1970s to have been due to the economic unfeasibility of the agency: ‘I gave out there [name of the agency removed] that this thing would be possible’.<sup>422</sup> While working as the financial manager of Lepakkoluola he tells ‘at some point I left in a fit of anger, because I thought they had so ossified ideas... [...] For five years Lepakko had been in quite large economical trouble, but somehow it always was able to stay afloat.’<sup>423</sup> Of course, accommodation process are more than financial realities. However, the thesis suggests that not all who are involved with youth culture as they age, are required to go through accommodation processes. All peoples’ lives change as they age and mature, but it does not necessarily mean a noteworthy change in their relationship to youth culture participation – at least not on an experienced basis.

Of course, accommodating processes are more than simply financial realities. However, the present thesis suggests that not all who are involved with youth culture as they age, are required to go through such processes. All peoples’ lives change as they age and mature, but it does not necessarily mean they have to change their relationship to youth culture participation – or at least they do not experience their relationships to have changed.

#### 7.4.4 Looking Back: The DIY Careerists’ Experiences of their Life Course and Motivation for Agency

The fourth stage is seen to represent the interviewees present life situation. Following Alessandro Portelli’s (1981) thesis that the subjective experience of the informants is as much a historical fact as the ‘factual’ information derived from them,<sup>424</sup> this section

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<sup>421</sup> M1950\_Q2:25.

<sup>422</sup> M1950\_Q2:17.

<sup>423</sup> M1950\_Q2:25.

<sup>424</sup> Portelli 2005, 56.

focuses on the interviewees' own experience of their life course development. These aspects are (i) what they saw as turning points; (ii) reflections on the sporadic nature of a DIY career, (iii) reflections on societal approval, and (iv) what they saw as the driving motives behind their life-course agency.

*(i) Experienced Turning Points and a Life Course Built on top of Youth Culture Practices*

Bennett frames DIY careers as those career paths built on top of skills and competencies that individuals have learned through participating in youth culture.<sup>425</sup> The five participants in this study discussed only rudimentarily the skills they acquired in youth culture (even on enquiry), but they did describe their life courses as having been built on top of earlier participation in the Helsinki scene. In most cases, the turning points of their life courses were associated with their early involvement with youth culture – especially in the second stage.<sup>426</sup> In the following quote, John sums up what he perceives as the essential turning points in his life which led him to his current role as a sauna entrepreneur. The transition to entrepreneurship he sees as a straight-forward continuation of his earlier life.

John: [...] In 1981, I joined [name of the band]; and in 1985, I got a job in Radio City; then in 1988 I was chosen as the chair of ELMU. And then in 1992 I was elected to the city council. So there have been maybe four turning points.

Interviewer: Do you see those as more important than, for example, was it the end of the 1990s or early 2000s, when you became a full-time entrepreneur?

John: Yes I do, because that was just a natural continuation [...]. The only difference was that the corporate model changed from being a freelancer to being a company.<sup>427</sup>

Pete perceives the most important turning point in his life to be when he started at Lepakkoluola and immersed himself in youth culture practices. When asked, he replied unequivocally, 'Lepakko, because it made all the other creative stuff possible later, things that later became real professions.'<sup>428</sup> Pete sees the other turning points in his life to have been steps forward: 'one thing led to another and [...]. You just can't help it [...].'<sup>429</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> Bennett 2018a, 134.

<sup>426</sup> M1962\_Q4:34.

<sup>427</sup> M1961\_Q3:94.

<sup>428</sup> M1961\_Q1:26.

<sup>429</sup> M1962b\_Q5:5.

Ringo's answer to the question of whether his current career is constructed on top of his youth culture practices and agency was also straightforward – '[y]es it is.' He emphasised that participating in youth culture practices made his transition into a time researcher easier. 'It was an easy transition from being a party organiser to becoming a time researcher. If being a party organiser was this stint I did for 15–20 years, then I was taking it to a deeper level [...], then again it was maybe also easy for me to take a safe job in IT.'<sup>430</sup> He summarises his other career trajectory to be derived from youth culture practices, as 'it's what I know how to do'.<sup>431</sup> Paul found, too, that all his work has been associated with youth culture in one way or another, as that is what he's already familiar with. 'All of my jobs have, in some way, been involved with this subculture, this so-called youth culture. I've got 67 years on the clock now, so I'm not going to be employed by some start-up.'<sup>432</sup> As for George, his career as a radio host began in 1985 and he is still one today. He sees his current occupation to be part of a natural continuum which stretches back to his previous youth culture practices – 'it became a kind of a profession [...]. I just know how to do this thing.'<sup>433</sup>

*(ii) The Uncertain, Sporadic Life Course of a DIY Careerist*

According to Tarassi, in the Milanese music scene, professionals have to juggle several occupations to make ends meet and are often left without monetary compensation for what they do. They consider doing a job they love – and the new artistic experiences it brings with it – are sufficient enough compensation.<sup>434</sup> Except for George whose career in radio and other media has spanned the last thirty years, the working lives of the five interviewees have followed a pattern of sporadic project-based work. Their career trajectories are a series of temporary and parallel job positions in the creation of music, radio broadcasting, live-event production and facilitation, and the individual career trajectories begun during the third stage, based on other activities. In the data collection, the interviewees were not asked about their livelihood, but they themselves mentioned finding some of their occupations and practices economically precarious.

John recounted having worked on a series of four-month contracts at Radio City for a total of ten years. He says that period in his life taught him how to cope with the

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<sup>430</sup> M1957\_Q1:48.

<sup>431</sup> M1957\_Q1:30.

<sup>432</sup> M1950\_Q2:29.

<sup>433</sup> M1962\_Q4:34.

<sup>434</sup> Tarassi 2018, 216–217

uncertainty inherent in the life of a culture producer, which in turn helped him have the guts to become a sauna entrepreneur: '[s]o, ever since the early eighties, I've been learning to live with the reality that is today – long-term contracts don't really exist anymore.'<sup>435</sup> Speaking about his occupation as a live-event producer, Pete also admitted that even though he was able to get paid big lump sums, his salary was still uncertain and bound to the individual success or failure of every single music event. 'They were never really anything you could call a monthly salary, I was responsible for the profits, and if it didn't work out, then I didn't get anything. But if it went well, I did well too.'<sup>436</sup> Reflecting on the sporadic nature of his career, Pete also recalled having been involved in a variety of professions related to producing live music over the course of his lifetime. 'I've done everything but own a record label – I haven't done that one yet. But anything else to do with music and the music business, even if it's only loosely related, I've done it... and these things can be at the same time, overlapping, or joined together.'<sup>437</sup>

Ringo confessed that in his life there had been spells when he hadn't earned anything 'some years when [...] I haven't had any income and the tax office sends me a letter saying that, according to our evaluation, your income has been zero.'<sup>438</sup> Paul also said that 'at times my income was zero [...].' He then went on to describe how his livelihood has been inextricably bound to the businesses he has been involved with – especially Radio City, and the media enterprise he founded after that which then went bankrupt after just a few years.<sup>439</sup>

### *(iii) Socially Accepted Dissidents*

The music the interviewees were listening to, creating, and producing in their early life course, was seen as deviant and it created social borders between the interviewees and others – both in their own age-group, and especially older generations.<sup>440</sup> In addition, some of the interviewees either engaged in, or gave support to, illegitimate practices such as squatting and certain kinds of borderline political activism. Consequently, when they were employed in formal positions by the City of Helsinki they were met with disapproval at times. The data analysis also showed that the interviewees felt a similar level of

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<sup>435</sup> M1961\_Q3:70.

<sup>436</sup> M1962b\_Q5:21.

<sup>437</sup> M1962b\_Q5:5.

<sup>438</sup> M1957\_Q1:79.

<sup>439</sup> M1950\_Q2:30.

<sup>440</sup> Poikolainen 2015, 214–215.

disapproval sporadically throughout their lives, but this has also been countered with a level of support elsewhere that they felt has increased with time.

When Pete became a professional live-event producer, he felt his background in youth culture was a nuisance: subcultural alignment was now a negative label – he felt like people saw him as a deviant person who was not fit for the job. He remembers been perceived as a ‘wing-nut’, or ‘tufty’ by ‘the older guys who were organising music and events.’<sup>441</sup> He also felt his parents did not approve of his unusual and uncertain career choice: ‘In the traditional scheme of things, mum and dad would have wanted their son to find himself a proper job [...] and [...] of course they were worried about whether he is going to get by and what he is gonna become...’<sup>442</sup>

John recalls that during the latter parts of his life, his career choices have been challenged by an old school mate who, when he asked ‘haven’t you got a real job yet?’<sup>443</sup> was implying that he might be too old for his work stemming from youth culture. Similarly, George says that his life decisions have not been accepted by everyone, even if people in his immediate social surroundings approve:

Well, not everything that you do will be accepted by everyone anyway. For me it’s enough that my friends accept what I do. You don’t have to always agree on everything, but they let me live. And it’s okay, it’s an important thing.<sup>444</sup>

George’s experience, however, was that the general public have sometimes actually been quite forgiving of his life decisions. Paul’s joking story about his father’s reaction to the foundation of Radio City illustrates the grudging approval from society that the interviewees feel they eventually got.

My father was astonished when he first came to Lepakko. At that time there was no Radio City or anything; ‘what the hell have you been doing here!’ But when Radio City was there, his tone changed. ‘Goddamn it, guys! You stole a house and now you have a radio station!’ That was my dad’s comment.<sup>445</sup>

However, in his follow-up answer lies the key to really understanding the interviewees’ experience of disapproval. As time progressed and urban culture changed in Helsinki,

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<sup>441</sup> M1962b\_Q5:11.

<sup>442</sup> M1962b\_Q5:12.

<sup>443</sup> M1961\_Q3:92.

<sup>444</sup> M1962\_Q4:53.

<sup>445</sup> M1950\_Q2:36.

opinions have softened. ‘Let’s just say that as time has progressed, the more people accept it.’<sup>446</sup>

Ringo also remembered his youth culture past being frowned upon,<sup>447</sup> especially when he was working for Helsinki Council. One of the Helsinki city servants who was responsible for decisions concerning Lepakkoluola sometimes expressed his scorn at the group maintaining the space. In his later life, they would occasionally meet in the street, as they both lived near each other, and Ringo would sometimes catch him ‘walk[ing] a few Dalmatians’. When they met, they’d usually ‘exchange a couple of words.’ Ringo says at this point, he would say ‘you boys were right’, implying that the squatters had been doing the right thing after all. Ringo thought that the ultimate success of Lepakkoluola must have set a positive example for the people at City Hall and had maybe changed the mentality there – at least temporarily. ‘I think it showed this group of old civil servants from the ’70s or ’60s that there was another way, and you could this too.’<sup>448</sup>

*(iv) The Driving Motivation Behind Life-Course Agency*

During the interviewees’ life courses, they have formed careers in the production and facilitation of youth culture. Becker has written about moral entrepreneurs who he sees as people driven by a moral desire to change the rules of society with often strong humanitarian overtones. When moral entrepreneurs are successful in their pursuit of a better world, not only is society changed but often the entrepreneur changes too. As Becker puts it, what started ‘as an amateur interest in a moral issue may become an almost full-time job’.<sup>449</sup> Piispa and Salasuo see agency in life course analysis to be guided by the individual’s desires and values.<sup>450</sup> When asked about their motivation for their agency, four of the interviewees expressed having experienced a driving desire to change society at some point in the second stage, and that this had remained at the core of all they had done since.

Paul remembered wanting to make society a more pleasurable one – so that people could participate more easily in youth and urban culture: ‘Well in some way, let’s say that [...] it was to change the way things were then, to make society a bit more swinging

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<sup>446</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>447</sup> M1957\_Q1:65

<sup>448</sup> M1957\_Q4:53.

<sup>449</sup> Becker 1963, 153.

<sup>450</sup> Piispa & Salasuo 2014, 25.

[...], those were the relevant things at the time [...].<sup>451</sup> Similarly, Ringo remembered having a longstanding wish to help music, arts, and urban culture flourish.

It has often been visible in what I do, that I'm trying to come up with ideas. And in the long run, if you think about it – we are now making this more fun through music and art and culture, by allowing more possibilities for urban culture.<sup>452</sup>

He went on also to explain that he is continuing to do this in his capacity as a time researcher:

so that's what I do, get these vacant properties into use. It's insane having them stand empty simply because then they're easier to sell, and then at the same time there are people who don't have the resources to pay 50 € per square metre for rent [...] The city must be full of these [properties] so there's still that buzz.<sup>453</sup>

George, meanwhile, said that it was precisely the hostile attitudes towards youth culture he felt in 1970s Finland that made him want to engage in youth culture – that was the driving motivation for him.

[F]or me, the need to perform was this huge liberating part of what I wanted to do – even though I was afraid of it. In a way it was like I was being told 'you are not going there' – there was this negative atmosphere – 'you are not going to fool around up there' [...], but I just carried on.<sup>454</sup>

His quote ends with his solution to 'just carry on'. When asked about the driving motivation for his agency, he said that it was to share the fun he had experienced as part of a youth culture in a society which he felt was restricting that – in his words, to 'have fun, and fight the dullness'.<sup>455</sup>

John felt that his driving motivation for agency had largely remained the same as it was at the second stage – 'it's probably been the same as it is now'<sup>456</sup> In the following quote, he explains how entrepreneurialism in the fourth stage of his DIY career has been guided by his ideals from scene participation: 'My work has not been some kind of profit-driven capitalism, but a weird mix of some kind of social and private entrepreneurialism.

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<sup>451</sup> M1950\_Q2:31.

<sup>452</sup> M1957\_Q1:35.

<sup>453</sup> M1957\_Q1:29.

<sup>454</sup> M1962\_Q4:29.

<sup>455</sup> M1962\_Q4:56.

<sup>456</sup> M1961\_Q3:73.

My departure point has been that if the community benefits, then the individual benefits.<sup>457</sup>

The social change discourse in the above quotes might arouse a healthy dose of suspicion. Social change as the driving motivation in a person's life course is of course an attractive idea in contemporary society. Finland in the 1970s and early 1980s, when our interviewees were entering the second stage – was a time of cultural turbulence, much of which was initiated by the younger generation. Many demanded social responsibility and participated in progressive efforts.<sup>458</sup> It is possible that the interviewees' expressions of these motives in their later life course simply reflects this overall discourse concerning social change. Yet, in light of oral history methodology, the essential is not so much whether the interviewees' experiences are 'true'. According to Hänninen, the individual creates their inner narrative through reference groups they participate in. All reference groups have their own moral order and model stories that define the valued things in the group.<sup>459</sup> Therefore, it is actually possible that the social change discourse espoused by our five protagonists derives from the sociocultural material they adopted from participating in a scene (and wider society) which held social change in high esteem.

#### 7.4.5 Conclusion of the Fourth Stage

The interviewees' fourth stage began at varying points in their life courses, but all roughly around the turn of the millennium. By this time, society had changed quite a lot since the early 1980s. During the fourth stage, they continued their lives from the position of having been involved with youth culture for practically their entire adult lives, but their first fully-fledged employment positions as live-event producers or staff at Radio City were either already over, or coming to an end soon. The interviewees faced the challenge of creating a source of livelihood without a formal education or qualifications based on their skills and competencies from participating in youth culture practices.

The interviewees exercised their agency as they began working in new positions and enterprises, based on the various skills and expertise they had accumulated during their life courses. However, not all of the interviewees remained in these positions for the

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<sup>457</sup> M1961\_Q3:42.

<sup>458</sup> Sarantola-Weiss 2008, 199–203. Such issues were defending the working class, women's rights, human rights, the Polish Solidarity movement *Solidarność*, opposition to the EEC, and the plight of the Third World. Maybe the most important, however, was the relatively new 'green' environmental consciousness, which encompassed the anti-nuclear movement. Arts and media spread these discussions, and new wave musicians sang about the latter.

<sup>459</sup> Hänninen 2000, 51–52.

rest of their lives. Two of the interviewees met with economic hardship in their entrepreneurial careers which perhaps caused them to change their overall direction, and they have continued to work in sporadic employment relationships related to youth culture. One of the interviewees started a business only slightly related to his involvement with youth culture and has continued that trajectory in parallel to his career as an IT consult.

The positions that the interviewees currently hold in life reflect varying degrees of accommodating to the normative social expectations and responsibilities of men at their age. In addition to facing financial realities, the interviewees reported that having children affected whether or not they continued engaging in youth culture practices. Two interviewees also described a process of maturation that they associated with moving to the fourth stage. Nevertheless, the present thesis suggests that not all DIY careerists need to accommodate for change. Armed with the right kind of capacities, social relationships and dispositions already from the early stages of a DIY career, there are ways to continue working with youth culture later in life.

In 7.4.4, the interviewees' own experience of their life course development revealed that they saw their current position in life as a straightforward continuum of their earlier participation in youth culture. They mentioned how throughout the course of their lives, their practices have been financially precarious and comparatively sporadic. They also felt a degree of general disapproval from society for what they have been doing, but this has increasingly turned into approval later in their life course. In terms of assessing what drove their agency in choosing their particular life courses, the interviewees all cited a desire to change society – particularly in the early 1980s, when they were going through the second stage of their life courses, and youth culture participation was quite restricted.

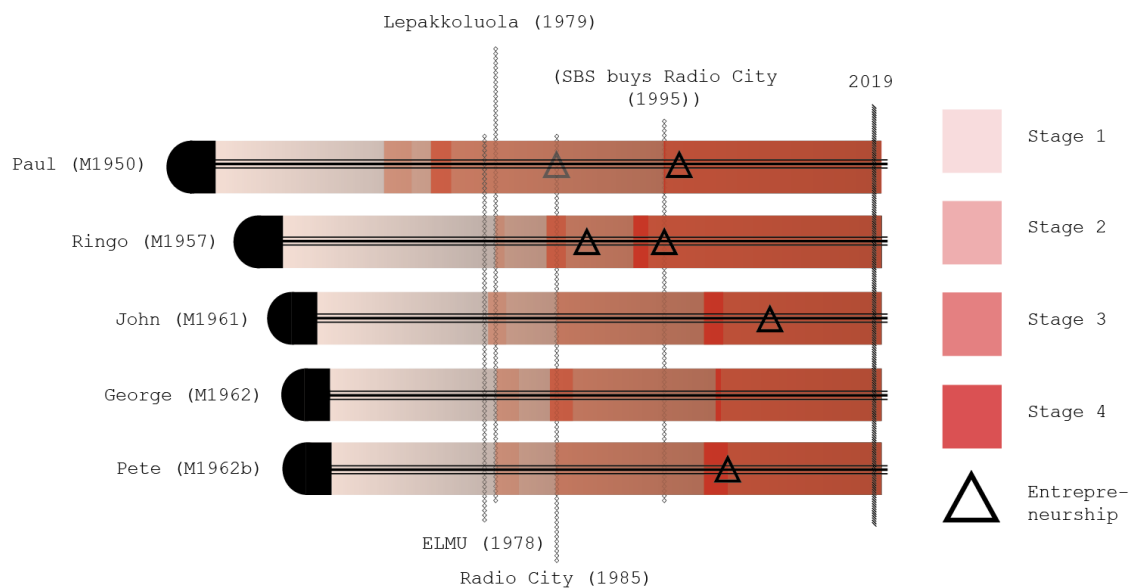
## 8 Conclusion and Discussion

In the conclusion and discussion, the study's main results are summarised and described: in the first part (8.1), the four stages of our five DIY careers are summed up and the essential turning points in the formation of DIY careers brought up; in the second (8.2), the five aspects of a life course analysis framework and the concept of subcultural capital are reiterated, and their influences on a DIY career are summarised; and in the third part (8.3), the future implications for youth culture research and the societal implications of this study are discussed. In the last subchapter (8.4), the limitations of this thesis are considered, and new research questions posed by the results are presented.

### 8.1 Four Stages in the formation of Five DIY Careers

The present study is based on seven thematic life course interviews conducted with five youth culture practitioners from Lepakkoluola and the Helsinki scene of the early 1980s. The interviewees were chosen for the DIY careers they have followed. The central research question of the thesis asks how such careers are formed, and what kind of life-course developments DIY careerists go through. A qualitative analysis of the interview data revealed there are four sequential stages to a career, in which the interviewees (i) get acquainted with youth culture; (ii) begin to create, produce and facilitate in that youth culture; (iii) find sufficiently well-paid employment in its various manifestations; and (iv) face the challenge of maintaining their particular life courses on the basis of the previous three stages.

Figure 2. The Four Stages of Lepakkoluola's Youth Culture Practitioners' DIY career, Life Courses and Historical Time and Place (see Appendix 2 for a larger picture)



The four stages of a DIY career are (i) first contact, (ii) immersion, (iii) realisation, and (iv) maintenance. During first contact, the participants went through certain pre-conditional steps necessary for the DIY career trajectory to begin. The essential turning point in this stage was to become acquainted with popular music and youth culture in some rudimentary form and taking the first steps in the creating or producing youth culture, which guided the interviewees agency towards youth culture practice. Key events that interviewees recalled from this stage, were having participated in a variety of seminal leisure activities at school and with their peers. Completing school was also important, as this allowed for more time to participate in youth culture. At this point the interviewees faced a new age-bound life phase where they were expected to find employment and educate themselves.

Immersion was the crucial second stage, it was also the most commonly used stage category in the analysis (with 64 codes altogether). In other words, it proved to be the stage most discussed in the interviews. During this stage, the interviewees began to carve out life courses for themselves that diverged from the cultural script of wider Finnish society. Two of the interviewees went on to higher education, while others recalled working in odd-jobs to make ends meet, but this was happening in parallel with an intensifying of the interviewees' youth culture practices. The essential turning point in the second stage for the DIY career was when the interviewees began to participate in

Lepakkoluola and the surrounding scene. This deepened their immersion in all the other youth culture practices going on there and brought them into contact with many other nascent practitioners whom gave social support and encouragement, and consequently strengthened their youth cultural agency. The expansion of practices increased the interviewees capability to produce youth culture later in their life course.

At this stage, the three musicians in this study were involved with bands that enjoyed a few years brief popularity. This immersion in the creation of music also meant the musicians learnt about the other aspects of music, such as its production and facilitation. The two music facilitators in this study were employed at this stage in temporary and part-time positions involved in the production of youth culture. All of the interviewees also recalled having gained at least some income from these activities. The interviewees expressed as their driving motivation for getting involved with youth culture that they saw it as a way to change society – particularly in terms of the restrictions it placed on youth culture participation. In other words, this zest for the agency that was shaping their life courses came from a desire to engage in youth culture practices that they hoped would change society or, at least make conditions more favourable for such youth culture practices to be even more possible.

The third stage saw the interviewees realise their DIY careers in the form of more fully-fledged positions of employment within youth culture. During this stage, the five interviewees had one of either two occupational positions: they were producing live events, or working at Radio City. Employment in event production was a straightforward continuation of the previous stage's trajectory, but for those two who worked at Radio City as radio hosts the transition was relatively abrupt (see Figure 1 above). That being said, all of the four Radio City employees did also carry on, to a lesser degree, with event production as a parallel trajectory. Their careers in radio came to an end in the mid-1990s when a change in the station's operation models took place. The live event producers' careers also ended during the 1990s. However, the live event production trajectory, or derivatives from it such as deejaying, has continued sporadically throughout the interviewees' life courses. In addition, during the third stage, the interviewees – who had come together in the Lepakkoluola scene and been employed in relatively similar and close positions thus far – began to carve individual life course trajectories from their other activities in occupational roles elsewhere. For some, these individual trajectories were an important part of their transition to the fourth stage, when the interviewees formed new professions after their paid position in youth culture came to an end.

The fourth stage's turning point was when the interviewees were faced with the challenge of finding employment and maintaining their life courses with no other formal qualifications. What they did have, however, was a 15–25 years of experience producing youth culture. One of the interviewees was able to continue his work as a radio host during the fourth stage, while the others started working on an entrepreneurial basis. Some have continued to do so, while others have since stopped and been working sporadically in positions also based on their earlier participation in youth culture. In light of this, the interviewees described how they adapted to new demands in their lives by accommodating for middle age as they transitioned from third to fourth stage. This is discussed more fully when we look at DIY careers via the key principles of life course analysis and subcultural capital.

## 8.2 DIY Careers via Life Course Analysis and Subcultural Capital

In a life course analysis framework, timing refers – among other things – to the relationship between life roles and events, and the social expectations of age. One third of the generation born in mid-1960s completed high school and 13 per cent university. In their early 20s they began to explore their position in the labour market, before (most of the cohort) finding stable employment at around the age of 30, at the latest.<sup>460</sup> The four stages of the DIY career also reflect the social expectations imposed on age up to a point – the interviewees began to explore their place in the world, entered higher education and more or less found employment according to the timing of the cultural script. However, at this point – during the second stage – the interviewees began to swim against the tide, finding alike youth culture oriented minds and playing in bands that blossomed for a few years, or facilitating music, squatting, and founding a cultural space. The result was that none of the five interviewees completed a higher degree education.

As the interviewees grew older, participation in youth culture practices and the 'unusual' and uncertain careers that stemmed from them, were piled up against the expectations imposed on them by the general culture. During their life courses, they experienced social disapproval sporadically as their occupations and practices did not correspond to what they were expected due to their age. The new responsibilities of having children forced the interviewees to renegotiate the way they handled time and money. With age, one of the interviewees recalled having begun to reconsider his

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<sup>460</sup> Martelin, Pitkänen & Koskinen 2000, 45, 50–52. Savioja et al. 2000, 62.

relationship to illegitimate practices, which led to a change in his operation models – and to ‘maturity’. The new responsibilities and social expectations that came with age, guided the interviewees away from participating in producing youth culture to form and find more secure and stable occupational positions and establish enterprises.

Accumulation of the life course emerged least from the interview data. However, the similarities of the interviewees’ life courses mean that during the early stages, they acquired the necessary capabilities for the transitions to the third stage and DIY career to be possible to occur. For example, in relation to stage two, the musicians expressed to have acquired enough skills to participate in more serious bands from their previous involvement with youth culture practices. Similarly, in the radio hosts’ transition to the third stage, they expressed their accumulated subcultural capital to have furthered their transition. In relation to the fourth stage, the interviewees experienced to have built their life courses on top of their participation in youth culture practices where they had acquired the necessary skills, knowledge and capability for their current occupations. The accumulation of their professionalism started in the practices they were involved with already during stage one. The interviewees also had several epiphanies that combined to direct their outlook on life towards forming a DIY career.

The interviewees experiences of subcultural capital’s influence on their life course highlights the context-bound nature of subcultural capital’s ‘value’. The interviewees used their subcultural capital in live event production. The embodied subcultural capital fostered the interviewees transition to Radio City’s hosts. For the channel, the interviewees represented certain subcultural groups in the station’s programme. Also, knowledge of popular music, youth culture and the scene were experienced to contribute to their selection. However, the interviewees who partook in roles in the administration of the city of Helsinki, experienced subcultural capital as a hindrance and a source of negative labelling and disapproval. Eventually, the new youth cohort’s subcultural capital guided some of the interviewees away from straight-forward employment with youth culture.

In the early stages of the interviewees’ life courses, agency and linked lives are so interconnected that it is not possible to discuss one without the other. The interviewees engaged in youth culture practices with their peers and continued to immerse in them with the scene participants. Eventually, the interviewees became part of social networks where their agency strengthened enough to be ‘realised’ in the third stage transition. It was only in the last two stages when the interviewees agency and linked lives began to diverge

from each other. During the third stage, the interviewees' employment happened in relation to scene participants, but the decision to be employed in producing youth culture (and to abandon studies) were made individually. In the last stage, the interviewees engaged in agency individually when they forged their alternative career paths as entrepreneurs and cultural workers. As the root of their life course agency, the interviewees expressed a disposition – a desire – to change society they had developed during their participation in youth culture practices during the second stage. While this already reflects the influence of the historical time and place for the interviewees' life courses, the major impact has been the macro-level societal change that has taken place during the interviewees' life course.

The societal changes in the role of popular music, youth culture, and culture overall in Helsinki from the decades following the Second World War until today, has guided the interviewees' life course formation. During stage one, the contemporary popular music oriented the interviewees' participation in youth culture practices towards youth culture surrounding rock music.<sup>461</sup> The lively local music scene provided the musicians possibilities in the early 1980s. Especially the space of Lepakkoluola and the scene it attracted became an important pathway to musicianship as it facilitated music-making physically, united the relatively small amount of rock-oriented youth in the city and provided a basis for the social relationships to densify and offer encouragement for youth culture practices and agency. For the music facilitators, the newly founded background organisations of Lepakkoluola provided opportunities for employment in producing youth culture. In addition, the societal restrictions imposed on popular music were experienced to motivate participation in youth culture practices and agency to construct a life course involved with the creation of youth culture.

During the 1980s, popular music's breakthrough and the rising demand for music events made it possible for the interviewees to be employed in the production of youth culture as event producers. The founding of the youth-oriented radio station Radio City in 1985 offered also employment both in its background organisation and as programme hosts. The rise and spread of youth culture continued in the 1990s. During the decade, new forms of youth culture such as rave and hip hop gained ground in Helsinki and offered new possibilities for the interviewees, but also guided some of the interviewees away from the scene as they did not 'understand' and identify with the new youth culture

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<sup>461</sup> See Mitchell 1980, 41–44 on the youth's listening and playing preferences in Helsinki in the late 1970s.

and subcultures. During the past 20 years, youth culture – or urban culture – has become a part of everyday life in Helsinki. The interviewees of the study are today employed in positions where they facilitate the new kind of urban experience.

### 8.3 Implications for Youth Cultures Research and Societal Aspects of the Study

The research results of this study have several implications for the academic research of youth culture, DIY careers, and other leisure-based careers as well as several societal implications. The research by CCCS was criticised for concentrating only on teenagers and using the concept of ‘pure subcultural beings’ in their theories when such a thing does perhaps does not exist.<sup>462</sup> This thesis showed that DIY careerists engaged in several youth leisure activities already during their childhood and teenage years – indeed, they saw these activities introducing them to youth culture – and it was not until they were young adults in the second stage that they began truly engaging in youth culture practices. While contemporary research accredits this late or ‘overdue’ participation in youth culture to the ‘prolonged youth’ of the post-modern and post-industrial era,<sup>463</sup> it sees the youth researched by the CCCS to have lived in a different societal context, our DIY careerists were living their adolescence at roughly the same time (less than ten years after) – albeit in a different place – as the youngsters the CCCS was researching. The fact is that the participants in this study were ‘still’ directly participating in youth culture practices years after CCCS’ subculture formulation predicts they would have lost interest in them, rendering the theory implausible.

The results of this study, in fact, lend support to recent research saying that as youth culture participants age, they certainly continue their involvement with youth culture. However, their identity derived from it, and relationship with its practices, evolves as the participants renegotiate their participation with the expectations and responsibilities that come with age.<sup>464</sup> On the basis of Paul’s ‘realist’ stance towards the production of youth culture throughout his career,<sup>465</sup> however, this thesis suggests that ageing does not necessarily always mean accommodating one’s relationship to youth culture. Instead, the present thesis suggests that it is the preceding relationship to youth

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<sup>462</sup> Bennett 2015, 46–48.

<sup>463</sup> Bennett & Hodkinson 2012, 1–2.

<sup>464</sup> *ibid.*, 4. Bennett 2013, 35.

<sup>465</sup> See pages 80–81.

culture that determines how an individual will accommodate youth culture participation with the passage of time.

In later research on (social) subcultures, Shildrick and MacDonald have drawn attention to the potential of subculture participation to have an, enabling or constraining (or, ‘better’ or ‘worse’), influence on later biographical development. Their research participants were young people from the ‘street-corner society’ who had experienced social exclusion. During their youth, they became embedded in social networks with whom they formed ‘prolonged leisure careers’ in practices such as crime and drug use that lasted beyond their 20s. The careers came to an end only when the participants faced drastic and unforeseen events that acted as epiphanic wake-up calls, which triggered a turning point in their lives and turning points of their lives.<sup>466</sup>

The results of this study are worth comparing with Shildrick and MacDonald’s. In the present study, the interviewees also became embedded in their scene network and it guided the interviewees towards certain ‘leisure’ practices during their youth. However, these practices were, for the most part it seems, legitimate and proactive – surrounding the production of music. While the interviewees’ life courses faced epiphanies and turning points during their 20s, these events did not guide them *away* from further scene participation, however. In other words, the results of this study suggest that the scene fostered internalised dispositions towards agency in the crafting of their own life course. This corresponds to results regarding the straight edgers researched by Haenfler, who credited their current vocations in a wide range of fields to a certain disposition they had gained earlier from their involvement with youth culture.<sup>467</sup> This interpretation is confirmed by the results here, which traced the interviewees’ seminal and all-important zest for agency to their accounts of scene participation at the second stage. These accounts all contained a similarly idealistic discourse of ‘wanting to change society’

This zest for agency also suggests a different conclusion from that drawn by the CCCS research on subcultures. While none of the interviewees who enrolled in higher education graduated (and one even left education before finishing secondary school), none of them expressed the same disdain for formal education as the working-class boys

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<sup>466</sup> MacDonald & Shildrick 2007. The examples given by Shildrick and MacDonald are interventions from a probation officer and the suicide of a close friend.

<sup>467</sup> Haenfler 2018, 178. These professions ranged from social work to media and the music industry. See also Vesa Peipinen (2018) on how the squatters of Helsinki experienced their involvement with squatting during their earlier life course to have been shaped their lives up to a point where they described to have created what Peipinen calls ‘alternative lifestyles’ that continue the squatter’s values and ideals. (Peipinen 2018, 56)

researched by Willis.<sup>468</sup> Instead, the five participants here had a zest for agency to be involved in the production of youth culture. This life-choice reflects David Hesmondhalgh's (1999) observations about educational pathways in music industry. Because of the small number of educational positions available for learning about the music industry, most professionals gain their knowledge in their own leisure-time and 'on the job'.<sup>469</sup>

Here, the interviewees first 'music industry' jobs in Radio City and live-event production were gained through the skills, knowledge, and subcultural capital they had acquired earlier. Thornton discusses how it is an interplay between the scene, and niche and mainstream media that demarcates the 'value' of subcultural capital, and that niche media is often made by professionals who are also, or have been, scene participants.<sup>470</sup> It is safe to say that the early years of Radio City represents this kind of niche media. In light of this, it is worth also noting how the continuation, and especially evolution, of ageing youth culture participants discussed by Bennett and Hodkinson, can also be seen here in the interviewees' transition to employment positions where they were able to put their subcultural capital to use, and be part of defining its value in future.

The present study also highlights how precarious the formation and maintenance of DIY careers and other leisure-based careers can be. The interviewees actively worked towards participating in youth culture on a professional level, even though they were aware that the money was not always good and their futures uncertain. This might also explain why sometimes they also engaged in several (often parallel) work positions. These findings correspond to several recent studies that draw attention to the material precariousness, but high meaningfulness of professional work in contemporary music scenes.<sup>471</sup>

Considering the increasing amount of research on DIY careers and other 'self-made biographies' in this field, the present thesis suggests that the four stages can be used in other research settings as well. Stages one to three of the DIY career can be recognised in several other studies on career trajectories stemming from leisure practices. For example, Threadgold discusses the DIY career of the owner of 'The Bar' (located somewhere in Australia). He points out how, after the owner had gained the necessary

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<sup>468</sup> Willis 1977, 76

<sup>469</sup> Hesmondhalgh 1999, 42.

<sup>470</sup> Thornton 1995, 151–153.

<sup>471</sup> See for example Campbell 2018, Tarassi 2018, Threadgold 2018.

subcultural capital during his earlier years touring and selling youth culture merchandise (stages 1 and 2), he formed The Bar in 2012. After that, he made the bar viable by balancing the space's subcultural capital with the commercial need to also allow the 'wrong' kind of (mainstream) customers in.<sup>472</sup>

The thesis here contributes to the theoretical discussion surrounding youth cultures, youth culture practices, and resistance. The interviewees' career trajectories reveal how participating in youth culture has the potential to turn into careers in the production of youth and urban culture. McRobbie, followed by Snyder, have discussed how this 'entrepreneurial infrastructure' for alternative commercial activities has for a long time been neglected because of subculture research's previous focus on resistance.<sup>473</sup> This can be partially blamed on the semiotic methodology used by CCCS, that neglected how youth culture participants themselves saw the meaning of their style and practices.<sup>474</sup>

The interviewees of this study did not see themselves as having engaged in resistant practices so much, but in fulfilling their desire 'to make society a bit more swinging' as Paul put it. The zest for agency that maintained their DIY careers throughout their life courses came from this desire. In the 40 years since August 1979, when Lepakkoluola was squatted and our five protagonists became immersed in youth culture, attitudes in Finnish society towards such culture have changed dramatically, and John, Paul, George, Ringo, and Pete have been active agents in this transformation. They exemplify what Giddens calls 'self-monitoring actors', who reflexively adapt their behaviour and this, in turn, affects how youth culture is reproduced.<sup>475</sup>

The founding of ELMU in 1978 led to the birth of other live music organisations all over Finland, and some of them are still in operation.<sup>476</sup> Lepakkoluola facilitated youth and urban culture in Helsinki for two decades, and it offered possibilities for up and coming youth culture, often in the form of the latest subcultures. And it was not just music; the space also hosted the vegetarian restaurant Kasvis and groundbreaking stage

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<sup>472</sup> Threadgold 2015. Several other studies apply also: Rosa Reitsamer (2011) has researched the Viennese techno and drum 'n' bass DJ careers that are formed on top of a gradual accumulation of subcultural and social capital. (Peitsamer 2011, 32) Similarly, but in a different leisure setting, Marco Pedroni (2015) has written about fashion bloggers whose career development follows a logic of 'starting from an initial point, progressing through early and critical steps, and leading the author to occupy a precise space in the blogosphere.' (Pedroni 2015, 184–185) Rachel Kraus (2014) also cites how belly dancers entered a life-long career in belly dancing after leaving school, moving house, shifting jobs, and changing relationships so that it freed up more time in the dancer's life. (Kraus 2014, 574)

<sup>473</sup> McRobbie 1997, 192. Snyder 2011, 318.

<sup>474</sup> Muggleton 2000.

<sup>475</sup> Giddens 1984, 25–27.

<sup>476</sup> Haarala 2011, 58.

art.<sup>477</sup> It has been suggested that the positive example it set made the culture factory Kaapelitehdas possible,<sup>478</sup> and encouraged further squatting in Helsinki.<sup>479</sup> In this respect, the five life courses cited here also represent this broader societal change. Of course, cultural events have been organised ever since the dawn of human society, but even within the relatively small time period described by the life courses here, urban youth culture has developed its own communities and economic sectors in Helsinki. Urban culture has become a part of every city's toolkit in the global competition to differentiate, and it has begun to represent the vitality of cities.<sup>480</sup>

In this respect, the 'resistance' of youth culture practices (inherited from previous theory) should be reconsidered. When the interviewees here began to produce youth culture in the second stage, they actively participated in changing the restrictive nature of the society they grew up in. However, they did not see themselves so much as resisting society, but as actively changing it. Some of their more unfamiliar practices, such as squatting, were greeted as petty crime by local authorities.<sup>481</sup> Whether this was 'resistant' or not is another matter though. For many in the mainstream, petty crime is not seen as a political act. Indeed, the interviewees themselves understood such acts to be more *transgressive* than resistant – their zest for agency came from a desire to change society from what it is to what it can be, rather than simply resist it.

This interpretation of youth culture practices as transgressive is reinforced by the unprecedented occupational positions of some of the DIY careerists during the fourth stage. As the youth culture that sprang up from the affluence of the decades following World War II has become more common, the DIY careerists have embarked upon creating structures for communal cultural life, and on the side they have created careers in an economic sector that previously did not exist when they began their trajectories. A culturally-oriented sauna entrepreneur and a cultural work mentor are two good examples of this. However, the most evident example of this kind of transgression is Ringo.

While Ringo's definition of his work as a 'time researcher' might at first sound like a half-assed joke or a former physics student's longing for academic recognition, the title conceals more. To recap, his current position involves working in cooperation with

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<sup>477</sup> Lindors, Salo & Väänänen 1988, 97. Silde 2018, 41.

<sup>478</sup> Rantanen 2002, 352.

<sup>479</sup> Berglund & Peipinen 2017, 2–3.

<sup>480</sup> Mäenpää 2005, 20.

<sup>481</sup> Rantanen 2002, 356. Rantanen 2000, 82. It is noteworthy to highlight that some local authorities also defended the squatters and the formation of a culture space.

the City of Helsinki to redistribute vacant urban spaces for use in the cultural sector (of which he has some detailed knowledge) for a set period of time. To give an example, he has recently been involved in leasing a former office building owned by the City of Helsinki for the two years before it is due to be demolished.<sup>482</sup> What could happen in these two years? This might explain why he calls it ‘time research’, as there is a degree of truth in it. Before anything, the strange title is clearly a brave attempt to describe a profession that is difficult to compare to any other.

The idea of youth culture practices being transgressive does not exclude the fact that some are nevertheless resistant. In his discussion about youth culture practices, Bennett discusses how in Australian DIY music scenes, the youth culture practitioners exclude themselves from certain mainstream bars and clubs, for example, because of their sexual politics and attitudes related to alcohol consumption.<sup>483</sup> However, these practices do not aim at changing society, or at least Bennett’s formulation does not draw such a conclusion.

Haenfler sees resistance in the straight-edge scene happening on three levels: macro, meso and micro. Macro-level resistance refers to dismissing broad social norms considered harmful among scene participants, meso-level to differentiation from other youth, and micro-level to personal habits such as refraining from the use of intoxicants.<sup>484</sup> While refraining from alcohol as a ‘counter-practice’ might seem a back-to-front way of achieving social change, it does represent a transgressive youth culture practice, as the straight edgers have by their own behavioural change created a youth culture, and an accompanying social network, where intoxicants are absent.

Considering the wider implications of these DIY careers for society as a whole, it has not gone unnoticed that such scenes can be harnessed to make cities more pleasant for their inhabitants and foster the birth of music that eventually reaches the national level,<sup>485</sup> but also foster economic growth for example by attracting tourists.<sup>486</sup> The interviewees of this study have consciously been involved in practices that have created music scenes and other urban culture, and this participation has meant making sacrifices in terms of personal income and work security. Considering the impact cultural

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<sup>482</sup> STT 2018.

<sup>483</sup> Bennett 2015, 49–50.

<sup>484</sup> Haenfler 2004, 429–430.

<sup>485</sup> Finnegan 1989, 4.

<sup>486</sup> Bennett 2004, 228. See also for example Sound Diplomacy (2018), a company that aims ‘helping governments and businesses achieve their social, cultural and economic goals, using music as a tool.’

practitioners have on societies, supportive measures should be implemented to help DIY careerists' both in their practices and the sustainability of their life courses. The DIY careerists in this study were forced to forge their careers without this. While this is changing with the introduction of such institutional support as educational programs for 'culture producers',<sup>487</sup> social responses to the uncertainty of cultural practice are yet to be answered. One answer could be a basic income scheme aimed at the cultural sector, regularly brought up in the Finnish media,<sup>488</sup> that could alleviate difficulties between projects and help fledgling careers take off.

#### 8.4 Limitations and Further Topics of Inquiry

Of course, the study's methodological basis and research results should be critically evaluated. A critical flaw in the present study is that the data collected gives no information about the interviewees' experiences of the recession that happened in Finland during the 1990s, which must have had a significant impact on their life courses, and formation of their DIY careers. According to Jaakko Kiander (2001), the recession hit Finland in 1990, and in the following three years, the Finnish economy shrank, with economic growth remaining modest for the rest of the decade. Whereas unemployment had been at less than 100,000 before the recession, by 1993 this number had more than quadrupled to peak at 17.6 per cent in February 1994<sup>489</sup> before a slow recovery started.<sup>490</sup>

However, none of the interviewees brought up the recession as an influential factor in the formation of their DIY careers. While this would suggest that the recession did not represent a meaningful experience for the interviewees, no other straightforward conclusions can be drawn from the fact. As mentioned before (5.1), a narrative's inner logic puts a degree of pressure on the interviewee to construct a full story that is cohesive and causal,<sup>491</sup> and the recession perhaps did not fit easily into the narrative of a DIY career aligned in the 'success' narration of a 'self-made man'. On the other hand, the impact of the recession might for some represent an experience that is not easily reached through an interview due to its sensitivity.<sup>492</sup> It could also have been that at the start of the decade the interviewees were in relatively stable, or unstable but constant, employment positions

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<sup>487</sup> Iso-Aho & Vartainen 2015.

<sup>488</sup> See for example Pekkola 2018.

<sup>489</sup> Ceicdata.com 2019.

<sup>490</sup> Kiander 2001, 37, 79.

<sup>491</sup> Roos 1988, 146–147.

<sup>492</sup> Häkkinen & Salasuo 2015.

in Radio City and this might have lessened the experienced influence of the recession on their life courses. In *Miksei aina voi olla perjantai*, Paul does note, however, that the recession did affect Radio City financially, causing it to be sold off and bought up in the mid-1990s, after which point, he left.<sup>493</sup>

Piispa and Salasuo argue that the linked lives of family and kin are an important – if not *the* most important – influence on a life course, as they provide various forms of intangible capital (in addition to economic).<sup>494</sup> As with the recession, however, no questions were asked directly about the encouragement and influence of family, and this created another serious gap in the data. However, it is plausible to suggest that the theme might not have come up as much as in other contexts, as youth cultures are known to cause generational friction and conflict.<sup>495</sup> In the few instances when family was discussed, it was usually in relation to their parents' general concern for the interviewees' welfare. It could therefore be the case that parental influence was only minor, because the older generation did not 'get' the younger generation and their cultural practices. In terms of providing 'family capital', one could also argue that the interviewer neglected to ask the interviewees more directly about parenthood, and how this affected their DIY careers, especially in the fourth stage.

Perhaps it needs to be stated at this point, in answer to the above flaws in the data, that among social scientists exists a rather widely accepted consensus that the researcher's societal position in relation to the research topic guides the interpretation of data and ultimately the research result. This holds true also to oral history methodology in which researchers are expected to show self-reflexivity and be aware of their own subjectivity and ideology, which might affect underlying assumptions and the questions asked in data collection, and how it is then interpreted.<sup>496</sup> In light of this, the whole research result should be understood to have been constructed by a twenty-something whose social gender may elude categorisation but who definitely likes, and has become familiar with music and youth culture practices that stem from 'DIY scenes' in Lepakkoluola and elsewhere. The criticism could be made, therefore, that the reason why the second stage appeared the most fundamental in the formation of a DIY career, is that the researcher found more data categories in that stage. And the reason why there were more data

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<sup>493</sup> Värri 2018, 28–29.

<sup>494</sup> Piispa & Salasuo 2014, 25.

<sup>495</sup> Poikolainen 2015, 214–215.

<sup>496</sup> Abrams 2016, 56–57

categories, is because those were the topics the interviewees and researcher somehow dwelt on more, because the researcher was currently going through the same age, and stage too.

In further research these shortcomings in the data collection should be mended but exploring how to do that here is beyond the scope of the present thesis. It is hoped that drawing attention to these shortcomings is enough for now, and for scientific reliability. Talking of which, a study based on only seven interviews and five interviewees is not really sufficient to cover in any comprehensive way the different life courses of the DIY careerists that eventually sprang from the Lepakkoluola scene – of which there were surely more than five. The fact that the interviewees were selected from known people with DIY careers might mean that the informants' experiences do not represent the experience of the scene's average youth culture practitioner (or participant). In addition, the informants have already been asked to recall their story as participants in the Lepakkoluola scene many times before, so it is possible that their life-story narratives might be honed to a certain audience. They are also semi-public figures whose life course stories, as noted, reflect the 'successful' DIY careerist. This might therefore over-emphasise the importance of youth culture participation in the formation of their life courses.

Even the claim that the four stages of the DIY career reflect the life courses of the interviewees can also be criticised. Researching life course development through oral history methodology is problematic. In life-course interviews, interviewees are known to construct internally logical, consistent and coherent stories that explain their current whereabouts.<sup>497</sup> Using data that includes this bias, might mean that the four stages reflect more the interviewees' manner of speaking about the subject than their actual life-course development. For example, the interviewees' stage four notion of a life course built on top of their own agency with regard to youth cultures, is debatable. It might be that this notion reflects more the inner story they tell that their lives have been a logical path to their current life situation.<sup>498</sup>

Despite these shortcomings, the study raises various questions for future research. The thesis suggests that youth culture practices are transgressive as well as resistant. While the claim itself requires further research, Haenfler's division of resistance into

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<sup>497</sup> Roos 1988, 146–147.

<sup>498</sup> Hänninen 2000, 176.

micro, meso and macro levels<sup>499</sup> could be used to understand better the kind of settings and ways in which transgressive practices take place. The four stages of the DIY career could itself be the focus of further research for a more refined picture of the stages and their content. A broader research setting could investigate whether DIY careers are divided into two different types of career trajectories. In the first, the DIY career is built on top of earlier practices, and in the second two separate career trajectories form. In the second (represented by Ringo), the DIY careerist has formed a separate source of income but continues participating in youth culture practices, forming another career trajectory.

In this study, participation in youth culture was reported to happen in relation to other scene participants who fostered both the practitioner's immersion in youth cultural practices and their agency as their life courses crafters. Similar research results are to be found in other studies as well.<sup>500</sup> A more detailed look into the social interactions that take place in the scenes would possibly provide information on how the scenes encourage and feed individual's youth cultural practices and dispositions towards agency that ultimately influence their life course development. In other words, whether scenes encourage and teach the participants constructive dispositions – such as self-efficacy and capability – towards crafting their own life courses.

It could also be asked what involvement with Radio City meant for the formation of DIY careers. The young artists researched by Piispa and Salasuo acknowledged the crucial role obtaining a major commission a few years after their graduation meant for their life courses. They found that the classmates who were left without one, had not been able to form a career in the arts.<sup>501</sup> Similarly, without a paid position in the production of youth culture, these DIY careers may never have been realised. This begs the question as to whether the trajectories based on youth culture practices would otherwise have continued. From this perspective, the influence of historical time and place on the formation, shape, and meaning of DIY careers could be further investigated by researching DIY careers emerging from different settings where there is less 'cultural infrastructure for gainful employment in creative fields' – if any at all.<sup>502</sup> For example, research could be conducted with those in the interviewees' cohort who engaged in the

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<sup>499</sup> Haenfler 2004.

<sup>500</sup> Haenfler 2018, 178. Peipinen 2018.

<sup>501</sup> Piispa & Salasuo 2014, 59.

<sup>502</sup> McRobbie 2002, 527.

dozens of live music organisations formed in the immediate wake of ELMU in rural parts of Finland.<sup>503</sup>

Following Thornton's observation about niche media professionals as former scene participants<sup>504</sup>, and the crucial role of niche media for the life courses in this study, the question between scene participation and media professionalism is opened up, including the accumulation of relevant capitals (such as social, cultural, subcultural and human) in youth culture practices. Furthermore, following Threadgold's notion about subcultural capital's convergence into cultural capital<sup>505</sup>, and the long time it has taken for Lepakkoluola, and its practitioners, to become approved, and celebrated, members of the society (with high levels of *cultural* capital), the historical dynamics of subcultural capital require further examination.

From this historical perspective, the wider implications of DIY careers for society should also be examined among contemporary youth culture participants. Bennett sees that young people are forging DIY careers in growing numbers because of the labour market challenges they are facing in a time of growing unemployment and uncertainty.<sup>506</sup> While similar self-made careers have existed throughout the course of history, the DIY careers outlined here are among the first that drew their inspiration from the consumer-based youth culture that has flourished since the decades following World War II. The interviewees in this study were not asked whether they had role models who inspired them to seek a self-made career in a self-learned profession, and nor did they mention any. Neither did they recount having planned the formation of their DIY careers in any way. Following Hobsbawm (1999), and the idea of youth culture being a *Petri dish* for a cultural revolution,<sup>507</sup> one might rightly ask what kind of example the DIY careerists of Lepakkoluola (and others) have set for the contemporary youth culture participants, and whether they engage in DIY careers because of external forces, or out of a burning passion for popular culture.

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<sup>503</sup> Haarala 2011, 58.

<sup>504</sup> Thornton 1995, 151–153.

<sup>505</sup> Threadgold 2015.

<sup>506</sup> Bennett 2018a, 135.

<sup>507</sup> Hobsbawm 1999, 422. See also Edmunds & Turner 2002 on how youth cultures may facilitate the 'actualisation' of a generation in a mannheimian sense.

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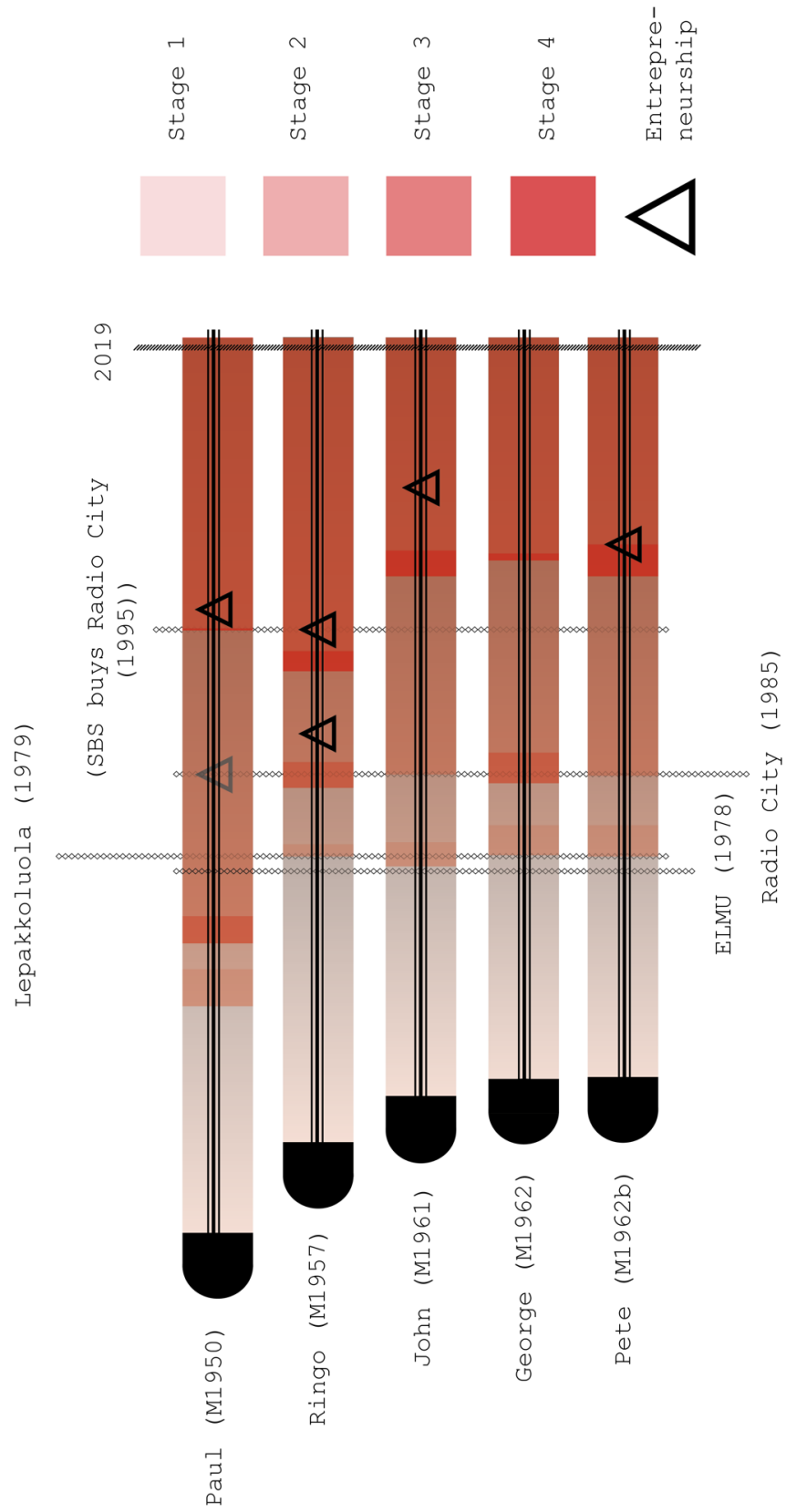
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## 10 Appendices

### 10.1 Appendix I. The Transition Categories in Relation to the Four Stages in Atlas/Ti Code Co-Occurrence Table (in Finnish)

	Stage 1 Count	Stage 2 Count	Stage 3 Count	Stage 4 Count
Transitio: Aikatutkimus	0	0	0	3
Transitio: Aikuistuminen	0	0	0	3
Transitio: Armeija	1	0	0	0
Transitio: Elävästä musiikista DJ:ksi	0	0	1	0
Transitio: Elmun puheenjohtaja	0	0	1	0
Transitio: Erkaantumiskokemus	0	0	1	4
Transitio: Kaupunginvaltuusto	0	0	4	1
Transitio: Kiinteistölautakunta	0	0	2	0
Transitio: Lukion loppuminen	3	3	0	0
Transitio: Muodollisen koulutuksen lopettaminen	0	2	1	1
Transitio: Musiikin tekemisen "vakavoituminen"	2	10	0	0
Transitio: Musiikin tekemisen aloittaminen	6	3	1	1
Transitio: Musiikin tuottamisen aloittaminen	5	0	0	0
Transitio: Musiikkiin tutustuminen	3	1	0	0
Transitio: Musiikkitoiminnan "vakavoituiminen"	1	3	0	0
Transitio: Nuori aikuisuus	4	5	0	1
Transitio: Nuorisokulttuurin pariin	3	2	0	1
Transitio: Nuorisokulttuurin tutustuminen	5	2	1	1
Transitio: Nuorisokulttuurisen uran täysipäivästyminen	2	3	5	2
Transitio: Opiskelu	0	2	1	0
Transitio: Opiskelujen lopettaminen	0	2	2	1
Transitio: Peruskoulun aloittaminen	1	0	0	0
Transitio: Post-Lepakkoluola	0	0	0	1
Transitio: Post-Radio City	0	0	3	5
Transitio: Radio City	1	7	7	2
Transitio: Radio Helsinki	0	0	0	1
Transitio: Saunayrittäjä	0	0	0	1
Transitio: Tanssimusiikin pariin	0	0	1	0
Transitio: Tapahtumatuotanto-työpaikan vaihto	0	0	1	0
Transitio: Toimijuuden vakiintuminen	0	1	1	2
Transitio: Työttömyys	0	0	1	1
Transitio: Vanhemmuus	0	0	0	2
Transitio: Yhdessä asuminen	0	0	0	1
Transitio: Yritystoiminta	1	1	2	7

10.2 Appendix II. A Timeline of the Four Stages of A DIY Career



### 10.3 Appendix III. The Interview Questions (in Finnish)

Nimi:

Syntymävuosi:

Syntymä- ja kasvupaikka:

Vanhempien ammatit (jos haluaa kertoa):

Mihin yhteiskuntaluokkaan koet kuuluvasi:

Nuorisokulttuuri(t), johon koki kuuluvansa:

Pääasialliset nuorisokulttuurisen toiminnan muodot:

#### 1. Nuorisokulttuurinen elämäkerta.

-Miten miellät "nuorisokulttuurin"? [ajatus kysymyksessä on, että varmistan meidän puhuvan samasta asiasta]

-Kerro elämäkertasi nuorisokulttuurin näkökulmasta. [vapaamuotoinen vastaus, jotta tutkijan vaikutus aineiston tuottamessa minimoitaisiin]

#### 2. Nuorisokulttuurinen toimijuus

-Milloin ja miten kiinnostoitut nuorisokulttuurista ensimmäisen kerran?

-Milloin ja miten aloit toimimaan nuorisokulttuurin parissa?

-Millaiseen "aikaansaavan" tai uutta tuottavaan toimintaan olet osallistunut nuorisokulttuurin tai populaarikulttuurin tuottamisen parissa?

-Mitkä olivat pääasialliset motiivisi osallistua nuorisokulttuuriseen toimintaan?

-Saitko toiminnasta palkkaa tai muita etuja?

-Millaisia rahattomia etuja sait toiminnasta?

-Miten koet nuorisokulttuurisen toimijuuden vaikuttaneen myöhempään elämääsi?

-Miten koet nuorisokulttuurisen toimijuteen vaikuttaneen elämäsi käännekohtissa?

-Jatkuuko nuoruudessasi alkanut nuorisokulttuurinen toiminta kohdallasi?

#### 3. Toimijuuden vaikutukset

-Millaisia taitoja ja tietoja olet oppinut nuorisokulttuurisessa toiminnassa?

-Oletko hyödyntänyt näitä taitoja ja tietoja myöhemmin, miten?

-Millainen oli nuorisokulttuurisen toimijuuden vaikutus itsetuntoosi?

-Millaisia sosiaalisia suhteita Lepakkoluolassa syntyi?

-Oletko saanut yhteistyötahoja Lepakkoluolassa syntyneiden sosiaalisten suhteiden pohjalta?

-Oletko saanut palkkatyötä Lepakkoluolassa syntyneiden sosiaalisten suhteiden pohjalta?

-Miten Lepakkoluolan aikoihin syntyneet sosiaaliset suhteet näkyvät elämässäsi tänään?

#### 4. Lepakkoluola

-Milloin ja miten tulit Lepakkoluolaan ensimmäisen kerran?

-Milloin ja miten aloit toimimaan Lepakkoluolassa?

-Millainen oli ryhmä, jonka parissa toimit?

-Ketkä olivat yhteistyötahojasi?

-Millainen oli Lepakkoluolan tarjoamien tilojen rooli toiminnan mahdollistajana?

-Millainen oli Lepakkoluolan "henki" suhteessa omaehtoiseen toimintaan?

-Olitko osa Lepakkoluolan hallintoa tai ylläpitoa? Entä kuuluiko ELMUun?

-Kuinka kauan toimit Lepakkoluolan piirissä?

#### 5. Nuorisokulttuurinen ura

### 5.1. Nuorisokulttuurinen ura, toimeentulon lähde

- Millaiseen nuorisokulttuurin tai populaarikulttuun tuottamiseen liittyvään toimintaan osallistut tänä päivänä?
- Kuinka iso osa nuorisokulttuurinen toimijuus on nykyistä elämäsi?
- Miten nuorisokulttuurin parissa alkaneesta toiminnasta tuli palkkatyösi?
- Missä elämänvaiheessa nuorisokulttuurin parissa alkaneesta toiminnasta tuli palkkatyösi?
- Mitkä olivat motiivisi nuorisokulttuurisen toiminnan muuntamisessa palkkatyöksi?
- Jouduitko muuttamaan suhdettasi nuorisokulttuuriseen toimintaan, kun toiminnasta tuli toimeentulosi lähde?
- Koetko ja koetko valitsemasi polun olleen yhteiskunnallisesti hyväksytty?
- Koetko valitsemasi polun vaikuttaneen toimeentuloosi? Miten?

### 5.2. Nuorisokulttuurinen ura, ulkopuolinen toimeentulo

- Millaiseen nuorisokulttuurin tai populaarikulttuun tuottamiseen liittyvään toimintaan osallistut tänä päivänä?
- Kuinka iso osa nuorisokulttuurinen toimijuus on nykyistä elämäsi?
- Miten nuorisokulttuurinen urasi näkyy elämässäsi?
- Mikä on toimeentulosi lähde?
- Olisitko halunnut tehdä nuorisokulttuurisesta urasta toimeentulosi lähteen?
- Koetko ja koetko valitsemasi polun olleen yhteiskunnallisesti hyväksytty?
- Koetko valitsemasi polun vaikuttaneen toimeentuloosi? Miten?

### 5.3. Nuorisokulttuurinen ura, "irtautuminen"

- Miten ja missä elämänvaiheessa nuorisokulttuurinen toimijuus kohdallasi loppui?
- Miksi toiminta loppui?
- Millainen on suhteesi menneisyyteesi?
- Millainen on suhteesi nuorisokulttuuriin, jonka osana olit?
- Millaisten asioiden parissa olet toiminut nuorisokulttuurisen toiminnan jälkeen?
- Koetko ja koetko valitsemasi polun olleen yhteiskunnallisesti hyväksytty?
- Koetko valitsemasi polun vaikuttaneen toimeentuloosi? Miten?

### 6. Nuorisokulttuurin merkitys henkilön viitekehyksenä.

- Koetko nuorisokulttuurissa olleen ideologinen tai (elämän)filosofinen ulottuvuus? Millainen?
- Miten tämä on vaikuttanut maailmankatsomukseksi?
- Miten tämä on vaikuttanut elämänvalintoihisi?
- Koetko nuorisokulttuurisen arvomaailman ohjanneen sinua tekemään sitä mitä teet tänään?
- Mitä on hyvä elämä sinulle?

### 7. Informantteja?

- Tuleeko mieleesi henkilöitä, jotka osallistuivat Lepakkoluolan skeneen 80-luvun alkuvuosina ja ovat kehittäneet toiminnastaan, tai toimintaansa perustuen, uran?

#### 10.4 Appendix IV. The Original Interview Quotes (in Finnish) in Order of Appearance

[...] se oli semmonen, että se siirty vanhemmilta nuorilta, lapsilta, nuoremmille. Muistan kuinka pikkupoikana, kun leikimme pihalla niin sitten joku isompi teini-ikänen soitti levarilla ikkunasta jotain, mitä lie... Ehkä se oli jotain Beatlesiä joskus 60-luvulla, [...] <sup>508</sup>

Siel mä opin polttaa tupakkaa ja tota sit siel isommat jätkät toi levyjä... Se oli se kerhon ihan niinku parasta antia, että isommat jätkät toi sinne levyjä ja sit siel kertsissä kuunneltiin levyjä. Raggari-porukkaa... Siel mä sit ekaa kertaa kuulin kaikkii tämmösii niinku proto-heavy bändejä, Black Sabbathit ja tälläset klassikot. Sit mä tajusin et 'hei tällästä musaa on olemassa' ja aloin sitä 'lisää, lisää, lisää' .<sup>509</sup>

ei ne ookaan teknisesti mitään huippulahjakkaita tyypei. Niil on vaan hyvä fiilis.<sup>510</sup>

Ja sit osa kavereist alko puhumaan et 'hei voidaanhan mekin soittaa, totta kai, ei tää nyt niin ihmeellistä oo... Kokeillaan.' Sit tuli ensimmäisiä sähkökitaroiden lainaamisia ja joku halus rumpaliks ja paukutti jotain muovipurkkeja...<sup>511</sup>

Mun isä oli, se ei ollu ammattimusikko mut et diplomin suorittanut klarinetisti. Ja teki töikseen sit Yleisradiossa musiikkipuolen hommia. Et sitä kautta tää tämmönen musiikkimeininki oli hyvin lähellä.<sup>512</sup>

ja siinä vaiheessa me ruvettiin myös niinku pihapiirin, kotitalon kavereiden kanssa harrastaa niinku bändi-juttuu. Perustettiin ensimmäisii bändiaihioita 15-vuotiaana ehkä...<sup>513</sup>

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<sup>508</sup> M1962\_Q4:6.

<sup>509</sup> M1962b\_Q5:6.

<sup>510</sup> M1962b\_Q5:7.

<sup>511</sup> M1962b\_Q5:7.

<sup>512</sup> M1961\_Q3:98.

<sup>513</sup> M1961\_Q3:5.

Oli tietysti ollut koulussa niinku luokkabändi, jossa oli ite laulanut ja tällein näin, mutta sitten tota... Sit sillain, että ne oli sellasia koulujuttuja vaan, että ajatteli, että mä nyt oon tässä ihan passiivisena vaan. Mä vaan diggailen musiikkia, että se on ihan ok.<sup>514</sup>

Sit mä aloin tekee niinku, tuttui kundeja, tämmönen ku [name of the band1 removed]. [name of the band2 removed] kanssa aloin tekemään. Sit olin [band2] kanssa keikalla tuolla ravintola Kaisaniemessä. Siel oli Taideteollisen jotkut jazz... syysjuhlat. Siellä tutustuin [name of the band3 removed] ja [name of the person removed] joka taas edusti näissä underground... Sit mä aloin tekee niille niitä valoja kanssa. Mut tein siinä rinnalla näit [band2].<sup>515</sup>

Tää oli aika lyhyt tää modi-kausi. 15-vuotiaasta 17-vuotiaksi... Mutta kuitenkin, alkeellisissa promoottorin tehtävissä, klubijärkkärinä...<sup>516</sup>

Siel oli hyvin voimakas kerhotoiminta. Mäkin kuuluin muun muassa kemian kerhoon ja luontokerhoon. Musiikkikerhoon [...] Me jatkettiin sitä samaa toimintajärjestelmää sitten koulun ulkopuolella. Ja vieläkin.<sup>517</sup>

Jossain vaiheessa teininä havahtu, että kuuluu erilaisiin kulttuuriryhmiin. Yksi oli tää poliittisesti aktiiviset nuoret.<sup>518</sup>

Että mä menin sinne vähän niinku toimittajana, mutta palasin aktivistina. Ja sitä kautta sitten tuli tietenkin tämmönen tapa toimia, jossa tota... Pystyttiin valtaamaan taloja... Niinku, esittää se argumentti, että jos täällä on tyhjillään olevia taloja niin minkä takia näitä ei voi käyttää, esimerkiks nuorison ja kulttuurin käyttöön. Ja se itse asiassa jäi päälle, sitähän mä teen vieläkin.<sup>519</sup>

Että siis niinku musiikki vei, vaikka sit tämmöset ehkä, vaeltelu Lapissa jatku jonnekin 20-vuotiaaks. Mut sit ehkä muulla lailla elämä muuttu, alko opiskelut ja parisuhteet,

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<sup>514</sup> M1962\_Q4:9.

<sup>515</sup> M1950\_Q2:4.

<sup>516</sup> M1950\_Q2:13.

<sup>517</sup> M1957\_Q1:8.

<sup>518</sup> M1957\_Q1:1.

<sup>519</sup> M1957\_Q1:5.

kaveripiiri vähän muuttu. Kyl mä jo pienestä pitäen koin olevani jonkinlainen luonnonsuojelija tai niinku et olin kiinnostunu ympäristöstä. [...] Että siinä vaiheessa... Sen aktiivisuuden vei sit kyl musiikki-, bänditoiminta.<sup>520</sup>

Nuorisotalossa, jos oli huonoi levyjä niin sit mä agitoin porukan et 'hei et meiän pitää saada parempia levyjä tänne, me halutaan näitä levyjä tänne'. Tai sit järjestettiin jotain omia juttuja, oli ne sit, ei välttämättä keikkoja mut vaan jotain retkiä jonnekin tai jotain semmosta yhdessä toimisen muotoja.<sup>521</sup>

helvetin moni sano näin, että 'susta näki jo silloin, tai susta ties jo silloin, että susta tulee joku, soittaja, tekijä, esiintyjä...[...] Niitten mielestä se oli jotenkin selvä, että susta tulee joku muusikko tai jotain tai joku esiintyjä...<sup>522</sup>

Mä koin ilmeisesti silloin, että tää olis nyt hyvä juttu ja tätä mä haluan tehdä. Ei silloin mitään rahaa ajateltu tai tulevaisuutta. Tai, totta kai, hieno meininki, että kyllä tästä pärjätään...<sup>523</sup>

Vapaa-ajalla ei ollut tekemisen puutetta...<sup>524</sup>

semmosia vanhan tyyppisiä suppari-duunipaikkoja, että voi tehdä rahaa jo ennenku on edes täysikänen.<sup>525</sup>

se on selvä, että intenssiteetti hoitaa tommosta asiaa oli vähän eri koulun penkiltä käsin... Sit nistit valtas sen talon joskus marraskuussa. Ja sit [rakennuksen omistajan nimi poistettu] varmaan pani puomit ja lastulevyt ikkunoihin.<sup>526</sup>

Tän kesän jälkeen hakeuduin normaaliin duuniin. Mä ajattelin etten, jos jään roikkuu tähän niin kuumeiseen elämään niin siit ei hyvää seuraa.<sup>527</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> M1961\_Q3:61.

<sup>521</sup> M1961\_Q3:60

<sup>522</sup> M1962b\_Q5:13.

<sup>523</sup> M1962b\_Q5:7.

<sup>524</sup> M1962b\_Q5:61.

<sup>525</sup> M1962b\_Q5:7.

<sup>526</sup> M1950\_Q2:6.

<sup>527</sup> M1950\_Q2:10.

Ja se on todellakin mun pisin yhtenäinen työsuhde ikinä tähän päivään mennessä.<sup>528</sup>

Siihen aikaan teki myös monenlaisii muita töitä. Kävi ehkä siivoomassa tai sitten niinku loma-aikoina muita kesätöitä. [...] muistan et oon tehnyt ensimmäisiä lehtijuttuja, joista on myös saanut jo jotain pientä palkkaa.<sup>529</sup>

toimin [name of the students' organization removed] sihteerinä ja tiedottajana ja sitten... Öö, ryhdyin siellä muun muassa käyttää osakunnan tiloista löytynyttä painokonetta, että musta tuli myös osakunnan painaja.<sup>530</sup>

ehkä liikaa [organisaatioiden nimet poistettu] bileiden teossa ja juhlimisessa...<sup>531</sup>

Saatto olla, että jotain opiskelin, mutta lopetin sen yliopiston siihen. Siirryin tota tähän tälläseen tuotantoon. Juhlia ja organisaatioita ja talonvaltauksia<sup>532</sup>

Mä koin heti, että toi olis ilman muuta mun juttu.<sup>533</sup>

Ja siinä vaiheessa myös niinku kerta heitolla loppu mun opiskelut opettajankoulutuslaitoksella, yliopistolla.<sup>534</sup>

Lepakko oli semmonen magneetti, joka veti monenlaisia toimijoita ja, jotka oli yks sen aikasen musiikkitoiminnan keskus.<sup>535</sup>

Meidän sisäpiirimme tai se meidän niinku ryhmäämme, meidän niinku klubimme... Meidän kerholaisuus, se sit laajeni semmoseks isommaks heimolaisuudeksi.<sup>536</sup>

Et tuli niinku tyyppjä, jotka oli pukeutuneet mustiin että ne oli jotain gootteja tai jotain... tyyppit oli niinku erilaisia, niist tuli sitten suurempia, kun tämmösiä niinku nuorisoryhmiä,

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<sup>528</sup> M1961\_Q3:70.

<sup>529</sup> M1962\_Q3:69.

<sup>530</sup> M1957\_Q1:11.

<sup>531</sup> M1957\_Q1:12.

<sup>532</sup> M1957\_Q1:12.

<sup>533</sup> M1961\_Q3:13.

<sup>534</sup> M1961\_Q3:13.

<sup>535</sup> M1961\_Q3:47.

<sup>536</sup> M1962\_Q4:19.

kehitty just – punkkareista tuli sitä hc-ryhmää ja sitten näistä vanhoista punkkareista tuli mahdollisesti just tällöisiä niinku gootti- tai post-punk-tyyppisiä niinku... Moderneja tyyppisiä, jotka innostu soittaa sit kaikenlaista musiikkia... ja ottaa vaikutteita koko ajan mitä tapahtuu ajassa.<sup>537</sup>

Sit siel oli tietysti paljon semmosta vakkari, niinku yleisöä, jotka koki Lepakon omaks paikakseen. Ja niitä oli satoja, tuhansia, tai ainakin satoja ihmisiä. Oli ne sit punkkareita tai jotain muita vähemmistöjä, jos niin voi sanoa. Ja sitä kautta Lepakkolaiset varmaan koki aikamoista niinku yhteisöllisyyttä.<sup>538</sup>

Siellä sitten tuli tavattua niitä henkilöitä, jotka oli just saman henkisiä kuin itse. Että oli niinku kuunnellu sitä, uusii suomalaisii punk-bändejä ja myöskin ulkomaalaisia... Siel tapas samanhenkisiä tyyppisiä ja... Sit huomasi olevani siellä melkeen niinku, en nyt joka päivä, mutta hyvin monena päivänä viikossa...<sup>539</sup>

Sillon – 'hei perustetaan bändi'. Tehään, tehään, tehään. Tekemällä oppii. Samoin se on monen muunkin, klubin, keikkojen järjestämisen kanssa... Niin, tota... Tai me halutaan päästä nyt soittamaan, meil on bändi, me halutaan päästä soittamaan. Että 'hei, järjestetään keikka!'<sup>540</sup>

kaikki asiat tehtiin itse. Ei voinnut, ei ollut varaa, tai oppi siihen ettei ollut varaa tilata joltain alihankkijoilta asioita, tai ainakin asiat piti suunnitella ite.<sup>541</sup>

Joo, sitku oli sen verran soittotaitoa ja kamoja saatu lainattua, että jonkun näkösi bändejä ja siellähän bändejä tuli ja meni. Joka kuukaus oli joku uus bändi kokoelma. Aika pienes kaveripiirissä kyllä loppujen lopuksi ajatellen.<sup>542</sup>

Mut sit yht'äkkiä huomasi, että kaikki on jossain bändissä, kaikil on joku tehtävä. Sit mä olin tietysti, että no osaanhan mä kiljua ja laulaa sen verran, kun mikä tahansa. Et, tota,

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<sup>537</sup> M1962\_Q4:19.

<sup>538</sup> M1961\_Q3:86.

<sup>539</sup> M1962\_Q4:70.

<sup>540</sup> M1962b\_Q5:55.

<sup>541</sup> M1961\_Q3:38.

<sup>542</sup> M1962b\_Q5:45.

mennään nyt tonne. Ja sit siellä treenikämpällä, jos oli joku, että nyt ei oo ketään – kuka laulais?<sup>543</sup>

Oli se mun elämän piiriä mut mä en kokenu sitä vielä omaks paikakseni sinäänsä.<sup>544</sup>

koki itsensä jonkinnäköseks muusikoks.<sup>545</sup>

[...] treenattiin ja sävellettiin ja tehtiin ihan tosissaan. Mietittiin sitä vähän pidemmälle, että hei, olis kiva tehdä tämmösii juttuja, tämmöst bändii, tämmösii keikkoja, tämmösis paikoissa... Sitä vähän edes suunniteltiin, kolme kuukautta eteenpäin.<sup>546</sup>

Vuosi meni treenatessa, tai niinku biisejä tehdessä, ennen ensimmäisiä julkaisuita... Sit... Vuos sitä pahinta hulinaa, sitä valtavaa keikkailua, suosiota... Sitten vuosi meni vähän himmatessa...<sup>547</sup>

mä en ikinä kuitenkaan kokenut olevani duunissa vaan mulla on ollut enemmänkin tehtävä. Ja se erotta sen asenteen, että jos joskus on ollut jossain niinku jossain työtehtävässä äitysloma-sijaisena tai kesäapulaisena.<sup>548</sup>

Me tehtiin levyjä, järjestettiin keikkoja. Me järjestettiin klubeja.<sup>549</sup>

Sit tietysti niinku meiän klubeilla, tota... Olin aina DJ:nä, suurin piirtein... Se oli hauskaa. Että tota... Perustettiin kaikenlaisii klubeja ja pidettiin bileitä, jossa oli erinäkösiä teemoja ja sen semmoista...<sup>550</sup>

Mä muistan muun muassa, että meil oli joku tämmönen noin kuukauden mittanen rundi missä me saatiin ehkä satasen verran päivässä päivärahaa tai muuta jotain palkkaa. Kuinka mä siitä rahasta lähetin kotiin. Mä menin naimisiin nuorena. Lähetin niinku

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<sup>543</sup> M1962\_Q4:11.

<sup>544</sup> M1961\_Q3:77.

<sup>545</sup> M1962b\_Q5:8.

<sup>546</sup> M1962b\_Q5:8.

<sup>547</sup> M1962b\_Q5:8.

<sup>548</sup> M1962\_Q1:64.

<sup>549</sup> M1961\_Q3:9.

<sup>550</sup> M1962\_Q4:18.

rouvalle sit viiskymppiä, aina niinku kotiin, hengen pitimiksi. Että niinku ruokarahaa, näin... Et kyl se oli ihan merkittävä tapa niinku tehdä töitä. Ja tienata.<sup>551</sup>

oon jotenkin koko ajan pitänyt sitä itse vaan harrastuksena. Tai aina musta on tuntunut siltä. [...] Kyl mä oon pari vuotta mennyt ihan viikkorahoilla... Tai siis kuukausipalkalla.<sup>552</sup>

[...] sitä kautta oppi ajattelemaan myös niinku musiikkia mahdollisena ammattina. Me tehtiin levyjä, järjestettiin keikkoja. Me järjestettiin klubeja.<sup>553</sup>

mä en ikinä kuitenkaan kokenut olevani duunissa vaan mulla on ollut enemmänkin tehtävää. Ja se erotta sen asenteen, että jos joskus on ollut jossain niinku jossain työtehtävässä äitysloma-sijaisena tai kesäapulaisena.<sup>554</sup>

Siel Lepakolla pari-kolme vuotta ennen kuin joku keksi, että 'hei, toihan vois varmaan tulla mukaan näihin vastuunottamishommiinkin'. [...] "Että mulla oli jaksoja, että olin peräti kaupungin palkkoilla, niinku semmosia puol vuotisharjottelu jaksoja, työllistämiskokkeja, mitä siel nyt oli.<sup>555</sup>

Se oli kyllä värikäs maailma – ihan samanlainen kuin tämä. Mutta katusoitto oli kielletty. Kadulla ei saanut soittaa, koska sehän häiritsi. Meillä oli muitakin tälläisiä rajoitteita. Huvivero, joka tarkoitti, että jos sä järjestät jotain, siit pitää tehdä huviveroilmoitus ja maksaa huvivero valtiolle<sup>556</sup>

totta kai mä silloin henkilönä osallistuin tämmöseen elävän musiikin liikkeeseen, jonka tavoitteena oli poistaa katusoittoikiellot.<sup>557</sup>

Sehän oli merkittävä poliittinen saavutus. Tätä koko klubisceneä, mikä Helsingissä nykyään on, ei olisi jos maksettaisi vielä 30 prosenttia huviveroa. Se on helvetin vissi.<sup>558</sup>

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<sup>551</sup> M1961\_Q3:69.

<sup>552</sup> M1962b\_Q5:3.

<sup>553</sup> M1961\_Q3:9.

<sup>554</sup> M1962\_Q1:64.

<sup>555</sup> M1962b\_Q5:33.

<sup>556</sup> M1957\_Q1:35.

<sup>557</sup> M1957\_Q1:35.

<sup>558</sup> Lindfors, Salo & Väänänen 1988, 49.

me ei päästy niinku ravintoloihin sisään, koska oli pukeutunut siististi, emme olleet humalassa, mutta kun oli värjättyjä hiuksia, tai korvakoruja. Joku kaveri oli laittanu meikkiä niin 'ei, tää ei oo mikään sirkus Sariola'.<sup>559</sup>

Oli jopa aika vaikee päästä baariin sisään... Sillon oli aika paljon joka paikas viel portsarit ovella ja sit varsinkin, jos oli niittitakkia ja tukka pystyssä niin... Vähän hienommin, jotain muuta pukeutumista tai jopa meikkaamista niin siel oli hyvin... Ei päässyt paikkoihin...<sup>560</sup>

Helsinkiläisissä ravintoloissa ei joka paikassa ollut musiikkia. Oli vain tiettyjä ravintoloita missä oli niinku elävää musiikkia.<sup>561</sup>

sillon 70-luvulla sille kulttuurille ei ollut ollenkaan tilaa. Jota kuvasti se, että Kaivopuistossa tapahtuvat konsertit, joita Juhlaviikotkin järjesti, joka kesä sunnuntai 70-luvulla... Niin ne oli niin ainutlaatuisia tapahtumia, että ihmiset keräänty junilla koko pääkaupunkiseudulta.<sup>562</sup>

mahdollistaa, öö, erilaisten harjoitus- ja esiintymispaikkojen luominen tänne.<sup>563</sup>

me oltiin mietitty tavallaan tän muusikko-jengin kanssa, joka oli siin [name of the tour removed], että itse asiassa kaikki huvitapahtumat on maaseudulla niinku näis huvikeskuksis, niinku tanssilavoilla mut kaupungeissa ei oo mitään [...] Se johtopäätös oli et perustetaan yhdistys mis on nää fanit ja muusikot yhdessä, järjestää näitä klubeja.<sup>564</sup>

joku poliittinen käänne [...] käytännössä vastasin sen käynnistämisestä<sup>565</sup>

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<sup>559</sup> M1962\_Q4:26.

<sup>560</sup> M1962b\_Q5:16.

<sup>561</sup> M1961\_Q3:48.

<sup>562</sup> M1957\_Q1:51.

<sup>563</sup> M1957\_Q1:35.

<sup>564</sup> M1950\_Q2:18.

<sup>565</sup> M1950\_Q2:14.

Aluksihan noitten keikkojen ja klubien ja tapahtumien järjestäminen oli just for fun, tehdään jotain kun ei oo tässä muutakaan. Mutta sittehän mä työllistin itteni sillä ihan 10–15-vuotta. [...] Että klubin pyörittämisestä sai palkkaa 90-luvun puolella...<sup>566</sup>

mikä on kivointa, omasta mielestä kivointa ja helpointa.<sup>567</sup>

Suomi on aika pieni maa, että jos sul on neljänä iltana viikossa jotain... Tai jopa viitenä niin... Että kyllähän se alkaa, puulta maistumaan... Samat bändit, samat esiintyjät... Ei se sit aina mitään herkkua ollut. Sit se kävi ihan työstä...<sup>568</sup>

alko analysoimaan tätä omaa toimintaa vähän ulkopuolisesta näkökulmasta, että mitä mä oon tehnyt [...] ja se itse asiassa heitti mut kokonaan ulos sieltä juhlien järjestämisen roolista.<sup>569</sup>

harkitsemattomien niinku tapahtumien järjestämistä [...] nykyään miettiin kauheen pitkälle sitä oikeutusta, että voiko tällästä tehdä, että jos tekee tällästä.<sup>570</sup>

nykyään se on, että solmitaan sopimuksia ja vuokrataan niitä ja neuvotellaan vuokrasopimuksia. Se ei oo enää niin raadollista, että mennään ikkunasta sisään.<sup>571</sup>

markkina- ja mainosalaan tai media-alan töitä<sup>572</sup>

jäi aika lyhyeksi.<sup>573</sup>

kun mä järjestin työkseni myös kaikkia tälläisiä niin sanottuja firma-kisoja eli firmojen pikkujoulubileitä ja firmojen, ohjelmatoimiston kautta. Jos joku jossain firmassa, IT-firmassa piti jotkut jättimäiset bileet jossain.<sup>574</sup>

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<sup>566</sup> M1962b\_Q5:1.

<sup>567</sup> M1962b\_Q5:40.

<sup>568</sup> M1962b\_Q5:22.

<sup>569</sup> M1957\_Q1:47.

<sup>570</sup> M1957\_Q1:55.

<sup>571</sup> M1957\_Q1:29.

<sup>572</sup> M1961\_Q3:44.

<sup>573</sup> M1961\_Q3:45.

<sup>574</sup> M1962b\_Q5:32.

Mun ikäluokan kaverit, ketä, kaikki ketä mä ikinä tunsin, kun ne alko olee yli kolmekymppisiä niin alko sen porukan, alko vähenemään se ulkona käyminen. Sitten mulla ei ollut enää tietoa sitä, että mitä 18-vuotiaat tekee. Tuli kaikkia uusia genrejä, jotka ei kolahtanu mulle yhtään. Räppi ja se... Konemusa-osastot.<sup>575</sup>

Meikä siirty enemmän dj-puolelle tosta elävän musiikin esittämisestä. Se oli mielenkiinnostosta musiikkii, niin paljo tapahtu kaikessa... Teknossa ja housen jälkeen niinku tuli just tää rave-meininki ja Manchesteri ja sit tämmönen...<sup>576</sup>

Aina löyty niinku mielenkiinnost uutta jengii, jotka halus, jotain tehdä ja... Siin sitten oli mukana sopivasti jollain tavalla...<sup>577</sup>

me nimitettiin sitä, että mitä tuotantprojektioita nyt tehdään seuraavaksi? Meillä oli mitä tahansa ideoita, tyyliin kaupunki hausemmaksi. Että mitäs nyt tehdään. Sit lähetettiin niitä tekemään.<sup>578</sup>

mitä mä henkilökohtasesti Lepakkoon tuotin niin oli suurimmaks osaks näitä [klubin nimi poistettu] tai sit jotain niinku muita asioita... Niinku klubi-iltoja, esimerkiks Lepakon semmosii kirpputori-päiviä... Tai jotain, en mä edes muista, jotain taidenäyttelyitä. Tai jotain tämmösii. Kaikenlaisii juttuja mitä siel saatto tehdä.<sup>579</sup>

kyl mä tein jotain radio-ohjelmia ja selostin liikennettä helikopterista ja tollein<sup>580</sup>

Paul tuli sanoo, et 'no niin – sähän tuut tietysti tekee ohjelmaa'. 'Olin, et ää, minä vai, radio? Kuka haluaa kuunnella mun ääntä?' Se on semmonen nasaali ja tiesin omat puhevammaisuuteni jo silloin. 'No voin mä tulla kokeilee. Katotaan nyt et kauan aikaa tätä kestää. Saan varmaan potkut täst näin.'<sup>581</sup>

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<sup>575</sup> M1962b\_Q5:40.

<sup>576</sup> M1962\_Q4:55.

<sup>577</sup> M1962\_Q4:56.

<sup>578</sup> M1957\_Q1:45–46.

<sup>579</sup> M1961\_Q3:83.

<sup>580</sup> M1957\_Q1:24.

<sup>581</sup> M1962\_Q4:32.

Vaikka mä olin Radio Cityssäkin kymmenen vuotta niin ne oli aina semmosia neljän kuukauden sopimuksia...<sup>582</sup>

musiikki oli mulle tuttua. Ja jossain mielessä Helsingin kaupunki, ja kaupunkikulttuuri rupes olemaan aika tuttua.<sup>583</sup>

mä edustin sitä tiettyä ryhmää siellä. Mä olin niitten tyyppien, sit siel oli jotain muita tyyppiä, jotka edusti vähän erilaisia... Erilaista menoa niinku ja, tai omal laillaan, tai niinku hahmoja, koottiin vähän eri kulttuureista tekee sinne juttuja.<sup>584</sup>

Kaikkien managerointi ja... Roudausta ja kuskausta ja kaikkea, huolehtimista...<sup>585</sup>

kohtalo<sup>586</sup>

kohtuu hyvin<sup>587</sup>

sit alko tulee niin paljon ratkastavii ongelmia, että... Ehkä ois pystyny opiskelee siinä ohessa, ehkä ei.<sup>588</sup>

Ehdokkaita oli varmaan sata tai kaheksankymmentä. Mä olin yks ehdokas monista, mutta mä en tehny minkäänlaista vaalikampanjaa. [...] Ja enhän mä olis ikinä tullut valituks ellen mä olis ollu siinä vaiheessa jo 8 vuotta Radio Cityssä niinku omalla nimelläni toimiva radio-dj.<sup>589</sup>

mä olin silloin 32–33-vuotias. Niin kyl mua pidettiin silloin pitkään myös tämmösenä nuorisopolitiikan edustajana, koska mä olin tullu selvästi sieltä Elmusta ja Lepakosta. Et tää vähän ärsyttikin, mä olin joku tällänen niinku nuorisopolitiikan ammattilainen siellä.<sup>590</sup>

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<sup>582</sup> M1961\_Q3:71.

<sup>583</sup> M1961\_Q3:101.

<sup>584</sup> M1962\_Q4:46.

<sup>585</sup> M1962b\_Q5:4.

<sup>586</sup> M1950\_Q2:25.

<sup>587</sup> M1950\_Q2:25.

<sup>588</sup> M1950\_Q2:25.

<sup>589</sup> M1961\_Q3:52.

<sup>590</sup> M1961\_Q3:23.

sano mulle jälkeen päin joissain bileissä, että ‘meidän olisi pitänyt kannattaa teidät poliiseilla heti pois sieltä’. [...] Joku olikin sitä mieltä, että me edustetaan suomalaisen terrorismin siementä.<sup>591</sup>

Niin tota, silloin tilanne oli siin suhteessa erilainen, että lähes koko pääkaupunkiseudulla, ja ehkä isommallakin alueella. Niin silloinen tota, ELMun järjestämä Kansanjuhla elokuun lopussa oli ainoa kulttuuri- ja musiikkitapahtuma mitä oli missään. Että sitten jossain saatto olla joku konsertti, mutta tota... Siis varsinkin kevyemmän musiikin alueelta se oli ainoa tapahtuma, mikä oikeesti oli. [...] Jos ajattelee koko pääkaupunkiseutua niin onhan tää tilanne muuttunut aika radikaalisti suhteessa tarjontaan. Ja tota... Se tekee siitä kyllä niinku hyvin tollasen, niinku, jos nyt tutkitaan aikaa ja mietitään miten tää aika muuttuu tässä 79:stä 2018:sta. Niin onhan tässä monet asiat menneet ihan päälaelleen.<sup>592</sup>

Ja nyt me eletään vähän erilaises ajassa, että sä varmaan huomaisit, että tää niinku – puhutaan jopa kulttuuribisneksestä.<sup>593</sup>

et silloin niinku tekijöitä oli niin vähän vielä ettei ollut niit tapahtumii. Silloin Funky Elephant alotti, et silloin oli just jokunen bändi, jotka soitti jollain lailla funkypää musiikkia [...] Mut hip hopin kautta monet alko sit myös soittaa funkkiä ja sit seuraava juttuhan oli tietysti jazz. Että siis nää... Mutta ne tuli vasta sit ehkä tos 2000-luvulla alko löytyä tätä jazz-vaihetta...<sup>594</sup>

Nykyäänhän se on aika helppoo ettei tarvitse järkätä.<sup>595</sup>

niinku tämmönen soittolista-radio [...] Ja sit yht’äkkiä tajus, että ’okei... mitähän mä nyt sit...’ Sit mä näin, että kaupungil tapahtu kaikkee mielenkiintosta...<sup>596</sup>

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<sup>591</sup> M1957\_Q1:42.

<sup>592</sup> M1957\_Q1:34.

<sup>593</sup> M1957\_Q1:51.

<sup>594</sup> M1962\_Q4:71.

<sup>595</sup> M1962\_Q4:41.

<sup>596</sup> M1962\_Q4:45.

että tätähän tarvitaan, kun siin vaiheessa kaikki oli muuttunu<sup>597</sup>

semmonen audio-divari [...] Siellä myytiin kaikkea mitä bändi tarvii. [...] Kaikkea muuta paitsi soittimia. Esitystekniikkaa. Mikit, piuhat.<sup>598</sup>

oli keikka, se nyt oli selkeesti keikka.<sup>599</sup>

tehny aika paljon tällästä mentori-duunia... Oon niinku joissakin hallituksissa. Mut ne jollakin lailla liittyy kulttuuriin, [organisaatioiden nimet poistettu]<sup>600</sup>

Jos juhlien järjestäjä oli tämmönen ehkä 15–20 vuotta tehty rooli tässä elämässä niin siitä siirtyminen tän syvällisempään analyysiin. Toisaalta oli helppo sit ottaa tietotekniikasta tälläisiä suoja-työitä. Tietotekniikkakonsulttina saanut sitten ruokaa pöytään ja just ja just saanut maksettua vuokrat. Että... Tää 2000-luku on sit mennyt niinku tälläseen, niinku myös konsultoinnut tätä tietotekniikka, jossa oon rinnakkaisena ollut koko ajan mukana tässä. Et tää ei oo suinkaan yhden, yks duuni vaan mitä mä oon pystynyt koko ajan tekee rinnakkaisia duuneja. Kaikkia mielenkiintosisia suuntauksia.<sup>601</sup>

Sit oli pakko tehdä se valinta, että kun mestat on neljään asti auki niin. Etsä voi kuvitellakaan et sä siin sitten jotain lasta tota... Ja sit ois vielä päivätyöt...<sup>602</sup>

sit piti jo ajatella, että sulla olis duunipaikka viel puolen vuoden päästäkin.<sup>603</sup>

Monta kertaa ottikin jotain varmoja nakkejakin, että ainakin menee plussan puolelle... Eli vähemmän, sitku se oli omista liksasta kiinni niin vähemmän otti riskeitä. Ehkä vähän olis välil pitänykin ottaa niit riskejä, kaiken maailman härö-bändejä soittamaan...<sup>604</sup>

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<sup>597</sup> M1962\_Q4:45.

<sup>598</sup> M1962b\_Q5:41.

<sup>599</sup> M1950\_Q2:29.

<sup>600</sup> M1950\_Q2:29.

<sup>601</sup> M1957\_Q1:48.

<sup>602</sup> M1962\_Q4:57

<sup>603</sup> M1962b\_Q5:35.

<sup>604</sup> M1962b\_Q5:22.

Mä muistan joskus kouluaikana, että yrittäjänä toimiminen olis viheliäistä ja viimeinen juttu mihin ryhtyisin, tuntuu oudolt ajatella, että joutuis niin sanosti itse järj... itse huolehtimaan omasta elin... niinku liksoistaan.<sup>605</sup>

mä olin nelikymppinen. Eli musta oli tullut aikuinen. Sit mä ryhdyin puhtaasti yrittäjäksi.<sup>606</sup>

mä heitin hanskat tiskiinkin [name of the agency removed] et tää ei oo mahdollista tää juttu.<sup>607</sup>

jossain välis mä lähin suutuspäissäni pois, koska mun mielestä oli, niil oli niin luutuneet käsitykset... [...] Lepakko oli ollu jo viis vuotta aika isois taloudellisissa vaikeuksissa mut aina se jotenkin onnistu pitää nää lautaset keppien päässä.<sup>608</sup>

John: [...] vuonna 81 liityin [name of the band removed] bändiin. Ja toisaalta vuonna 85 pääsin töihin Radio Cityyn. Ja sit toisaalta 88 mut valittiin ELMUn puheenjohtajaks. Ja sit vielä et vuonna 1992 mut valittiin valtuustoon. Noi on ehkä neljä sellasta käänteentekevää porrasta.

Interviewer: Nääksä noi viel sillein painavimpina kuin esimerkiksi se, oliko 90-luvun lopussa vai 2000-luvun alussa, kun sä ryhdyit täyspäiväseks yrittäjäksi?

Nään, koska se on vaan luontevaa, ja kun se on vaan niinku jatkumoa... Seon vaan yhtiömuoto muuttu niinku verokortista yritykseks.<sup>609</sup>

Lepakko, koska se mahdollisti niin paljon sitä kaikkea muuta tekemistä. Semmosta tekemistä, josta myöhemmin tuli ihan ammatti.<sup>610</sup>

yks asia aina johtaa toiseen ja... Ei sille vaan voi mitään...<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>605</sup> M1961\_Q3:43.

<sup>606</sup> M1961\_Q3:17.

<sup>607</sup> M1950\_Q2:17.

<sup>608</sup> M1950\_Q2:25.

<sup>609</sup> M1961\_Q3:94.

<sup>610</sup> M1961\_Q1:26.

<sup>611</sup> M1962b\_Q5:5.

Kyllä se rakentuu. Se oli helppo siirtymä aikatutkijaksi juhlien järjestäjästä. Jos juhlien järjestäjä oli tämmönen ehkä 15–20 vuotta tehty rooli tässä elämässä niin siitä siirtyminen tän syvällisempään analyysiin, toisaalta oli helppo sit ottaa tietotekniikasta tälläisiä suojaatöitä.<sup>612</sup>

se on se mitä osaa.<sup>613</sup>

Kaikki mun duunit on kuitenkin liittynyt näihin, jollain tavalla tähän subkulttuuriin, ns. nuorisokulttuurin. Mulla on mittarissa jo 67. Ei olla enää mihinkään start-uppiin palkkaamassa.<sup>614</sup>

siit tuli tavallaan ammatti. [...] mä tiedän miten tätä hommaa tehdään.<sup>615</sup>

Eli mä oon jo 80-luvun alusta oppinut tähän tän päivän realiteettiin, että enää ei oo olemassakaan pitkiä työsuhhteita.<sup>616</sup>

Tavallaan ne ei ollu kuukausipalkka-hommia vaan mä olin tulosvastuussa. Jos meni huonosti mä en saanu mitään. Jos meni hyvin, mä sain ihan hyvin itekin.<sup>617</sup>

mä oon tehnyt kaikkea muuta paitsi omistanut levy-yhtiön. Sitä mä en oo vielä tehnyt. Kaikkea muuta mikä vaan liittyy musiikkiin ja musiikkialalla toimiseen. Tai siinä liepeillä, mä oon kyl tehnyt kaikkea. Joko samaanaikaan. Tai päällekkäin, ristiin”.<sup>618</sup>  
joinain vuosina, kun mä [...] ei ollut ollenkaan tuloja ja verottajalta tulee semmonen lappu, että meidän arviomme mukaan tulosi ovat olleet nolla euroa.<sup>619</sup>

toisinaan se toimeentulo on nolla...<sup>620</sup>

Interviewer: Sä mainitsit tossa, että [name of the band removed] kautta sai mainetta?

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<sup>612</sup> M1957\_Q1:48.

<sup>613</sup> M1957\_Q1:30.

<sup>614</sup> M1950\_Q2:29.

<sup>615</sup> M1962\_Q4:34.

<sup>616</sup> M1961\_Q3:70.

<sup>617</sup> M1962b\_Q5:21.

<sup>618</sup> M1962b\_Q5:5.

<sup>619</sup> M1957\_Q1:79.

<sup>620</sup> M1950\_Q2:30.

Pete: Hyvää tai huonoa.

Interviewer: Niin, hyvää tai huonoa. Mitä se huono sit oli?

Pete: Se oli... Vanhemmat tyypit ehkä musa-alalla ja tapahtuma-alalla piti sit sua vaan jonain, tiedätsä... Jonain...

Interviewer: Niinku hörhönä?

Pete: Hörhönä, töyhtöhyppä, joka vaan... Mut ainahan se on sitä samaa, että kun tulee jotain junioreita, jotka eka tietysti... Monet voi sekoillakin ja tehä kaikkee hölmöö, mutta aina sielt löytyy sit jotain...<sup>621</sup>

Perinteiseen tyyliin mutsi- ja fajja olis halunnut, että poika löytää itselleen ammatin... Ja... Totta kai huolissaan sillain, että tuleeko se toimeen ja mitä tost nyt sit tulee...<sup>622</sup>

'eksä oo vieläkkään menny oikeisiin töihin?'<sup>623</sup>

No joo, ehkä... Että tota... Kaikkee sitä mitä sä teet, kaikki ei sun tekemisiäsi kuitenkaan hyväksy. Mulle riittää se, että nää, että nää mun ystäväni hyväksyy sen mitä mä teen. Kaikesta ei aina tarvi olla samaa mieltä, mutta ne kuitenkin antaa mun elää. Ja se on ok, ja se oli se tärkeä asia.<sup>624</sup>

Faijakin oli ihan haavi auki, kun se tuli Lepakkoon ensimmäisen kerran, silloin ei ollut Radio Cityä, ei mitään. 'Helvetti, mitä täs on käynny.' Kun Radio City tuli niin kyllä siinä muuttu ääni kellossa. 'Jumalauta, kundit! Varastitte talon ja nyt teillä on radio.' Se oli faijan kommentti.<sup>625</sup>

Sanotaan näin, että mitä pidemmälle aika on mennyt, sitä suurempi se hyväksyntä on ollut.<sup>626</sup>

Siis, joo, mä oon aina tuonnu yhden semmosen esimerkin, että tää niinku kaupungin kiinteistöomistajayksikön yksi vanhempi lainopin kandidaatti, joka kirjotti viel

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<sup>621</sup> M1962b\_Q5:11.

<sup>622</sup> M1962b\_Q5:12.

<sup>623</sup> M1961\_Q3:92.

<sup>624</sup> M1962\_Q4:53.

<sup>625</sup> M1950\_Q2:36.

<sup>626</sup> M1950\_Q2:36.

tämmösellä kaksisormijärjestlemällä vanhalla Remington kirjoituskoneella – tai vastaavalla. Erilaisia päätöksiä siitä miten rakennuksia vuokrataan ja mitä ehtoja siinä on. Tota... Hän sitten myöhemmin kun jäi eläkkeelle ni aina kun me tavattiin niin hän aina muisti sanoa, että ”te pojat olitte oikeassa”. [...]. Se aina hoki tätä. Se ulkoilutti parii Dalmatian koiraa ja sit törmättiin ja vaihdettiin pari sanaa ja se: ’te pojat olitte oikeessa’. Ja kyllähän se oikeesti kerto sen, että niinku jos semmosen vanhan virkamieskunnan, joka on 70–60-luvulta niin tietyl taval osoitettiin niille, että näinkin voi tehdä.<sup>627</sup>

No jollain tavalla on, sanotaan näin, että... Olemassa olevan tilanteen muuttaminen ja tavallaan niinku svengaavamman yhteiskunnan luonti. [...] Olenkaisii juttuja ajassa...<sup>628</sup>

Ja kyllähän tää niinku omassakin toiminnassa monesti on näkynyt, että on niinku yrittänyt keksiä ideoita. Ja kyllähän pitkässä juoksussa, jos ajatellaan, että nyt tehdään tästä hausempi niinku musiikin ja taiteen ja kulttuurin niinkun alueelta, että annetaan sitä mahdollisuutta kaupunkikulttuuriin.<sup>629</sup>

[...] siis tälläsiä vielä tekee. Tai näitä tyhjien talojen käyttöönottoa. Onhan se järjetöntä pitää niitä tyhjillään vaan sen takia kun ne on helpompi myydä. Että kun ihmisillä ei ole voimavaroja maksaa 50 euroa neliö siitä, että niil on työhuone. [...] Näitä pitää olla kaupunki täynnä, että tää pöhinä toimii.<sup>630</sup>

itselläni se oli niinku esiintymien tarve semmonen suuri, joka vapautti niinku, jonka mä halusin tehdä. Vaikka mä sitä pelkäsin. Tavallaan, se oli sillain, että ’et kai sä nyt aio mennä tonne’. Se negatiivinen ilmapiiri, painostava, ’et kai sä mene tonne pelleilee jotain’. Se juttu liikku siit sitten eteenpäin.<sup>631</sup>

Pitää hauskaa. Taistelua sitä tylsyyttä vastaan.<sup>632</sup>

se on ollut todennäköisesti se sama, mikä on edelleenkin.<sup>633</sup>

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<sup>627</sup> M1957\_Q4:53.

<sup>628</sup> M1950\_Q2:31.

<sup>629</sup> M1957\_Q1:35.

<sup>630</sup> M1957\_Q1:29.

<sup>631</sup> M1962\_Q4:29.

<sup>632</sup> M1962\_Q4:56.

<sup>633</sup> M1961\_Q3:73.

mun yritystoiminta ei ookaan ollut mitään yhtiökapistista oman edun tavoittelua vaan ehkä outo yhdistelmä jotain sosiaalista yrittämistä ja niinku yksityisyrittämistä. Että mä oon lähtenyt siitä, että jos yhteisö hyötyy niin silloin myös yksilö hyötyy.<sup>634</sup>

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<sup>634</sup> M1961\_Q3:73.