In Search of a Way-Out: Thessaloniki's DIY Music Studios as Creative Heterotopic Spaces

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Introduction: What, Why, How

Rough Description-Research Questions

For almost forty years, since the mid-1970s, musicians of different backgrounds, ages, and levels of education have been meeting in do-it-yourself (DIY),[1] improvised, self-managed rehearsal and recording spaces in Thessaloniki.[2] These are the "rehearsal rooms" or "studios" that can be found on the floors of old buildings, now mostly on the west side of the city center, above shops and bars, and outside of recorded, official histories of local musical life. Several dozen in all, these spaces have provided a springboard for a series of musical creative outbursts, functioning as places of communication, networking, and formation of musical collectives. Thessaloniki's music studios have triggered and supported for decades a whole web of eclectic musical collaborations, concerts, publications, releases, and public actions, outside and beyond the framework of a rehearsal space.

Continuation in time, genre pluralism, and networking osmosis makes this practice unique and important within a wider context of Greek extra-institutional music creation. This practice is still active and quite common among different kinds of Thessaloniki's music collectives (performing rock music, punk, jazz, reggae-afrobeat, trip-hop, etc.). The present study focuses on the period from the post-junta years (mid 70s) to the early 90s (Metapolitefsi).[3] The paper is

1 The term will be explained in part Ia.

2 Thessaloniki is the second largest city of Greece. The city is the port of Central Macedonia, and its population is estimated at 317.778 citizens. "Απογραφή 2021 - Θεσσαλονίκη: Τα στοιχεία ανά δήμο - Πού μειώθηκε ο πληθυσμός, πού αυξήθηκε" [Census 2021 - Thessaloniki: The data per municipality - Where the population decreased, where it increased], 2021, accessed May 1, 2023, https://www.voria.gr/article/apografi-2021---thessaloniki-ta-stichia-ana-dimo---pou-miothike-plithismos-pou-afxithike.

3 The fall of the junta in 1974 and the arrival of Constantine Karamanlis marked the beginning of the Third Greek Republic. Metapolitefsi, the transition from dictatorship to civic democracy, was an important part of this period. Most scholars consider the consolidation of democracy to have been sealed by the victory of PASOK in the 1981 elections, as this was the first time in modern Greek history that a left-wing government was formed, without any turmoil and disruption of democracy. In this sense, one could place the end of the Metapolitefsi period there. However, many historians, such as Yannis Voulgaris, seem to consider the Metapolitefsi as a longer period,

divided into three parts. The first part addresses the study's conceptual (DIY and DIT ethos, musicking and network theory), epistemological (urban music studies and popular music studies), and methodological (oral history and archival research) framework. The second part explores the extent to which we could interpret DIY music studios' heyday as a reaction to, and at the same time, expression of the cultural context of Metapolitefsi. Sub-section IIa explores DIY and DIT (do-it-together) ethos adopted by the part of the youth involved in the DIY music studios and networks as a "way out" of the prevailing Metapolitefsi. Sub-section IIb analyzes the musicking that occurred within the DIY music studios (collective learning and creating). The third part of the study introduces an interpretive framework to enhance understanding regarding the dialectic between musicking and space within the DIY music studios. This final part draws upon Foucault's concept of heterotopia, complemented by insights from scholars such as Henry Lefebvre, Edward Soja and Stavros Stavridis.

Part I

Part Ia. Conceptual Framework: The DIY Music Studios as the Center of a Creative Network

In the context of this research the term "do-it-yourself" (DIY) is used in a rather broad way. The DIY ethos is connected to the idea of using whatever resources and materials are available to achieve autonomy and self-determination,[4] pursuits that are central to rock music idioms.[5] Moreover, the concept of DIY implies that of do-it-together (DIT). The empowerment and autonomy associated with DIY are closely linked to the existence of a certain creative community composed of individuals with different and complementary skills.[6] DIY ethos is based on the belief that all individuals are capable of individual and mutual learning taking place among peers, free from the "dictatorship" of experts.

The history of Thessaloniki's DIY music network consists of overlapping and interconnected channels of creation and promotion: DIY studios, DIY festivals and concerts, independent record labels, pirate radios, and fanzine press. The use of the network concept highlights the musical interactions between individuals within urban space.[7] Moreover, it helps identify

lasting at least until the first decade of the 2000s. Yannis Voulgaris, Η Μεταπολιτευτική Ελλάδα, 1974-2009 [The Greek Metapolitefsi, 1974-2009] (Athens: Polis, 2013).

4 Amy Spencer, DIY: The Rise of Lo-Fi Culture (London: Marion Boyars, 2015), 1.

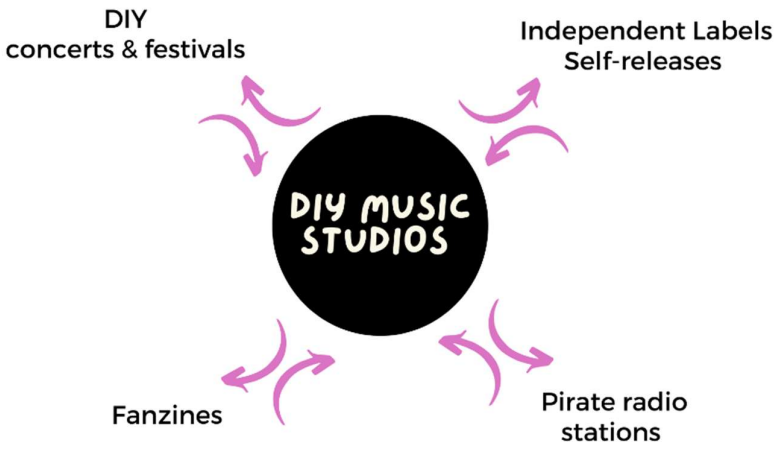
5 George McKay, DIY Culture: Party and Protest in Nineties' Britain (London: Verso, 1998), 18.

6 Ana Sofia Oliveira and Paula Guerra, "'I Make the Product': Do-It-Yourself Ethics in the Construction of Musical Careers in the Portuguese Alternative Rock Scene," in Redefining Artworlds in the Late Modernity, ed. Paula Guerra and Pedro Costa (Porto: University of Porto, 2016), 135–48.

7 For a more analytical approach to network theory and how it is used in the context of this research see Alexandra Karamoutsiou, "Μουσικές ιστορίες πόλης: Η ιστορία των αυτοσχέδιων στούντιο της Θεσσαλονίκης" [Urban Music Histories: The Story of Thessaloniki's DIY Music Studios] (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2023), 18-20.

connections, correlations, as well as movements between channels.[8] Network theory, originated in sociology, was developed in the 1980s by Bruno Latour and Michel Callon and is applicable to historical musicology, popular music studies, ethnomusicology, and music sociology.[9] Through network theory we can combine the collective, human factor (individuals and communities) with the material factor of music (technologies and infrastructures).[10]

Figure 1. Thessaloniki's DIY music network (1980s)



As Nick Crossley and Wendy Bottero point out, musicking[11] is a collective action that involves the coordination of various participants who initiate a series of chained relationships that eventually form networks. Musicking in this sense implies the participation of individuals in a

8 Chris Gibson, "Recording Studios: Relational Spaces of Creativity in the City," Built Environment 31, no. 3 (2005): 192, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23289439.

9 Bruno Latour, Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Michel Callon, "The Sociology of an Actor-Network: The Case of the Electric Vehicle." In Mapping the Dynamics of Science and Technology: Sociology of Science in the Real World, ed. Michel Callon, John Law, and Arie Rip (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1986); Michel Callon, "Actor-Network Theory—Trajectories and Consequences." In The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies, ed. Edward J. Hackett, Olga Amsterdamska, Michael Lynch, and Judy Wajcman (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2001).

10 Georgina Born and Andrew Barry, "Music, Mediation Theories and Actor- Network Theory," Contemporary Music Review 37, no. 5–6 (2018), 448, https://doi.org/10.1080/07494467.2018.1578107. Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques," Twentieth-Century Music 11, no. 2 (2014): 191–215 at 197, https://doi.org/10.1017/s147857221400005x.

11 This is the term that Christopher Small coined to highlight that music is an action. As an action music's meanings and functions could only be fully understood not through a noun but through a verb: "To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance… It concerns all participation in a musical performance, whether active or passive…". Musicking results from the present participle of this verb. Christopher Small, "Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening. A Lecture," Music Education Research 1, no.1 (1999): 9–22, doi:10.1080/1461380990010102.

network.[12] The notion of musicking, combined with the concept of network and the DIY ethos, allows us to understand the musical practice of DIY studios as the core of a musical DIY network that was structured in the years under study (late 1970s to early 1990s). More specifically, the musicking that took place in the DIY music studios transformed groups into communities connected by the common need for musical expression. Collectives, shaping their musical identities through musicking, constructed a network of communities, mechanisms, and means of musical performance, distribution, and dissemination, such as concerts-festivals, independent releases-independent record labels, fanzines, and pirate stations (Figure 1).

Part Ib. Epistemological and Methodological Framework

This research aspires to be part of a new research trend considering DIY urban music practices. This newly emerged field mainly lies among the epistemologies of sociology, urban studies, and popular music studies. Indicative efforts towards this direction are the conferences and publications of the *Keep It Simple Make It Fast (KISMIF)*, *The Punk Scholars Network (PSN)* and the recent journal *DIY, Alternative Cultures & Society*.[13] However, even within this epistemological spectrum, there is no previous engagement with DIY rehearsal music studios.[14]

As cities change over time, the musical practices they host reshape and their fragile histories are lost or become increasingly difficult to trace. This is often common with extra-institutional and self-managed music practices, such as those of the DIY music studios. The relationship between the city music collectives is a bidirectional one. On the one hand, local contexts of music making are influenced by urban planning strategies,[15] i.e., the transformations of the physical space, flows, and pace of life in the city cannot help but inflect expressive culture as well.[16] On the other hand, the social practices of musicians have a drastic impact on urban

12 Nick Crossley and Wendy Bottero, "Social Spaces of Music: Introduction," Cultural Sociology 9, no.1 (2015): 3–19, https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975514546236.

13 https://www.kismifconference.com;https://www.punkscholarsnetwork.com; https://journals.sagepub.com/home/DIY.

14 There have been some research efforts related to professional recording music studios, such as Chris Gibson's, who recasts studios as living musical spaces within a city and highlights their stories as crucial indicators of the interaction between space, music, and individuals. Gibson, "Recording Studios." A more recent example of this type of research is Lachlan Goold's study about regional recording studios. Goold focuses on some Australian regional recording studios and analyses them as part of creative networks. However, the DIY aspect is only highlighted as a result of technology's progress that makes setting up a recording studio easier and affordable. Although Goold acknowledges the presence of DIY and non-commercial practitioners, he does not include them in his research. Lachlan Goold, "The Creative Music Networks of Regional Recording Studios: A Case Study of the Sunshine Coast and Gympie," in Popular Music Scenes, Regional and Rural Perspectives, ed. Andy Bennett, David Cashman, Ben Green, and Natalie Lewandowski (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 99-114.

15 Robin Kuchar, "Local Scenes, Conditions of Music-Making and Neoliberal City Management: A Case Study of Hamburg, Germany," in Keep It Simple, Make It Fast! An Approach to Underground Music Scenes, ed. Paula Guerra and Tânia Moreira (Porto: University of Porto, 2014), 550.

16 Adam Krims, Music and Urban Geography (London: Taylor and Francis, 2007), xix.

space.[17] Sometimes, the musicians' activities affect urban environments in ways that are not clear. Thus, urban music making is likely to go unnoticed by people not involved in it.[18] This situation in turn, is also possible to reinforce the musicians' vulnerability:

> I am an amateur musician, and we rent a space in the Vardari area,[19] on Bacchus Street. Recently, we were informed by the owner that the upper floor has been purchased to be converted into an AirBnB and it is only a matter of time before the remaining floors are sold. Of course, the building's by-law is commercial, not residential. It is precisely because we do not have residents next door that we choose such buildings so as not to disturb.[20]

This description sums up many of the characteristics of DIY music studios. Most of them are located in former manufacturing and, therefore, relatively cheap spaces and are used by several bands together to reduce operating costs. Their equipment is often a product of collaborative contributions, and their sound insulation is made by the musicians themselves using simple materials, often of everyday use (e.g., egg cases). In addition, they are located far from the residential area, giving the musicians the freedom to rehearse anytime without the problem of disturbance (Figure 2). I have classified a space as a DIY music studio if it fulfills the following criteria: it is used exclusively as a DIY music studio, that is, the space is used for musicking activities related to the DIY studios; the bands meet frequently and with relative stability (e.g., once or twice a week); there has been intervention in the space by the music groups (DIY insulation, etc.); musical instruments and basic sound equipment are housed there; and it has a lifespan of at least six months.[21]

17 Sara Cohen, "'Rock Landmark at Risk': Popular Music, Urban Regeneration, and the Built Urban Environment," Journal of Popular Music Studies 19, no. 1, (2007): 3–25 at 3, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-1598.2007.00104.x.

18 Cohen, "'Rock Landmark," 5-6.

19 Area west of the city center.

20 Alexandros Litsardakis, "Από τη βραχυχρόνια μίσθωση στη βραχυχρόνια πόλη: Το AirBnB, οι καλλιτέχνες, οι κάτοικοι και τα κενά σπίτια στη Θεσσαλονίκη" [From Short-Term Rentals to Short-Term City: AirBnB, Artists, Residents, and Empty Houses in Thessaloniki], Parallaxi, May 5, 2022, 17.

21 Karamoutsiou, "Μουσικές ιστορίες πόλης," 83.

Figure 2. a: The DIY studio Συν και Πλην [Plus and Minus] in Ano Poli.[22] b: the Moot Point DIY studio in Kalamaria[23] (basement of musician's house).[24] c: 4eslses studio in the center (Kassandrou street);[25] on the wall one sees the makeshift sound insulation from Styrofoam soundproofing.[26] d: NEMO's studio in the city center (Filippou street).[27]

a.

b.

c.

d.

The above testimony also brings to the front the vulnerable character of extra-institutional urban musical practices in the face of neoliberal tendencies. The incident described is an example of the politics of urban gentrification, which often negatively affects DIY musical activities. The vulnerability of these practices could be mitigated by engaging in the documentation and analysis of them, as in the case of DIY music studios. Oral history is the central method of searching the primary material of the present study. Through oral history, historiography may be democratized by becoming inclusive and bringing to the fore groups of

22 Lefteris Miggas (drummer of Συν και Πλην), personal archive. Ano Poli is a part of the old town of Thessaloniki, https://thessaloniki.gr/ano-poli/?lang=en.

23 Kalamaria is a municipality on the east side of Thermaikos Gulf. https://kalamaria.gr/%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%86%CE%AF%CE%BB-%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85-%CE%B4%CE%AE%CE%BC%CE%BF%CF%85/%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%81%CE%AF%CE%B1/.

24 Vassilis Melfos, personal archive.

25 Kassandrou is a street in the city center.

26 Costas Koutsaris, personal archive.

27 Lefteris Tsaftarides, personal archive. Filippou is a street in the city center.

people who would otherwise remain hidden,[28] like the musical collectives of the DIY music studios. In music research, oral history investigates and collects the voices of the musicians themselves, trying to capture their reflections through their accounts and their own words.[29] This direct contact of the historian with the subjects of his/her research can transmit, at least to a certain degree, their experience. In that way, a unique intersubjectivity is achieved, as the informants, become historians and the historians are now part of their sources.[30] The use of oral testimonies does not, by definition, exclude the additional use of written evidence.[31]

For the research of the DIY studios, the present study has adopted an interdisciplinary methodological procedure. This procedure emerged both from the nature of the topic itself—considering urban histories of extra-institutional music spaces such as DIY music studios—and from the research needs that arose in the absence of written sources directly related to the topic. To achieve a multifaceted historical portrayal of these creative actions, personal interviews were combined with archival research. The interviews were not fully structured and were related to the individual's musical life, although not exclusively. This way I was able to highlight the range of different activities and relationships in which musicians were involved[32] and shed light on the individual's role within the music network.[33] None of the interviews dealt exclusively with the DIY studios. All the interviewees connected the DIY studios with other parts of the DIY music network, the general atmosphere of the time, and autobiographical elements. The interview process started in 2016 and ended in 2022; in this six-year period a total of 28 interviews were conducted with 23 people. Twenty-one of the 23 participants were male. The participation of only two women suggests that their presence in the DIY music studios during the period under review was quite limited.

The information from the interviews was enriched by archival research in unofficial and personal archives, as well as in fanzines of the period in question. In certain instances, individuals engaged in the field of popular music can be regarded as historians or archivists. This complicates the delineation between the roles of archivist and archive user, particularly when endeavors to preserve and disseminate the memory of musical communities are of a collective and DIY character.[34] In this study, significant archival and historical research has

28 Alistair Thomson and Robert Perks, The Oral History Reader (London: Routledge, 1998), ix.

29 Chikukuango Cuxima-Zwa, "Oral History," in The SAGE International Encyclopedia of Music and Culture, ed. Chikukuango Cuxima-Zwa (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2019), 1623-26 at 1624, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483317731.

30 Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," Oral History, Oral Culture, and Italian Americans (2009), 30, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230101395_2.

31 Ibid., 23.

32 Sara Cohen, "Ethnography and Popular Music Studies," Popular Music 12, no. 2 (May 1993): 123–38 at 132, http://www.jstor.org/stable/931294.

33 Valerie Raleigh Yow, Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2015), 12.

34 Paul Long, Sarah Baker, Zelmarie Cantillon, Jez Collins, and Raphaël Nowak, "Popular Music, Community Archives and Public History Online: Cultural Justice and the DIY Approach to Heritage," in Community Archives, Community Spaces: Heritage, Memory and Identity, ed.

been conducted by individuals themselves involved in DIY music studios. Moreover, fanzines[35] frequently serve as the primary source of evidence, facilitating the study of the complicated histories left behind by DIY communities.[36] The editors of these fanzines were active participants in the communities they chronicled, making fanzines a valuable source for "bottom-up" research in DIY music historiography. *Rollin Under*, issued in Thessaloniki and distributed throughout Greece from 1985 to 1990, was a notable fanzine that played a crucial role in this research.[37] *Rollin Under* stands as the primary archival source for this study, concurrently serving as a pivotal component of the DIY network in Thessaloniki.[38] The pirate radio stations of that period Ράδιο Κιβωτός (Radio Ark) and Ράδιο Ουτοπία (Radio Utopia), among others, functioned in a similar twofold manner.

Part II

Part IIa. DIY Music Studios and "Their" Metapolitefsi

> Rock [music] was an outlet. On the other hand, there was the song of Metapolitefsi, which completely fucked us up, so anyway, it was what it was, they became what they became, it seemed like all these guys were careerists. Later, some of them became ministers, some of them became all that [...] the new star system was being created, and we were a couple of 15-16-year-old bums, we were in the squares, in some remote studios, in some abandoned apartment buildings, we rented them cheap and turned them into rehearsal rooms and played.[39]

Jeannette A. Bastian and Andrew Flinn (London: Facet Publishing, 2020), 97, doi:10.29085/9781783303526.007.

35 Fanzines are one of the most ideal expressions of the DIY ethos, as they are "a cultural form that is transmitted to others on its own terms." They are a small, underground, self-funded, and self-organized publications of music-loving individuals. Those involved in publishing a fanzine are not professional writers and are not seeking profit; instead, they often publish and distribute their publications at a personal financial loss. Fanzine editors are certainly not passive lovers of music groups but actively engaged members of music communities. Stephen Duncombe, Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture (London, New York: Verso, 1997), 107-108.

36 Lucy Robinson, "Zines and History: Zines as History," in Ripped, Torn and Cut: Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976, ed. The Subcultures Network (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 85-88.

37 For more information on Rolling Under, see the main creator's personal site: https://www.babisargyriou.gr/rollin-under-fanzine.

38 For more details about Rollin Under's role within the DIY music network of Thessaloniki see http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/sk/clanok/not-just-zine-rollin-under-zine-and-thessalonikis-diy-music-making-1985-1990-thessalonikis.

39 Start A Scene Productions, "Ζητείται Διέξοδος - Γιάννης Αγγελάκας" [In Search of a Way-Out – Yannis Angelakas], YouTube Video, 0:14:54, April 9, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ThsO7COHhL0&ab_channel=StartAS ceneProductions.

This is how Yannis Angelakas describes the dead end experienced by part of the youth in the 1980s.[40] This youth had renounced cultural products, political ideologies, and the emerging consumerism of the dominant facet of Metapolitefsi. Concurrently, these individuals cultivated their political and aesthetic consciousness through the adoption of punk and DIY, seeking to find their own voice through the medium of international rock music idioms. The advent of punk, both as a genre and as a cultural movement, served as a catalyst for change, reaching youth groups that were otherwise suffocated by the prevailing political discourse, party leadership, and the conservatism of Greek society.[41]

Should we accept Metapolitefsi's definition of "chronotope" we might be able to perceive its pluralistic character and understand it as a: "...historical period, an ongoing process, space, field, course of transition, multiplicity defined according to the expectations and plans of different subjects."[42] The musical practice of DIY music studios, in conjunction with the DIY music network that was structured through and around them, constituted a Metapolitefsi that critically opposed the modus vivendi of the early post-junta years, the smooth democratic transition, the "tame political mores,"[43] the modernizing conservative measures of "Europeanism,"[44] and later on the consolidation of the capitalist state through the governance of PASOK.[45]

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40 "Yiannis Angelakas began his musical trajectories as the singer of the Thessaloniki based punk Rock group Trypes which became immensely popular during the 1980s and 1990s...In the 2000s, following the breakup of Trypes, he collaborated with musicians attached to diverse scenes (among them, Nikos Veliotis, Dinos Sadikis, "Episkeptes", Thanasis Papakonstantinou, Psarogiorgis, Coti K) and experimented with cross-genre musical projects blending elements from dub, rebetiko, Rock, Cretan traditional music, blues, entechno or electronica." Dafni Tragaki, "A Head Full of Gold: A Discussion with Yannis Angelakas," in Made in Greece: Studies in Popular Music, ed. Dafni Tragaki (New York and London: Routledge, 2019), 229.

41 Stelios Kymionis, "Ροκ Σκηνή" [Rock Scene], Η Ελλάδα στη δεκαετία του '80: Κοινωνικό, πολιτικό και πολιτισμικό λεξικό [Greece in the 80s: Social, Political, and Cultural Dictionary], ed. Vassilis Vamvakas and Panagis Panagiotopoulos (Athens: Epikentro, 2014), 520.

42 Manos Avgerides, Efi Gazi, and Kostis Kornetis, Μεταπολίτευση: Η Ελλάδα στο μεταίχμιο δύο αιώνων [Metapolitefsi: Greece at the Crossroads of Two Centuries] (Athens: Themelio, 2015), 18.

43 Konstantinos Karamanlis, "Ιδρυτική διακήρυξη της Νέας Δημοκρατίας" [Founding Declaration of New Democracy], https://www.syndesmos1974.gr/2017/10/%CE%AF%CE%B4%CF%81%CF%85%CF%83%CE%B7-%CE%BD%CE%AD%CE%B1%CF%82-%CE%B4%CE%B7%CE%BC%CE%BF%CE%BA%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82/, accessed February 25, 2024.

44 Sotiris Rizas, Η Ελλάδα από τον εμφύλιο στη Μεταπολίτευση [Greece from Civil War to Metapolitefsi] (Athens: Metechmio, 2018), 37.

45 Christoforos Vernardakis, "Το καπιταλιστικό κράτος της Μεταπολίτευσης: από τον 'αυταρχικό κρατισμό' στην 'κατάσταση εξαίρεσης,'" [The Capitalist State of Metapolitefsi: From 'Authoritative Statism' to the 'State of Exception'] tVXS lecture, December 25, 2014. http://www.vernardakis.gr/article.php?id=592· Spiros Sakellaropoulos, Η Ελλάδα στη Μεταπολίτευση: πολιτικές και κοινωνικές εξελίξεις, 1974-1998 [Greece in the Metapolitefsi: Political and Social Developments] (Athens: Livani, 2001), 413-63.

During this period, particularly at the cultural level, there were several bottom-up transitions, as well as complex transferring of "cultural capital" from periphery to the center. The transitions of the Metapolitefsi period can be characterized as "changing trajectories tending in different directions," which culminated in a broader perspective of Metapolitefsi's history as a period of "questioning homogenization and an increasing tendency towards diversity."[46] This approach unveils aspects, manifestations, and characteristics of Metapolitefsi that frequently contradict the prevailing and dominant narratives about it. For instance, the preeminence of party organizations should not be taken for granted;[47] concurrently, the considerable influence of "politicized individuals and groups not recognized in the party formations of the period" can be highlighted.[48] These groups, originating from anarchist and autonomous spaces, expressed disapproval of the activities of the parliamentary parties.[49] During Metapolitefsi, the close social and cultural interactions found their way into new forms of activism related to youth, women, and queer culture.[50]

Punk culture and the DIY ethos spread to various rock music collectives in Thessaloniki, empowering them and leading them to an unprecedented and frenetic original music creation. The need for musical expression had been touched by the DIY mentality, strengthening creativity through collective effort and self-management. Rock music groups felt the need to create their own language, to find a way out, and punk and the DIY ethos permeating most rock music collectives reinforced their confidence. However, aspiring young musicians faced a huge lack of necessary infrastructure (such as musical equipment, rehearsal spaces, and performance venues) to perform the musical idioms they desired. Therefore, DIY, initially a practice of necessity in the mid-1970s, became a clear political position for certain music groups from the 1980s onward. The cooperation between music collectives was also crucial (DIT), without the absence of conflict situations within the urban landscape of Thessaloniki.

Indeed, for these young musicians, the ethics of DIY and DIT represented the most effective response to the prevailing Metapolitefsi transition and the imminent commercialization of everyday life. The situation was insightfully pinpointed and criticized by this segment of the youth, who felt suffocated by it. Through their own musical expression and by constructing their own infrastructures of creation, performance, and promotion, they managed to forge an autonomous path. The DIY music studios emerged as the space where music creativity flourished, subsequently establishing the foundation of the vibrant DIY music network that

46 Dimitris Tziovas, Η Ελλάδα από τη χούντα στην κρίση: η κουλτούρα της Μεταπολίτευσης [Greece from Junta to Crisis: The Culture of Metapolitefsi] (Athens: Gutenberg, 2022), 33-39.

47 Nikolaos Papadogiannis, "Νεανική πολιτικοποίηση και 'πολιτισμός' στα πρώτα χρόνια της Μεταπολίτευσης" [Youth Politicization and 'Culture' in the Early Years of Metapolitefsi], στο Μεταπολίτευση: Η Ελλάδα στο μεταίχμιο δύο αιώνων, 134.

48 Nikos Serntedakis, "Συνέχειες και ασυνέχειες της συλλογικής δράσης κατά τη μετάβαση από την 'καχεκτική δημοκρατία' στη Μεταπολίτευση" [Continuities and Discontinuities of Collective Action during the Transition from 'Stunted Democracy' to Metapolitefsi], στο Η Μεταπολίτευση '74-'75: Στιγμές μετάβασης [Metapolitefsi '74-'75: Moments of Transition], ed. Vangelis Karamanolakis, Ilias Nikolakopoulos, and Tasos Sakellaropoulos (Athens: Themelio, 2016), 112.

49 Ibid.

50 Tziovas, Η Ελλάδα από τη Χούντα στην Κρίση, 309-10.

came to fruition during the 1980s. The concept of Metapolitefsi as a "chronotope," in conjunction with the pluralistic realization it affords, enables the argument that these young individuals not only envisioned "their own" Metapolitefsi, but also experienced it through their DIY music network.

Part IIb. Learning through Creating and Vice Versa: Musicking in the DIY Music Studios

The 1980s generation found itself burdened by ideological and historical constraints, as well as by the prevailing musical style of Metapolitefsi. This generation was imbued with a strong sense of self-management, fueled by the new rock music movements (punk, new wave), and guided by the DIY ethos. This segment of the youth population exhibited a strong desire to engage in musical self-expression, and the confidence to assert this pursuit. The fermentations that took place at the DIY music studios had a dual character: on the one hand, they led to the production of music knowledge at the level of virtuosity (learning an instrument) and sound expertise (sound insulation, sound engineering); on the other hand, at artistic level, they led to original music creation (songs).

The processes of learning and creating were frequently intertwined. The musicians who initiated a studio often lacked formal musical training, with a few exceptions having received training through a conservatory[51] or public school.[52] However, these musicians frequently found themselves playing an instrument other than the one for which they had received training, to meet the variable demands of each performance occasion.[53] In general, extra-institutional and interpersonal learning processes are an integral part of urban life.[54] Consequently, orality is an inherent feature of the learning processes in the popular musical genres of contemporary urban life.[55] The learning processes that took place in DIY music studios exhibited all the aforementioned characteristics of being extra-institutional, interpersonal, and orally based. The music learning related to the DIY studios manifested itself as two distinct processes: one related to self-learning and the other to collective learning. A distinguishing feature of these learning environments is their categorization as informal learning processes. While it has been established that the characteristic of orality alone is insufficient to categorize a learning process as informal, the case of DIY music studios reveals

51 Sonia Vlachou, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2018. Lia Yioka, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2019. Tasos Karapanagiotidis, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

52 Thanasis Nicolaides, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

53 Sonia Vlachou, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2018. Stefanos Konteletsidis, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020. Maquitto, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2022.

54 Adam Krims, "What is a Musically Creative City?" in Music City: Musikalische Annäherungen an die »kreative Stadt« | Musical Approaches to the Creative City, ed. Alenka Barber-Kersovan, Volker Kirchberg, and Robin Kuchar (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2014), 35, https://doi.org/10.1515/transcript.9783839419656.3335.

55 Lucy Green, How Popular Musicians Learn: A Way Ahead for Music Education (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

the presence of additional characteristics associated with informal learning processes.[56] Specifically:

> [...] if learning takes place in informal spaces, through informal means, if the decisions about how, when, and where are made by the participants themselves, and finally if the intentions/goals of the participants do not include the acquisition of a formal certificate of knowledge, then it is informal learning.[57]

The musical learning processes in the context of the DIY music studios are fully identified with the aforementioned definition. Concerning the process of musical self-education, the testimonies of musicians indicate that the initial stage of learning was the intensive, almost obsessive listening of music.

> Lefteris: "We didn't really know much about music. We just listened to a lot of it, from morning to night, for hours every day."[58]

> Stelios: "Look, we learned from the tape recorder..."[59]

Music listening was frequently a form of musicking that occurred in the context of DIY music studios, collectively,[60] while on occasion, it was accompanied by the consumption of alcohol or other substances.[61] It is noteworthy that, particularly among the 1970s generation, information was predominantly auditory, with video content being accessible only at a single location, Bar Berlin.[62] Through the act of listening, musicians endeavored to visualize the playing techniques of their instruments. As one musician articulated, "Listening and playing... trying to reproduce the sounds." This auditory-based approach necessitated extensive hours of experimentation, resulting in a distinctive and personalized journey of discovery for each musician.[63]

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56 Ruth Wright and Panagiotis Kanellopoulos, "Informal Music Learning, Improvisation and Teacher Education," British Journal of Music Education 27, no. 1 (2010), 73, doi:10.1017/S0265051709990210.

57 Anna Papoutsi, "Άτυπες μορφές μάθησης και ελεύθερος μουσικός αυτοσχεδιασμός. Επαναπροσδιορίζοντας την έννοια της μουσικής δραστηριότητας στην Ελλάδα μέσα από περιπτώσεις αυτοσχεδιαστών χωρίς επίσημη μουσική εκπαίδευση" [Informal Forms of Learning and Free Musical Improvisation: Redefining the Concept of Musical Activity in Greece through Cases of Improvisers without Formal Music Education] (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2020), 18.

58 Lefteris Miggas, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

59 Stelios Tselios, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

60 Demetres Ziggeridis, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

61 Stefanos Konteletsidis, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020; Tasos Karapanagiotidis, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020; Maquitto, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2021.

62 Tasos Karapanagiotidis, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020; Alekos Kantartzis, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2022.

63 Panos Tsakiroglou, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2022.

The process of listening, therefore, may also be entirely conscious, with the objective of absolute imitation.[64] In such cases, the recording functions as a system of notation, with music groups serving as pedagogical frameworks. This assertion is supported by Stith Bennett's observations on music learning among local rock musicians, who transform recorded sounds into played sounds.[65] Lucy Green corroborates this assertion, emphasizing that the process of listening and emulation constitutes the predominant modality of music learning within popular idioms.[66] However, this characterization does not fully align with the practices of musicians in DIY music studios, who aim to collectively create original music. Imitation, in this context, is associated with the initial phase of band formation and the process of "bonding"[67] and it serves as a reinforcement of creativity.[68]

In addition to listening, a significant aspect of musical self-education was observing and imitating other musicians, often older ones.[69] Frequently, musicians would visit the DIY studios of other groups, observe their rehearsals, and learn from them through observation.

> Stelios: "We were always 'stealing'[70]—watching guitarists and stealing during gigs or rehearsals."[71]

In certain instances, cohabitation and proximity to other groups had a constructive and beneficial impact.[72]

> Maquito: "This place was a punk rock school, and Naftia [Nausia] were playing next door. I'd go in the afternoons whenever Sonia was studying... I'd sit at the drums, listening from next door and trying to catch Sonia's drumming. How could I become like her? I practiced a lot."[73]

64 Green, How Popular Musicians Learn, vii and 166. Green uses the phrase "close copying" when she refers to this type of imitation.

65 Stith H. Bennett, On Becoming a Rock Musician (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).

66 Green, How Popular Musicians Learn, 5-8.

67 Vassilis Melfos, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020; Stefanos Konteletsidis, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

68 Simon Frith, Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 55.

69 Panos Tsakiroglou, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2022.

70 In this context, "stealing" is defined as "imitating."

71 Stelios Tselios, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

72 Stefanos Konteletsidis, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

73 Maquitto, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2021.

It is worth noting that the rehearsals were conducted on a weekly basis.[74] This practice was consistent even for groups with underage members. In instances where a scheduled concert was forthcoming, rehearsals were often conducted multiple times within a single week, lasting several hours.[75] The primary objective of these rehearsals was manifold, encompassing not only the rehearsal and refinement of musical pieces but also fostering a sense of collective identity and musical camaraderie among group members. Initially, these rehearsals served two primary functions: to provide a setting for instrumental practice and to foster musical cohesion among group members. During rehearsals, musicians provided mutual support, fostering a collaborative environment. Often, the band members who were regarded as more musically adept were the ones aiding their peers.[76]

> Lefteris: "[...] We were just playing and showing each other some stuff to learn and try to make the next step."
>
> Alexandra: "You were all learning together, folks."
>
> Lefteris: "Bravo, all together that was the process."[77]

The musician's (Lefteris) abrupt realization during the interview substantiates and further corroborates the informal nature of learning processes in the DIY music studios. Informal learning processes are frequently taking place entirely unconsciously by individuals with the sole objective being that of musical expression.[78] These practices are pervasive in the context of popular music learning. Group learning, stemming from peer interaction, may occur either in a discrete manner or concurrently with the music-making process, particularly during jam improvisation.[79] The collective learning process in the DIY music studios is predominantly intertwined with the collective creative process.[80] The collaborative creative process inherent to DIY music studios led to the creation of original songs, with collective jam improvisation playing a vital role. This collaborative musical learning process can be regarded as a cultural practice that is acquired through active participation.[81]

74 Stefanos Konteletsidis, Lefteris Miggas, and Vassilis Melfos, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

75 Vassilis Melfos and Stelios Tselios, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

76 Stelios Tselios, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

77 Lefteris Miggas, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

78 Göran Folkestad, "Formal and Informal Learning Situations or Practices vs Formal and Informal Ways of Learning," British Journal of Music Education 23, no. 2 (2006), 137, doi:10.1017/S0265051706006887.

79 Green, How Popular Musicians Learn, 76-86 and 204.

80 Folkestad, "Formal and Informal Learning Situations," 138.

81 Ibid.

> Maquito: "We used to hang out there, so instead of going to a bar, we would go to the studio with two or three friends and jam, it was our night out..."[82]

The process of musical improvisation, commonly referred to as "jamming," played a pivotal role in the final musical outcome, that is, the composition of the song. The composition of songs frequently entailed an initial music idea proposed by one member of the band, subsequently developed and enriched by the other members. Consequently, the outcome was a collective endeavor, with only a few exceptions (i.e., when a member provided a completed song). The lyrics, in conjunction with a theme or riff (a pattern on the guitar) or a melodic line on the bass, frequently served as the primary input upon which the remaining members of the group built the final composition.

> Lefteris: "There were some lyrics, so we played the music based on them. At the beginning, we'd start with the chorus, and then we'd play something else to see if the music would fit. To keep it consistent, we made sure the chorus would fit with the rest of the song."[83]

> Sonia: "I heard the music very often inside my head while walking and then I had to explain it [...] as a bass line or as a rhythm, a very basic orchestration."[84]

> Lia: "It was a really cool thing that I think was pretty typical back then for a lot of bands with that same style. Or it happens in a style that's conventional and predetermined, where everyone starts playing their own thing, and something new comes out. Like, someone would bring a figure, or maybe a riff on the piano, or a pattern, or whatever you want to call it. Or, Agamemnon would bring a line on the bass, and a track would come out of there. Vassilis did that twice too, so those tracks ended up being called 'Vassilis's,' but usually, it was more like this: everyone was contributing their own thing and doing whatever they could."[85]

Therefore, it can be asserted that in the context of these DIY music studios, both informal musical learning and collective creation processes occurred. Musical learning transpired orally through amicable group settings, namely music groups.[86] The group members engaged in collaborative activities, facilitating the acquisition of musical skills.[87] This collaborative musical practice ultimately gave rise to the formation of musical communities, which served as the foundation for the 80s' DIY music network. The existence of this network would not have been possible without the vital space provided by the DIY music studios. Through rehearsals,

82 Maquitto, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2021.

83 Lefteris Miggas, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2020.

84 Sonia Vlahou, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2019.

85 Lia Yioka, interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2018.

86 Demetra Papastavrou, "Οι μαθησιακές διεργασίες στη συγκρότηση μουσικών ταυτοτήτων: Η περίπτωση της ομάδας πέντε ενηλίκων από τη Θεσσαλονίκη που μαθαίνουν και παίζουν μαζί μουσική" [Learning Processes in the Formation of Musical Identities: The Case of a Group of Five Adults from Thessaloniki who Learn and Play Music Together] (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2010), 86.

87 Stephen Fox, "Communities of Practice, Foucault and Actor-Network Theory," Journal of Management Studies 37, no.6 (2000), 853, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6486.00207.

jamming, and collective processes of mutual learning and creation, whether in terms of musical virtuosity or studio expertise, knowledge and art were produced and transmitted through horizontal collective processes. The DIY ethos, predicated on the notion that all individuals possess the capacity for self- and mutual learning within a peer environment, is a rejection of the "dictatorship" of experts. This ethos was shared by many musicians in Thessaloniki during that period, and it was often a deliberate choice:

> Sonia: "First of all, we said that we wanted to debunk the dictatorship of the experts [...] so, secondly, because we believed that on a self-taught level one can learn any instrument they want, if they try hard. I thought that I should play every time, so that we could form bands [...] where we liked each other, or that I should learn whatever instrument was missing, that's all."[88]

Michel Foucault's assertion that "power produces knowledge" and that "power and knowledge directly imply each other" encapsulates the intertwined nature of these concepts.[89] The statement above elucidates that those collectivities were acutely aware of this fact and sought to disrupt the prevailing cycle. Within the context of DIY collective learning and musical creation facilitated by the DIY studio space, it appears that the Foucauldian paradigm of power and knowledge might be contested, a point elaborated in Part III below. This position is predicated on Stephen Duncombe's and, subsequently, Emit Snake-Beings' argument that DIY cultures have the potential to create "negative spaces," within which knowledge is not organized or shared through experts but is cocreated, developed, and transmitted among peers.[90]

Part III

Interpretative Framework: DIY Music Studios as Heterotopic Spaces

> Babis: "There were some old houses we'd rent and turn into studios where we'd hang out and learn from each other. It was a great place to make bands and stuff. [...] We worked a lot, played all the time, rehearsed all the time. Of course, we didn't do it on purpose. At the time, we were just living in our own world, dreaming, seeing something **else**, aiming somewhere **else.** After years, I realize that even if it hadn't been for rock music, we would've still been doing something. I mean, it mattered more that we'd meet, play music together, and play music that would take us somewhere **else** than where we were living. Rock music was like music from **another** world, and it helped us dream of **other** worlds too."[91] [emphases mine]

88 Sonia Vlahou interviewed by Alexandra Karamoutsiou, 2019.

89 Emit Snake-Beings, "The DIY (Do-It-Yourself) Ethos: A Participatory Culture of Material Engagement," (PhD diss., University of Waikato, 2016), 27.

90 Stephen Duncombe, Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture (Bloomington: Microcosm Publishing, 2008), 66-70; Snake-Beings, "The DIY (Do-It-Yourself) Ethos," 294.

91 Start A Scene Productions, "Ζητείται Διέξοδος - Μπάμπης Παπαδόπουλος" [In Search of a Way-Out - Babis Papadopoulos], YouTube Video, 0:08:58, April 9, 2020,

The description herein reveals a unique relationship between local and international cultural influences, particularly through music, and how these influences shaped the aspirations of a generation. The "music from another world," as described by Babis Papadopoulos of the band Trypes, inspired young musicians to imagine an alternative reality, distinct from the political and social climate of the prevailing Metapolitefsi. Rock music from Western Europe and the U.S. served as a catalyst for creating imaginary worlds.[92] Music, in this context, becomes a tool for shaping an alternative world, and should not merely be regarded as a reaction to external forces but as an active agent of cultural formation.[93]

The imaginary worlds that emerged from rock cultural expression could be said to resemble the concept of utopia.

> Utopias are emplacements having no real place. They are emplacements that maintain a general relation of direct or inverse analogy with the real space of society. They are society perfected or the reverse of society, but in any case, these utopias are spaces that are fundamentally and essentially unreal.[94]

Foucault employs the concept of utopia to analyze the notion of heterotopia. He defines heterotopic spaces as actualized utopias, characterized by the representation, challenge, and subversion of societal spatial arrangements. The ideal is commonly perceived as an intangible entity, situated in an abstract and remote spatial dimension. However, the concept of heterotopia enables the delineation of the utopian in terms of its location, space, and time.[95] Indeed, according to Foucault, heterotopic spaces exist in most social and cultural contexts and are regulated by those principles: all cultures and civilizations generate heterotopias; heterotopias can last a long time, and their function can change depending on the cultural context. There are heterotopias consisting of incompatible settings (such as a microcosm). Heterotopias are linked to specific parts of time: in fact, heterotopic places are in full operation when they are in absolute rupture with their actual/conventional time. Heterotopias may function in one of the following ways when compared to what is considered as realistic space:

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WyO6kP4_Nz8&ab_channel=StartASceneProductions. Babis Papadopoulos was guitar player of the music group Trypes [Holes].

92 Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," Theory, Culture & Society 7, no. 2-3 (1990), 295-310, https://doi.org/10.1177/026327690007002017.

93 Martin Stokes, "On Musical Cosmopolitanism," The Macalester International Roundtable 3 (2007), 5-10, https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrdtable/3.

94 Michel Foucault and James D. Faubion, Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology (New York: New Press, 1998), 178. This quote comes from a lecture given by Foucault in Tunisia in 1967 to an association of architects; he published a written version of it almost twenty years later.

95 Stavros Stavridis, Ο χώρος της τάξης και οι ετεροτοπίες: ο Φουκώ ως γεωγράφος της ετεροτοπίας" [The Space of Order and Heterotopias: Foucault as a Geographer of Heterotopia], Ουτοπία: διμηνιαία έκδοση θεωρίας και πολιτισμού [Utopia: Bimonthly Publication of Theory and Culture] 72 (November-December 2006), 154, http://pandemos.panteion.gr/index.php?op=record&lang=el&pid=iid:18 72 54.

they either produce a space of illusion that denounces real space as illusory (e.g., a brothel), or they create a space so perfectly ordered that realistic space seems sketchy and disorganized.[96]

Henry Lefebvre in his lecture on politics and space in the early 1970s commented that scholars like Foucault tend towards an abstract epistemological thinking.[97] Foucault, according to Lefebvre, failed to bridge the gap between philosophical and human space related to material issues.[98] Foucault's approach is seen by some scholars as perpetuating and reproducing dichotomies and polarities such as between center and periphery or between elite and community, polarities that lead to a top-down perspective preserving late capitalism's politics of space production (privatization, commodification, culturalization).[99] According to Foucault, heterotopia, on the one hand helps us to identify the heterogeneity of a space[100] and realize social order as a process; on the other hand, it is such an open concept that it could be used to describe a "concentration camp as well as Disneyland."[101] Contrary to this point of view, Lefebvre argued that a lived space would never be neutral. Its role and function are part of a totality. Space is a dynamic concept and is neither a starting point nor an arrival point, but a mediation; in this sense it is always political.[102] Lefebvre's point offers a dialectical view of space that can be understood as a context for social change. It focuses mainly on places where economic transactions are marginalized, without implying that they do not exist at all. Lefebvre's heterotopia is created and flourishes in this case momentarily through collective action.[103]

As an extension to Lefebvre's dialectic, Edward Soja proposed "cumulative trialectics."[104] He divided social space into three moments: in spatial practice, in the representation of space, and in the space of representation. In the first, the process of producing the material form of social space is a medium and result of human activity. The representation of space is the repository of epistemological forces, the initial space of the utopian vision. Finally, the spaces of representation are underground spaces that contain hidden aspects of social life and art. This

96 Foucault and Faubion, Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology, 179-84.

97 Henry Lefebvre, Το δικαίωμα στην πόλη: Χώρος και πολιτική [The Right to the City: Space and Politics], translated by Panos Tournikiotis (Athens: Papazisis, 1977), 203.

98 Juliane Schicker, "The Concert Hall as Heterotopia: Sounds and Sights of Resistance in the Leipzig Gewandhaus 1970-1989" (PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 2015), 16.

99 Pier Luigi Sacco, Sendy Ghirardi, Maria Tartari, and Marianna Trimarchi, "Two Versions of Heterotopia: The Role of Art Practices in Participative Urban Renewal Processes," Cities 89 (February 2019), 200. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2019.02.013.

100 David Harvey, Spaces of Hope (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 184.

101 Ibid., 185.

102 Lefebvre, Το Δικαίωμα στην πόλη: Χώρος και πολιτική, 202, 206, and 229.

103 Sacco, Ghirardi, Tartari, and Trimarchi, "Two Versions of Heterotopia," 200-205.

104 Edward W. Soja, Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), p. 61.

is also the space Soja calls the "third space."[105] Heterotopias thus enable an alternative culture that challenges the dominant worldview.[106]

The youth of the 1980s under study, disappointed by the prevailing Metapolitefsi's reality on a cultural and ideological level, envisioned an "other" world.[107] A basic motivation for a utopian vision is after all "the refusal of people to come to terms with reality that surrounds them and leads them to imagine a different ideal arrangement of social relations."[108] This is exactly what the young people did in the context of "their" Metapolitefsi. I argue that this part of the youth envisioned an "unreal, perfect or inverted society," a Foucauldian utopia.[109] The foreign, international rock music idioms of the time worked for them like Foucault's mirror, "a virtual space from the other side of the glass."[110] Consequently, rock music idioms may be regarded as the liminal intermediate experience that rendered visible the "other" or the "somewhere else,"[111] which, like the mirror's reflection, was visible but at the same time intangible.[112]

Synthesizing aspects of space functions, as described by Soya, Lefebvre and Foucault, and the notion of heterotopia, we could argue that DIY music studios functioned as heterotopic spaces. DIY music studios were hidden underground spaces that enabled an alternative world view:[113] they were created and they flourished through collective action[114] and they were the initial spaces[115] and embodiments of a utopia.[116] In other words, DIY music studios can be viewed as

105 Soja, Thirdspace, 60-65.

106 Schicker, "The Concert Hall as Heterotopia," 18. The concept of heterotopia has been used to theorize either musical spaces per se or to describe spaces produced by music. For example, Dafne Tragaki considers rebetiko to be a sonic heterotopia because during performance it shapes "heterotemporal moments." Schicker, on the other hand, has used the term to describe the function of the Gewandhaus concert hall during the period 1970-1989 in the German Democratic Republic as a site of resistance, shaped by the repertoire choices of the orchestra conductors, but also by the architectural interventions in the configuration of the space. Dafni Tragaki, Rebetiko Worlds (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 300; Schicker, "The Concert Hall as Heterotopia," 18.

107 See Babis Papadopoulos quote at the beginning of this part.

108 Argiris Emmanouil, "Συζητώντας για την ετεροτοπία: οι χωροχρονικές ετεροτοπίες των 'τεράτων'," [Discussing Heterotopia: The Spatio-Temporal Heterotopias of 'Monsters'], DSpace@NTUA, Lectures (July 2012), 7, http://dx.doi.org/10.26240/heal.ntua.313.

109 Foucault and Faubion, Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology, 179.

110 Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," Diacritics 16, no. 1 (1986): 22–27.

111 See Babis Papadopoulos quote at the beginning of this part.

112 Ibid.

113 Soja, Thirdspace, 60-65.

114 Sacco, Ghirardi, Tartari, and Trimarchi, "Two Versions of Heterotopia," 200-205.

115 Schicker, "The Concert Hall as Heterotopia," 18.

116 Foucault and Faubion, Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology, 180.

distinct underground "spaces of representation" of art and life that resisted the dominant order, had a relatively limited visibility, enabled an alternative culture that challenged the dominant worldview, like the so-called "third space," and flourished through collective action.

More analytically, this generation's utopia inspired by the rock music idioms (punk, new wave, etc.) was embodied through the musicking that took place in the DIY music studios: through makeshift constructions, equipment sharing, collective listening, group consumption of alcohol and other substances, informal processes of musical learning and collective creation, young people and young musicians approached their utopia. Indeed, musicking represents the ideal relations between the individual and society as imagined by the participants.[117] Therefore, in this sense, each musicking could form a heterotopia. Musicking in this instance has the capacity to actualize the utopian aspirations of musical collectives, situating them within a distinct spatial context: DIY music studios that, from this perspective, function as heterotopia.[118] The first step for the emergence of a heterotopia is the "usurpation" and the alternative —beyond the dominant values— redevelopment of space.[119] In the case of the DIY studios we cannot often refer to the usurpation of space, as the bands most often paid, systematically or not, rent for abandoned houses, old industrial spaces, etc. We can, however, bring back here Lefebvre's view that in heterotopias the commercial transaction is not completely denied, but rather sidelined. Also, the alternative redevelopment and ultimately the use of space beyond its original purpose is a key feature of the DIY studios.

Collectivities, through their desire for a better future, are often led, according to Stavridis, to the creation of heterotopias.[120] However, in the case of the DIY studios, we are not referring so much to future projections, but to embodiments of the ideal through musicking. From this perspective, DIY music studios are spaces with heterotopic characteristics,

> …that have the power as landscapes of a collective act to illustrate the other, albeit temporarily, as long as their hybrid existence lasts. Perhaps heterotopias are not places distant and ideal but close, full of contradictions and dreams, places of utopia.[121]

Summarizing, DIY music studios were organized and set up in abandoned spaces due to the utopian vision and self-activity of music collectives based on friendship. Their main purpose was musical expression through collective learning and creation. A DIY musical network was created around the music studios, which became the main hub of the network's development. DIY music studios became the basic core of this alternative economic, political, and cultural structure (Figure 1). Eventually, through musicking DIY music studios functioned as heterotopic spaces that created an alternative cultural economy, a world that was simultaneously an answer and a part of Metapolitefsi: "their" Metapolitefsi, their "way-out."

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117 Small, Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening, 9-22.

118 Foucault and Faubion, Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology, 180.

119 Stavros Stavridis, "Οι χώροι της ουτοπίας και η ετεροτοπία: Στο κατώφλι της σχέσης με το διαφορετικό" [The Spaces of Utopia and Heterotopia: On the Threshold of the Relationship with the Different], Ουτοπία 31 (1998), 59.

120 Ibid., 64.

121 Ibid.

Table 1. DIY music studios' interpretative and conclusive framework (Foucault, Lefebvre, Soja, Stavridis)

Concept	**Description**	**Details or Implementations**
Utopia	Alternative ideal reality	Desire for a better future, refusal to come to terms with reality that surrounds them. Searching for a "way-out"
Mirror	The liminal intermediate experience that rendered visible the "other" or the "somewhere else," visible but at the same time intangible.	Rock music idioms, punk, new wave
Heterotopia	Utopias embodiment, specific time and space	Temporal places, not distant and ideal but close, full of contradictions and dreams
Heterotopic spaces	Initial space of the utopian vision	DIY music studio
Heterotopic spaces	Repository of epistemological knowledge	DIY and DIT ethos within DIY music studios and DIY music network
Heterotopic spaces	Flourish through collective action, economic transactions are marginalized	Musicking: collective learning, and creating in the DIY music studios
Heterotopic spaces	Enable an alternative culture that challenges the dominant worldview	"Their Metapolitefsi"/ "their way-out"/ 80s DIY music network through and around DIY music studios

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Abstract

DIY (do-it-yourself) music studios have been present in Thessaloniki since the Metapolitefsi period. They were organized and set up in semi-abandoned spaces due to the utopian vision and self-activity of music collectives. Disappointed by the cultural and ideological reality of the prevailing Metapolitefsi, a part of the youth of the 1980s longed for a "way out" and imagined an "other" world. Inspired by rock idioms (punk, new wave, etc.) and empowered by the DIY and DIT ethos, a DIY music network was formed within and around the DIY music studios of Thessaloniki. Ultimately, DIY music studios emerged as unique creative heterotopic spaces that not only enabled an alternative worldview, but also embodied the utopian vision of this youth.

About the Author

Alexandra Karamoutsiou received her PhD from the Department of Music of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She continues her research as a post-doctoral researcher and works as an adjunct lecturer in the same department. Currently, she is also a researcher in two funded research projects. For the year 2024 she is an academic fellow of the Research Center for the Humanities. Her field of research starts from urban music studies and specializes in the study of DIY music practices, networks, communities and spaces with a focus on the DIY music studios of Thessaloniki. She has presented her research in dozens of international conferences (IASPM, KISMIF, PNS, PMGIRC) and has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *Forum Historiae*.