



Transgressions in the cities - Marginal lifestyles in the origins of skateboarding around the world

Transgressões nas cidades – Estilos de vidas marginais nas origens do skate no mundo

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ABSTRACT

In order to discuss the origins of modern sports and introduce skateboarding, which is on the fringes of urban youth, we will use the theoretical frameworks of Cultural History and Cultural Studies.

Keywords: Lifestyles, World, Sports.

RESUMO

Para discutirmos as origens dos esportes modernos e introduzir o skate, o qual perpassa o lado marginal das juventudes urbanas, utilizaremos como base os referenciais teóricos da História Cultural e dos Estudos Culturais.

Palavras-chave: Estilos de vidas, Mundo, Esportes.

1 INTRODUCTION

In order to discuss the origins of modern sports and introduce skateboarding, which is on the fringes of urban youth, we will use the theoretical frameworks of Cultural History and Cultural Studies. The concepts drawn from cultural practices and representations will expose the problems of historical aspects identified in the research, referring to groups of practitioners¹ of so-called "radical or Californian sports"². As contradictory and ambivalent identity appropriations, the new practices of skateboarding experimentation were initiated in urbanized cities, which emerged in the post-war period, through the appropriation of re-signified and territorialized urban spaces. In these places, *outsider and* deviant practices and representations emerged, enabling the construction of *lifestyle experiences*³ on the *skateboard*. The experiences of skateboarders with urban practices must be linked to the ruptures that have occurred in the

¹ However, these practices are not necessarily identified as "sport" by their practitioners. Thus, according to Wheaton and Beal (2003, p. 176), they seek to "[...] define themselves and differentiate themselves from the norms of the dominant sporting culture".

² For Brandão (2014, p. 17), extreme or Californian sports are among the types of practices that "[...] range from *surfing* to kayaking, free flight, mountaineering, adventure racing and, among others, make reference to skateboarding".

³ We translate it as "lifestyle".



West,⁴ from the changes in lifestyles⁵ in the societies of Late Modernity (HALL, 2005)⁶, which Giddens (1991) presents as Globalization.

2 OBJECTIVE

Although it is not our intention to discuss the origins of sports in societies throughout history,⁷ we will nevertheless confirm what the French sociologist Alain Ehrenberg (2010, p. 10) proposed to present as the "era of sports". Based on this, we will establish the concept of sports as a starting point "between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century [...]" (BRANDÃO, 2014, p. 12), with England being the exponential exporter of so-called sports concepts and practices today.

The sport discussed here is not linked to the healthy living conditions that mechanical activities demanded of athletes at the beginning of the 20th century, in the sense of a more productive life (SEVCENKO, 2001). However, as Brandão (2014, p. 12-13) points out, the so-called "extreme sports"⁸ [...], surfing, *skateboarding*, *bodyboarding*, *windsurfing* etc." emerged "[...] on the fringes of traditional sports of English origin and as youth practices, they were linked to the counterculture and claimed a certain autonomy from social institutions"⁹. It is these practices of counter-cultural, deviant representations and claims for autonomy that we emphasize in the analyses below, by building their own history in the sense of extreme sports.

Extreme sports are those that develop in their practitioners feelings of excitement, fear, adrenaline and, in the case of skateboarding, are permeated with improvisation for those who seek to express themselves in hallucinatory and delirious emotions. To this end, the conditioning experienced in extreme sports is felt as part of a way of being, both by those who practice them and by those who enjoy them. In the work by Pociello (1995), the author attributes to those who practise extreme sports different experiences from those of traditional sports, stating that there are other meanings exercised and felt, because they evoke experiences of feeling, different sensations in the bodies and minds of those who practise them.

⁴ According to Hall (1992, p. 277), the West "[...] is an image or set of images. It condenses a number of different characteristics into one image. It evokes in our minds - represents in verbal and visual language - a composite picture of what different societies, cultures, peoples and places are like. It functions as part of a language, a system of representation".

⁵ For Bourdieu (1983, p. 82), lifestyles are presented as "differential deviations that are the symbolic retranslation of differences objectively inscribed in the conditions of existence".

⁶ Hall (2005, p. 12) attributes the concept to "the process of change known as 'globalization', and its impact on cultural identity [...]", thus being defined as Late Modernity.

⁷ As Melo (2010, p. 108) points out, the word "*sport*" seems to have been first recorded in 15th century England, originating from the Old French "*disport*", which curiously had its origins in the Latin "*deportare*", which meant "to send away" (hence the word "deport").

⁸ Pociello (1995) called them "Californian sports".

⁹ The concept of these sports is developed in the work coordinated by Vigarello (2008).



You can play at feeling fear in the air and in the sea, on the wave or on the rock, on the climbs or on the descents, in the emptiness that borders on catastrophe, so as to really experience the exciting sensations of dreams of flight, or savor the more modest dynamics of jumping (POCIELLO, 1995, p. 119).

Pesavento (2005), presenting the concept of subjective realities, exemplifies how human representations take place in everyday cultural elaborations and adds the following explanatory outlines of the realities experienced in social groups:

Constructed on the world, they not only take the place of that world, but also make people perceive reality and guide their existence. They are matrices that generate social behaviors and practices, endowed with an integrating and coercive force, as well as explaining reality. Individuals and groups make sense of the world through the representations they construct about reality (PESAVENTO, 2008, p. 39).

Constructed subjectively, reality, as presented by the researcher, can be corroborated with Hall's (2005, p. 11) thinking in Cultural Studies, in which he adds that it is the "[...] very process of identification, through which we project onto our own cultural identities" the way we see and experience the world. It is therefore within these historical and cultural contexts that the representations of subjects as globalized are decentred and allow the displacement of cultural and social agents in identities that were previously unified with the nation-state, as at the end of the 20th century, due to what Giddens (1991, p. 21) calls "[...] the 'extraction' of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring over indefinite scales of space-time".

What's more, the bodily sensations attributed to practitioners of these types of sports are seen by Caillois (1958, p. 42) as moments of "risky" experiences, the so-called *Ilinx*¹⁰, vertigo games, "[...] it's about reaching a kind of spasm, trance or dizziness that fades reality with immense suddenness" (CAILLOIS, 1990, p.42).in all cases, it is a question of reaching a kind of spasm, trance or stupefaction that fades reality with immense suddenness" (CAILLOIS, 1990, p. 43), which the author conceptualizes as so-called manifestations of *paidia* and *ludus* for exciting practices.

At one end, a common principle of fun, turbulence, improvisation and carefree expansion reigns almost absolutely, through which a certain contained fantasy that can be called *paidia* manifests itself. At the other end of the spectrum, this joyful and thoughtless exuberance is practically absorbed, or at least disciplined, by a complementary tendency, contrary in some respects, although not in all, to its anarchic and capricious nature: a growing need to subordinate it to conventional, imperious and uncomfortable rules, to increasingly thwart it by creating incessant obstacles with the aim of making it more difficult to achieve the desired goal. It thus becomes perfectly pointless, since it requires an increasing number of attempts, persistence, skill or artifice. I call this second component *ludus* (CAILLOIS, 1990, p. 32-33).

¹⁰ Callois (1990, p. 45) points out that "[...] the term *ilinx*, the Greek name for a whirlpool of water, derives precisely from the same language as the designation for vertigo (*ilingos*) to encompass the various varieties of exaltation, which is a simultaneous organic and psychic daze".



In the practices experimented with in playful and performative spaces of groups, young people practicing extreme sports in urban areas have emerged, creating new ways of using their bodies for thrills, so that they can feel the pleasurable sensations of risk. Magnani (1996, p. 13) points out that in urban experimentation, "[...] both conventional and more unusual forms attest to the vitality of urban practices in this particular dimension, that of leisure and sociability [...]". As a result, extreme sports in urban areas have taken on "[...] new modalities, adapted to new circumstances, established other dialogues" (MAGNANI, 1996, p. 13). Extreme sportspeople start to express themselves through transgressive representations, in contrast to traditional sports¹¹, which are made up of rigid rules among their fans. Therefore, "Californian" or "radical" sports have different meanings in pleasurable, hallucinatory and at the same time crazy experimentation¹².

Ricardo Uvinha (2001, p. 25-26) considers extreme sports practitioners to be of all ages, but that there is a "youth culture" that is linked to them. Based on this, according to the author, we have practices (understood as lifestyles) of life "[...] that are peculiar to them, styles that are often characterized by innovation, by the denial of values that are considered traditional, and such are close to [...], practitioners of extreme sports., practitioners of extreme sports", breaking the values imposed by societies in the form of prohibitions on excitement and daydreams, in what Foucault (2014, p. 135) characterizes as disciplines in modern societies, human bodies "[...] enter a machinery of power that scrutinizes, dismantles and recomposes them [...]. Discipline thus manufactures submissive bodies and exercises docile bodies," in a way that doesn't allow us to break with the traditional, the old imposed traditions of modern societies.

Foucault (2014) justifies that the impositions on bodies have the objective of modifying them to the desired image of organized societies, since they are based on a social moralism that seeks to unite around a brand, a characteristic. I would also like to point out that De Grazia (1966), when analyzing the constructions of moralism in the 1960s among young American leisure seekers, shows that there was a system of surveillance by the government of the time over these young people. In American society, it was necessary to create ways to curb the hallucinatory impulses of young people, building rules around leisure, because "[...], especially for the young and the rebellious, free time activities can be on the verge of immorality, [...] the young person cannot be free of need, nor capable of leisure" (DE GRAZIA, 1966, p. 331). Because they

¹¹ According to Holt (1989, p. 1), "All peoples have their games, but none of the great modern nations has built them up so much as a rule of life and a national code." This was the verdict of a German visitor to England in the 1920s [...]. This was the verdict of a German visitor to England in the 1920s [...] "It is the natural evolution of the spirit of play," he continues, "which has given the English personality its most interesting feature and from a political, cultural and broadly human point of view, its most important aspect." According to Vilaverde (2000, p. 119), "In bodily leisure experiences in nature, there is a complexity and also a tendency to attribute to these new practices a peculiar character in tune with the cultural, social, ethical and aesthetic standards emerging in the contemporary world".

¹² We can define a translouated being as one who goes beyond madness, the ability to be more than just crazy. Not in the incapacitating sense, but as a transgressor of social conventions. The idea is taken from the work of Flávio Queiroz, sociologist and professor at the Veiga de Almeida University (UVA), author of the dissertation "Secos & Molhados: Transgressão, contravenção" and the thesis "Ney Matogrosso: sentimento contramão. Transgression and artistic autonomy".



could create their own rules, undermining the social order "[...] in the face of the values of modern societies" (REQUIXA, 1980, p. 15), they ended up building the so-called social counterculture. "The term 'counterculture' has been used in various historical contexts to refer to individual and collective resistance to political authority, social conventions or established aesthetic values" (DUNN, 2016, p. 4, our translation¹³).

3 METHODOLOGY

We used analyses of scientific texts in theses, dissertations and articles, as well as research into books on the subject of the text, making an in-depth discursive analysis.

4 DEVELOPMENT

In addition, given the initial rapprochement with the counterculture of various musical styles, influenced by African-American culture at the end of the 19th century, we can see the importance of the arrival of *hard rock* and the practices of *hippie* life in the construction of urban identities. *Punk* culture and experiences with the *hip-hop* world reached young people. Despite the fact that extreme sports emerged on the fringes of English traditional sports, the counterculture will be linked to the youth experiences of the American middle classes.

We draw on Ken Goffman (R. U. Sirius) and Dan Joy (2007) for our discussion of *counter-culture through the ages*¹⁴:

Ginsberg's memorable reading of "Howl" is often highlighted as the moment when an already existing culture of *hipsters* and *beats* finally blossomed. Indeed, the popularization by the mass media of this culture of visionary ecstasy and apocalyptic alienation from the repressed culture of the time occurred almost instantaneously, and the hippies - who largely dominated the public imagination in the late 1960s - are its direct descendants. But the counterculture that would come to be dominated by the children of the white middle class was largely rooted in the cultural styles and strategies of the African-American children of slaves (GOFFMAN; JOY, 2007, p. 252).

The influence of American counter-culture had already been mediated by practices that opposed "Judeo-Christian" morality (GOFFMAN; JOY, 2007, p. 253), through enslaved Africans and, from the 1960s onwards, their descendants. It was therefore in the culture of *hipsters* and *beats*¹⁵ that the challenges

¹³ In the original: "*The term 'counterculture' has been used in diverse historical contexts to refer to individual and collective resistance to political authority, social conventions, or established aesthetic values.*" (DUNN, 2016, p. 5).

¹⁴ Although the author came under criticism when developing the theory, being criticized in his concepts of countercultures by Christopher Dunn in the book *Contracultura: Alternative Arts and Social transformation in Authoritarian Brazil*, in which he states "[...] Ken Goffman and Dan Joy have argued that countercultural movements are trans-historical [...]. While the scope of their historical argument is compelling, the set of examples is so heterogeneous that it makes comparisons and connections difficult to sustain [...]" (DUNN, 2016, p. 5). We use a good part of his arguments to problematize the issues surrounding the emergence of skater identities linked to modern counterculture in urban societies.

¹⁵ By the way, *hipster* would be the absolute outcast. The circulation of the term was widened by *beat* literature and by Norman Mailer's *The White Negro*, an essay published in 1957 with the superficial subtitle *Reflections on the Hipster*, in which he took



to puritanical morality and the cultural liberalism of its founders became apparent and blossomed within North American culture, leading to the emergence of a third way, which came from the 1870s, producing music and life practices, the beginnings of *boogie-woogie*¹⁶. They were also appropriated by the white middle class in the 20th century, intoxicated by the styles of jazz and *rock and roll* in African-American culture (GOOFMAN; JOY, 2007).

Extreme sports and counter-cultural music were at the same time at the place where they broke down the borders and global traditions of the local. The practices of North American black cultures played a fundamental role in the development of the musical styles that preceded the 1960s and permeated the world of extreme sports.

Coming from the end of the 19th century, the *blues* had a folkloric language popular in various black rural communities in the country, to the point where, by the 1910s, it was known by society as a whole. The "[...] blues conveyed shocking information to white culture: sex was somehow linked to rhythm!" (GOOFMAN; JOY, 2007, p. 253-254). Thus, in black circles in New Orleans in the United States of America, *boogie-woogie* carried in its music sounds of spicy lyrics, the basis of contemporary rap styles. So, while "[...] blues was the pains and anxieties of a people, jazz was based on 'voodoo' rituals conceived in such a way as to produce spiritual ecstasy" (GOOFMAN; JOY, 2007, p. 254), marking the transition from rural to urban life, influencing the youth of the United States and other countries in the Western world.

There were other musical styles that emerged from jazz, such as *swing* and *bebop*, danceable and vibrant rhythms, improvisations that rocked the nights of the 1930s in North America. As a result, with the disruptions caused by the two great wars and the Great Depression¹⁷, the white American elite had the opportunity to increase their spending power, pushing aside the anxieties caused by the periods of history before the 1950s.

Faced with the chaos of the 1950s in American culture and in the economic, political and social spheres, the so-called *hipsters were* strengthened, "[...] a young and sullen strain that had begun to form a subculture in the 1940s filled the rebellious vacuum" (GOOFMAN; JOY, 2007, p. 254), paving the way for liberation in the countercultural rebellion of modernity.

In the United States in the 1950s, there was structural racism, due to the conformism of the white middle class, "[...] white dominance was guaranteed simply by the systematic racism of the time: For the

the side of these outsiders, contrasting them with the *square*, the bourgeois, and which appeared in his 1959 book *Advertisements for Myself*. "From hipster comes hippie, its diminutive, which came to designate alternative in the second half of the 1960s [...]. Polysemic and ambivalent, *beat* is also the rhythmic beat of jazz. And it can be associated with beatitude, a key word in Kerouac's repertoire, who, in a 1959 interview, gave this interpretation to the term to counter its more defeatist meaning." (WILLER, 2009, p. 8-16, emphasis added).

¹⁶ It is a style in which there is a regular and repetitive rhythmic figure, played with the left hand, on the bass part of the piano (SCHULLER, 1970, p. 438).

¹⁷ The biggest financial crisis of the 20th century.



vast majority of African Americans, for example, middle-class conformism was neither a threat nor an option¹⁸ " (HOLTON, 2004, p. 20). However, although there was conformism caused by the denial of opportunities to blacks in white American society, as well as racial hatred in the south of the country by the same elite, young middle-class people desired the lifestyles of blacks, seeking experiences that went beyond the empty life they felt in the riches of their affluent, white lives.

One lilac evening I walked with all my muscles aching between the lights of 27th and Welton in the black neighborhood of Denver, longing to be a black man, feeling that the best the white world had to offer me was not enough ecstasy for me, not enough life, not enough joy, excitement, darkness, music, not enough night (KEROUAC, 2011, p. 163, our translation¹⁹).

Black music, based on the rhythms of jazz, blues, *swing* and *bebop*, brought American youth together. These *underground* spaces were where the new generations of the 1960s emerged, through the influences of the various black musical rhythms, the cultural styles of the literary writing of the *beats*, favoring the production of new ways of breaking away from the tedious white American life of the post-war period. Blacks represented counter-cultural resistance, creating ways to break through the walls and break down the coldness that distanced them from middle-class American social life, at the same time as whites were appropriating black ways of living. Thus, they entered the minds of white American youth, creating and recreating representations of urban life in the style of black music²⁰ :

But at that time, they danced through the streets like frenzied spinning tops and I dragged myself in the same direction as I have done all my life, always crawling after people who interest me, because for me, real people are the crazy ones, the ones who are crazy to live, crazy to talk, crazy to be saved, who want everything at the same time right now, those who never yawn and never say platitudes, but burn, burn, burn, like fabulous fireworks, exploding like constellations in whose boiling center - pop! - you can see an intense blue glow until everyone goes "aaaaaaah!" (KEROUAC, 2004, p. 24-25, emphasis added).

The mixtures of the ecstasy of life and the pleasurable sensations experienced by white Americans in African-American lifestyles did not satisfy the owners of the money. Their parents were completely dissatisfied with the appropriations their children were making, wanting them to get away from the bohemian life they were immersing themselves in on cold nights in North America. As Starr (2004, p. 44,

¹⁸ In the original: "[...] *Whiteness was guaranteed simply by the systemic racism of the era: For the vast majority of African Americans, for example, middle-class conformism was neither a threat nor an option*" (HOLTON, 2004, p. 20).

¹⁹ In the original: "[...] *At lilac evening I walked with every muscle aching among the lights of 27th and Welton in the Denver colored section, wishing I were a Negro, feeling that the best the white world had offered me was not enough ecstasy for me, not enough life, joy, kicks, darkness, music, not enough night*" (KEROUAC, 2007, p. 223).

²⁰ As Hall (1996, p. 155) says about black popular culture in "[...] adaptations shaped for the mixed, contradictory and hybrid spaces of popular culture [...] These forms are always the product of partial synchronization, of engagement across cultural boundaries, of the confluence of more than one cultural tradition, of negotiations of dominant and subaltern positions, of subterranean strategies of recoding and transcoding, of critical signification, of the act of signifying".



our translation²¹) points out, "[...] alternative understandings of sexuality, race relations and gender identity, an exploration made possible through their attractions to African-American, ethnic and bohemian cultures in which many parents would like to restrict their children". Therefore, the cultural hybridization formed in new urban practices created alternative lives that had previously been almost impossible to live and experience. However, for some, the most they could consume of these experiences, such as the *hipster* culture of the 1950s, was through the cinema, because "they could have a simulacrum of *hipster* stimulation from a safe distance" (GOOFMAN; JOY, 2007, p. 257), due to urban moralism.

The *hipster* and *beat* movements, which began in the 1960s with music of African-American origin, built the counterculture of American youth, allowing urban groups to appropriate cultural representations and practices, through lifestyles expressed in the media, promoted by the cultural industrial television²² :

This element of countercultural meaning, continued by the youth movements of the 1960s, reached its apotheosis in the 1990s - when tribal subcultures formed almost entirely around media identities in which style was of fundamental importance. In its worst aspects, we have reached a point in history where denoting counterculture in a way that is entirely devoid of content has become a rite of passage for most adults and young people (GOOFMAN; JOY, 2007, p. 266).

It is in this American socio-cultural scenario that we discuss *hipster* culture²³ and *beats*²⁴ that we can enter the period of *rock and roll*, in order to show all the powers of music of African-American origin, as well as the power of literature in the 1950s and the television media in the 1960s. Represented in practices of sexual acts, influenced by the rhythms and styles of the *blues* and African-American *boogie-woogie*, these conditions of musical and literary genres found in aspects of the practices and representations of culture the origin of the next countercultural generation. In this way, they built up a youth identity and gained followers in all four corners of the world. In addition, there was the hippie movement, which concomitantly broke with the behavioral standards of morality and sought to escape the models imposed by the Western, rational and logical world of bureaucratic life, with the movements' territorial markers being creativity, imagination and spontaneity.

The radical youth movement - the 'hippies', for example - projects itself beyond the system. It asserts itself not through contestation, but through the radicalism of omission, demonstrating that only in this way, starting from nothing, from the anti-system, is it possible to create something new. [...] Unlike the students, the 'hippies' are not domesticated by the system because they close themselves

²¹ In the original: "[...] *Alternative understandings of sexuality, race relations, and gender identity, an exploration made possible by their attraction to the African American, ethnic, and bohemian cultures from which many parents hoped to restrict their children*" (STARR, 2004, p. 44).

²² "Television [...] replaced radio and movies as the main entertainment for American families [...]. By 1962, 90% of families had a television and the culture industry played a crucial role in spreading consumerism and support for the social and cultural values of American capitalism." (KARNAL *et al*, 2011, p. 232).

²³ *Hipster* is an English word used to describe a group of people who have their own style and usually invent fashion, setting new alternative trends.

²⁴ *Beats* was a literary movement that originated in the mid-1950s by a group of young intellectuals who were tired of the square model of order established in the US after the Second World War.



off, through isolation, to any attempt at negotiation. They don't play on politicization, but on spontaneous adherence. They don't try to articulate with other social forces, but merely aim to expand their refusal (PEREIRA, 1992, p. 107).

The *flower children* sought to value handicrafts, growing their own weed in the desire to free their creative minds, composing music and listening to it, living freedom based on plural love, the eternal *carpe diem* (enjoy life) within the present time. Fighting against sexual repression and proposing the freedom of sex, expelling exacerbated scientism, the cannibalism of capitalism, the forms of war, they sought freedom at all costs. Thus, in its main aspects, we should see "the hippie movement based on three elements: drugs, music and what would be the ethical-social postures, integrated by clothes, way of being and social participation" (CORREIA, 1989, p. 80), although it did not fail to play a role in the expansion of new market models, which dictated youth fashion in the 1960s.

The youth of the 1960s in the West wanted to experiment with new life practices and their bodies were tired of being under surveillance in the technocratic era, repressed and organized by the state machine. They wanted to taste new flavors, see different colors, enjoy delirious sounds and live outside the bureaucratic and technocratic work style. All of this was felt at the time because of the weariness of the boring life of the white American middle class, confronted by the influences of African-American cultures and the proliferation of drugs and free sex that brought young people together in different parts of the world, under the banner of true love, the freedom to dance and wear brightly colored clothes, free to live! To flow in the mad reverie of life.

The birth, in the midst of a technocratic explosion, of a strange and young counterculture. A counterculture that is still chaotic and babbling, but anti-dogmatic and creative, which aspires to the realization of all the possibilities of the human being, including - oh, what a novelty! The most spiritual. It is certainly not the first time in history that centaurs have attacked the temple of Apollo; it is not the first time that the "outcasts" of the "system" have tried to alter their cultural context. (ROSZAK, 1970, p. 2, our translation).²⁵

In the same way, nature needed to be savored, industrialized food was not so good for the body, while the way of working in the old bureaucratic machine repressed all the passions of the young soul thirsting for transcendental experiences, which we can compare to the radical nature of the Centaurs of Greek mythology, pointed out by Roszak (1970, p. 46, our translation²⁶), "[...] the invasion of centaurs

²⁵ In the original: "*The birth, in the midst of the technocratic boom, of an extraordinarily young counterculture. A counterculture that is still chaotic and babbling, but antidogmatic and creative, which aspires to a realization of all the possibilities of the human being, including - oh new - the most spiritual ones. Certainly, this is not the first time in history that the centaurs have attacked the temple of Apollo; it is not the first time that the "outcasts" of the "system" have tried to change their cultural context.*" (ROSZAK, 1970, p. 2).

²⁶ In the original: "[...] *the invasion of the centaurs emblazoned on the front of the temple of Zeus in Olympia.*" (ROSZAK, 1970, p. 2). We can affirm that the representations of the Centaurs are the same as the manifestations of counter-cultural youth in frontal opposition to the place of Zeus, being reprimanded by Apollo, a figure of traditional culture.



embodied in the pediment of the temple of Zeus on Olympus" pushed them to break the boundaries imposed by old traditions.

A socio-economic and cultural situation led to the emergence of a series of explosions of youthful expression from the mid-60s and early 70s. Movements such as psychedelic music, feminism, a certain revitalization of the return to nature, music festivals that become real *happenings* of liberation, vertigo, the proposal of a new form of relationship, in which free love is privileged, student movements and hippie communities, among others. A sense of instability and the consequent need for escapism - typical of times when values have taken a major turn - has led the vast majority of young people to feel the need for a healthier, simpler, more natural life (CIDEIRA, 2008, p. 35).

The moment experienced by young people points to the existence of a "sharing of the sensible" (RANCIÈRE, 2005, p. 16). In other words, there was a common scenario of sensitivities in space-time, where bodies, practices, discourses and subjectivations are segmented into common parts, defined parts, building inclusions and exclusions, ways of being, seeing and feeling, as Rancière (2005, p. 17) states, what is shared, or divided, occurs in both politics and aesthetics, "[...] politics is concerned with what is seen and what can be said about what is seen, who has the competence to see and the quality to say, the properties of space and the possibilities of time" in the production of a common place, and the hippie counterculture sought to break with forms of social imposition and control. Thus, American culture came to flourish among young people and adolescents²⁷ in the moral and cultural revolution "[...] a dramatic transformation of the conventions of personal and social behavior" (ROSZAK, 1972, p. 313) in the construction of the new society.

This counter-cultural youth scene allowed for the elaboration not only of life outside the box with the hippies in contestation of American and English mass culture, through political and aesthetic positions. But another rising movement would emerge, full of musical style, Rock²⁸, as a form of *youth* expression.

According to Groppo (1996), thinking about the moment presents:

Musically, if rock and roll was an electrified combination of rhythm and blues (profane music) and country and western (country music), rock will be even more of an amalgam of the most diverse popular, exotic and even erudite styles of music. With one condition: widespread consumption by young people and teenagers (GROPPO, 1996, p. 10, emphasis added).

²⁷ For Hobsbawm (1995, p. 318-119), we have the emergence of other styles of young life in the midst of the urban, because the "[...] political radicalization of the 1960s, anticipated by smaller contingents of cultural dissidents and marginalized under various labels, was from these young people, who rejected the status of children and even adolescents". However, as we have already shown, the contestation of morals comes from a process that preceded, as Pereira (1992, p. 10) said of the youth of the time, "[...] an antidote, an antibody, necessary for the preservation of a minimum of healthy existence" in the chaotic Western world.

²⁸ According to Friedlander (2006) there were several phases of rock. Firstly, between 1954-1955, there was the explosion of classic *rock and roll*. Then, between 1963-1964, with the English invasion; later, between 1967-1972, known as the golden age. In the fourth phase, from 1968-1969, we have the *hard rock* explosion and, finally and fifthly, between 1975-1977, the *punk* explosion.



It is in this historical musical fusion that rock music becomes popular, creating a production market through the media, audiences, video stores, concert halls, stores and record companies, in a true consumer culture for young people and other fans from different classes and genres. Rock music will look to *black music* for ways to resist society with its aesthetic and body standards, going beyond the barriers of North America, receiving European influences and breaking down parts of the racial and social walls imposed. The troubling Cold War and the established norms of morality and sexuality were questioned through the language of rock music. The disturbing message with rebellious anti-conservative connotations challenged society with obscene gestures. Rock involved its listeners by producing contesting feelings.

Rock is much more than a type of music: it has become a way of being, a view of reality, a form of behavior. Rock is and is defined by its audience. Because it is not uniform, because it varies individually and collectively, rock requires the same polymorphism so that it can adapt over time and space as a result of the process of fusion (or clash) with local culture and the changes that the years bring about from generation to generation. Even more polymorphous than its basic market, young people, it is dominated by a sense of searching that makes it difficult to reach the port of definition (and stagnation...) (CHACON, 1985, p. 18).

The sensations built around feeling and touching the world through rock music allowed the next youth identities to be established in the 1970s, elaborating the experiences of being in the world. As such, rock music, in its initial formation at the end of the 1960s, produced collective emotions among young people who enjoyed the sound in new ways of appropriating the world. In this sense, Maffesoli (1999, p. 28) points out that "[...] it is therefore from a generalized art that aesthetics can be understood as the faculty of feeling in common", creating bonds and meanings of appropriation, the pleasure of being together in social differences, enjoying the same rhythm of sound, listening to the same songs, having the same favorite singers, "experiencing emotions together, participating in the same environment, sharing the same values, losing oneself in a general theatricality, thus allowing all those elements that make the surface of things and people to make sense" (MAFFESOLI, 1999, p. 63). At the same time, they are looking for what Bauman (2005, p. 30) calls "[...] individuals desperately seeking a 'we' to which they can ask for access" in identifying with practices and representations of collective identity constructions.

Lucena (2005) examines the revolution at that time in this way:

Literature, which had been hibernating for decades, was reborn in America in the 1960s with the publications of the *Beat* poets and writers. The music industry itself, with its coffers full, finances new publications, in a way encouraging the *underground* movement, the counterculture, which will generate important works and grow magazines like *Rolling Stones*, the bible of young music. The visual arts took on a new connotation with the *pop art* of Andy Warhol and other artists. Theater takes to the streets with the Living Theatre. Universities discover that teaching needs to change and students all over the world take to the streets in demonstrations to demand and protest. (LUCENA, 2005, p. 8, emphasis added).



The style of being a rocker protests, challenges, criticizes, questions and is dissatisfied with society. Musicians with long, thin, rebellious, greasy hair, showing protest and anger. Thus, we have "a mixture of *Chuck Berry's* basic four-chord rock²⁹ with 'sampled' touches³⁰ from the bluesmen; a strong rhythm, a heavy guitar, cutting solos, first plays with distortion and a strong, striking style of singing" (LUCENA, 2005, p. 11). Young people impregnated with a desire for change formed the new front of ruptures, breaking moral and social paradigms, historical impositions that did not change, permanence and mental structures, styles of dress and work. Ways of seeing the world began to crumble: "[...] the revolution that would influence the world of fashion, of customs, that would change behaviors and rules of conduct, that would provoke ruptures and new outlets in communication, in the media, in the arts, was born there in London" (LUCENA, 2005, p. 12). What was booming in North America would invade British life in the 1960s.

Music was the bomb, the post-war fuse to break the chains that imprisoned young people in the sameness of life. English conservatism and political conditions in the United States favored musical rebellion. Rebel angels, with their black guitars, of the old resistance that began to be chanted on cotton plantations with the enslaved blacks of North America, and who produced sounds that their masters had never heard before. Rock was now being embraced as a new musical and youth style. The English youth of the 1950s and, later, the American youth of the 1960s were not the same, their anguish no longer needed to be repressed in their chests, their voice should not be hidden, the pain of the soul now had a place to cry out. Universities couldn't box up the minds of youth, these were times of rebellion, sex, drugs *and rock and roll* (LUCENA, 2005).

In the 1960s, with the potential of May 1968, we have the generation of young people to whom Hollanda (1980, p. 65-68) states that "[...] marginality is taken not as an alternative way out, but in the sense of a threat to the system". Young people sought to experience the forbidden at any cost. Hollanda goes on to say that "[...] the use of drugs, bisexuality, decolonized behaviour are experienced and felt as dangerous, illegal gestures and, therefore, assumed as political contestation". Nevertheless, there were divergent feelings, according to Hobsbawm (2002, p. 277-283), pointing out that "[...] more than that, even though we participated in the same events, [...] we didn't feel the same way as they did", and, referring to the events, he says "In the 1960s, the Third World had brought the hope of revolution back to the First". As he writes his autobiography, he is dissatisfied, demonstrating what those times made possible, when he says: "In fact, they didn't seem to be very interested in a social ideal, communist or otherwise, distinct from the

²⁹ Charles Edward Anderson Berry, better known as Chuck Berry, was an American singer-songwriter and one of the pioneers of the *rock and roll* genre. Chuck Berry was considered the poet-father of classic *rock and roll*, playing guitar, saxophone and piano. Friedlander (2006, p. 31) states that "[...] in its origins, *rock and roll* was essentially African-American music". It emerged in the south of the United States around the 1950s and had its origins in black *rhythm and blues*, as well as gospel and elements of white *folk* and country music.

³⁰ Using excerpts from previously made sound recordings to put together a new composition (usually musical).



individualist ideal of getting rid of anything that arrogated to itself the right and power to prevent us from doing what our ego or *id* wanted to do." They thus became known as rebels without a cause (GOOFMAN; JOY, 2007).

There was a single life project: to destroy that society, its values and its way of being and living, as well as its behavioral structures, moral heritage and Judeo-Christian family traditions. For those young people, although they didn't share the political aspects raised by Hobsbawm (2002) in the 1960s, rock music laid the foundations for a new era. Youth was no longer the same, there were new values that were impregnated in the bodies and practices of living life, as Hall (*apud* KRÜGER, 2010) puts it:

According to Hall, this process is the result of the erosion of class identity and the consequent emergence of new identities, belonging to the new political base defined by the new social movements: feminism, black struggles, national liberation movements, anti-nuclear and ecological movements (HALL *apud* KRUGER, 2010, p. 139).

It was necessary to re-signify the present time, breaking behavioral codes, the oppressions of other times began to crumble, the failure of patriarchal morality, the rules imposed on women, racism against blacks implodes in protest music. Martín-Barbero (2001, p. 95) says that "[...] the crisis of the late 1960s revealed 'the irruption of the marginal enzyme': blacks, women, madmen, homosexuals, the Third World [...]". The old power connections of the nation-state were shaken, and there was fragmentation, decentralization and the displacement of power, and Martín-Barbero (2001) goes on to explain: "the denial of meaning and legitimacy of all practices and modes of cultural production that do not come from the center, national or international" shook and dismantled society in a youth counterculture of those dark times, the troubling experiences in the search for new ways of experiencing the world.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Extreme sports are presented within the context of countercultures, discussing the rupture of cultural patterns and behaviors, showing that music is the new tonic of influence in the construction of outsider identities. Thus, the text seeks to present the beginning of the contradictions of urban youth in the West, leading the reader to understand the changes that occurred in the influence of a new urban culture, which made it possible for skateboarding to emerge in the 1960s in the United States of America.



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