CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
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2.1 Introduction

Review of literature constitutes an important part of any research because it involves looking up the existing literature in the specific field of study. In the context of the present research the task seemed to be unusually challenging as it has been an area not much treded upon. The area of research, to put it simply, is of an exploratory nature. Serious academic works are yet to come up in the present area of research. Nevertheless, my major aim in the chapter has been to reflect upon the writings that I have depended upon in my research. The existing literature has helped me primarily to build up a conceptual framework of the research.

2.2 Youth: Definition and characteristics

As the present research is built up around the concept of youth hence my first attempt was to locate the problematique of defining it. Most of the writers on youth history have defined the youth as an age category, yet they have also stressed on the fact that the concept of youth has been a contested one. The history and the reason behind the making of the category of youth in a particular social context have also been the focus of attention in the books on the youth. In the process the characteristic features of youth have been spelt out in the existing researches. It must be remembered that the characteristics are analytically derived and are not water tight compartments. Some features may overlap each other.
2.2.1 Age

To start with, Professor T. K. Oommen in his book *State and Society in India: Studies in nation-building* (1990), defines youth primarily as a category of people in between 15 to 30 years of age, with immense psychic and physical energy (Oommen 1990). He has categorically pointed out certain important features of youth namely that

- Youth hood is a transient stage and therefore their role in the society cannot be analyzed in isolation from the goals of a given society. In other words the role of the youth varies across spaces and time frames.

- He also dispels a widely held belief that young people are only 'progressive' by nature. The reason why he feels so is that reactionary movements can also be built upon the energies of the youth.

- The greatest advantage of young people is that they have no vested interests in the social order and therefore not crystallized into fixed social contexts. They have the ability to start something new and underlying all these lay their critical outlook. But at the same time there is always the possibility of them getting alienated from the wider social processes. Their energy should be channelized in a proper direction to involve them in the process of nation building.

S. Saraswathi in her book *Youth in India* (1988) has made a detailed study of the youth agitations in our country and has conceptualized them collectively as the group of men and women in the age range 15 to 34 years. Sharing Oommen's view points, she also states that the youth of our country are one of the biggest reservoirs of energy. They are charged with the adequate amount of physical and psychological energy to initiate something new, provided they obtain the right guidance and have the positive attitude towards life. At the same time the author is also aware of the fact that the
constructive role of the youth gets less amount of public attention than its destructive role. D.P. Mukerji has also stated that youth is a statistical category and includes all those who come under the age group of fifteen to twenty-five years (Mukerji 1945).

The above works have helped me to specifically define exactly who constitute the category of youth in India. It has also pointed out the fact that youth is a biological category and at the same time youth hood is an intermediate stage between childhood and adulthood. From Oommen's work I have also obtained the fact that young people have a tendency to challenge the existing order. In the context of the present study, performing in a band might not be something novel but they have shown the way by which music can be made coming out of the structure of film music in West Bengal. It is also interesting to note that most of the bands are formed when the band members are in their student life. Music therefore probably becomes a platform to showcase their critical outlook. I also agree with Saraswathi that the youth have a positive attitude towards life.

In his *Cultures of Popular Music*, Andy Bennett describes 'youth' as a specific age category that between 15 to 25 years. But he clearly mentions that youth and youth culture is a contested category and the site of struggle (ideologically) between different post-Second World War generations (Bennett 2001). The terms like *Slacker* and *Generation X* are being used increasingly to refer to the young people of the 1980s who are alleged to be apolitical and disaffected by the social events. This generation is said to be unlike the previous one, that in the 1960s, when young people were engaged in social and political activism. But Bennett states that the representation of the contemporary youth as alienated has two major problems. First, though it is claimed that 1960s was a golden age of youth activism, it is not a generalized image of young people. Probably only a minority of them participated in such
activities. Second, the fact that young people in the 1960s were actively engaged in political protests is because of the larger social changes taking place all around them. Borrowing Lipsitz's views, Bennett also emphasizes that youth culture is to be contextualized in social events around it. Therefore contemporary young generation is confronted with different social issues, needs and desires from those of the 1960s (Bennett 2001). Therefore it is but very obvious that their response to the present social situation and crisis would be very unlike the 1960s. If the stimulus varies, then the effect would obviously vary. Grossberg has criticized the concept of Generation X, stating that the music of the contemporary generation (rap, punk and grunge) also can be rooted in the present social situation in the United States. Grossberg points out that 'among the contemporary U.S. youth there is a tendency to keep everything at a distance, to treat everything ironically. Such sentiments are often to be heard in the lyrics of rap and grunge songs and have also manifested themselves in the social practices of slackers and home boys' (Bennett 2001: 160).

Age has been an important variable in the context of the present research as it biologically defines the category of youth. The above references show similarity as far as the biological construction of youth is concerned. Hence I have followed Oommen's definition of the youth in the context of the present research.

2.2.2 Lifestyle

Steven Miles in his book *Youth lifestyles in a changing world* (2000) tries to trace the young people's lifestyles in the twenty first century marked by social and cultural changes. He labels the contemporary society as 'post - modern' world marked by uncertainties and ambiguity. He acknowledges the fact that
youth at present is a highly contested term and cannot easily be categorized under a single rubric. Young people are a source of social ills and social change. Associated with the youth are the concepts of unemployment, drug misuse and teenage pregnancy. But *Miles* states that such homogenization of the youth is not only outdated but also one sided. On the contrary the experiences of today's youth are variegated. Yet young people continue to be bonded by common experiences and concerns. Miles' work is important because it has noted the fact that contemporary youth are ambiguous by nature. The nature of their ambiguity will be one of the central concerns of the present study.

Miles further states that the image of the youth lies at the confluence point of the structural and cultural perspectives which is the focus of youth lifestyle approach. The latter approach looks upon youth not only as an age group but as a way of life or a lifestyle constructed through social processes like family, labour market, schooling and training. In the chapter 'Living Lifestyles', lifestyle, following Bellah, has been defined as an enclave formed by people who share some feature of private life. Members of a life style express their identity through shared patterns of appearance, consumption, and leisure activities, which distinguish them distinctly from those of other lifestyles (Miles 2000: 24). Lifestyle as a concept gained importance from 1980s because of certain social conditions like

- Increase of the process of individualization,
- Growth of a new middle class who are educated and well represented in service,
- Emergence of post modernity bringing with it new values and life styles and
- The contribution of Pierre Bordieu in his work on life style (Miles 2000).

Lifestyle has been defined as the outward manifestation of an individual's identity. It is formed in some relation dominantly in contrast to the
mainstream culture. In this context it can be mentioned lifestyle is likely to change over a time period. It is meaningful in a particular historical context and is therefore a historical construct. According to Miles one of the best indicators of understanding lifestyle is to look at the consumption patterns of the concerned group. In his words, consumption provides a language or code within which lifestyles are constructed (Miles 2000: 30). Lifestyle has emerged as an important index of understanding changes in the young people's lives. The word lifestyle has an added advantage, that is, it does not imply the domination of the young people by the dominant culture as the word sub culture has. Instead, it shows an interface between structure and agency in the lives of the youth. Sharing Johansson and Miegel's position, the author states that youth lifestyles are both conformist and creative. It is a part of the wider process of identity formation during which young people realize their existence as independent and autonomous beings. The author concludes that at present the young people's lifestyles are full of contradictions because their identities are being shaped by various sources. Miles refuses to call theirs a counter culture because he asserts that young people are now a days more conservative than before as they have no predominant force to fight against.

From the work of Miles it has been inferred that youth has a particular lifestyle of their own and that becomes a parameter to define them. Miles has added a very important dimension to the concept of youth. In addition to being an age group youth now can be defined as a group having consumer choices. This is inevitable to a certain extent in the present capitalist market economy. In the case of the Bangla bands we will see how the band members still hold (many of them have reached the middle age now) on to the young image through their attire.
2.2.3 Alienation

Prof. Oommen states throughout his work that the young generation has an inherent tendency to get alienated from the society if their potentialities do not get a proper outlet. It is useful to mention in this context that alienation is a concept typical of the North American west European societies. In such societies, excessive individualization resulting from industrialization has resulted into fragmented alienated individuals. Applying this concept to the Indian context with certain modifications, the author states that in India alienation of the youth has resulted due to the simultaneous processes of industrialization and urbanization. But more importantly, in India the young people are under the constant pressure of the family, community and society. This has resulted in the lack of the formation of individual selves and consequently in a failure to develop an individual identity. These groups of youth are the most vulnerable, according to the author, because they are over integrated and over involved in the primordial identities of the society and hence can easily be manipulated by the corrupt politicians to disrupt the entire social life. It is the typicality of the rural Indian youth (Oommen 1990). Associated with it is the problem of disengagement of the 'westernized' urban Indian youth from the society. This category, which Oommen mentions as a minority, apes the west and they prefer to call themselves modern in outlook. They fail to relate themselves meaningfully to the society and rebel against the established practices. But they fear direct confrontation and are possibly the most passive group. At the earliest opportunity they prefer to migrate to the west (Oommen 1990). The author hypothesizes that youth alienation, whatever its source is, can be one of the potential causes of student movements.

Yedla C. Simhadri in the introduction to the book *Youth in the Contemporary World* (1989) notes that youth as a category of life is one of the outcomes of industrialization. But the predominant image of theirs is that of
deviants (Simhadri 1989). The author also notes that in the traditional societies youth was an unknown concept because the people took up the familial responsibilities at a considerably young age. With specific reference to this the author states that there is a need to analyze the problems of the youth in the wider social context. This is so especially for the third world countries. In the third world countries there are fourth world people who might be source of many present and future social problems if the issue of their development is not taken up seriously. This point has relevance in the context of the present study when the social milieu of the emergence of bangla band music has been explored in the context of West Bengal. The socio-cultural realities of the Bengali society need to be explored to find out how much the social context is relevant to the emergence of this genre of music by the youth.

K.D. Gangrade, in his article *Youth in the Contemporary World* in the book of the same name, roots the problem of the young people in the conflict of their values which are at 'at odds' with the older generation. Being young may be an extremely enjoyable experience but at the same time a person can be characterized by considerable tension and expression of nervous energy. He states that the contemporary age (1989) has been marked by youth rebellion throughout the world. Many theories state that the youth revolts are indicators of the critical as well as disturbed times when all the values are being questioned. A rapid societal change accompanied by a fast springing up of many industries has made the young people adequately affluent and excessively consumerist by nature. Such affluence has made the youth less dependent on the older generation and consequently revolt against them. But whether this is the case of the third world countries is not quite clear. Gangrade locates this source of trouble in the difference in the attitudes of the two generations. The older generation is always apprehensive of the new system and cannot accept them easily which is not the case with the young ones. They
readily accept change and thereby lay the path for the struggle with the elderly. One of the other sources of this trouble is the identity crisis faced by the young generation. Since they are at the cross roads of adolescence and adulthood, they become anxious to establish their own identity. In doing this they often express their anger and hostility to the preceding generation. In charting out the sources of aggression of the youth, the author categorizes them into two groups namely;

- Conformists who accept the values and behaviour patterns of their social group and never rebel (overtly) even against unfair demands and

- Non-conformists who reject some or all of the values of the dominant group and refuse to follow the accepted form of behaviour. (Ganggrade 1989).

The above works have pointed out the fact that youth is a stage fraught with alienation which is a source of negative energy and this energy can be harmful and disruptive to the society. But in the context of the present work it has been found that young people can also construct something positive in spite of being alienated from the contemporary society. They have created their own cultural space in the form of musical bands. On the one hand these bands have become their source of livelihood in a society which is marked by unemployment and have also established their entrepreneurial skills. On the other hand, the bands have become their medium to attack the existing anomalies in the structure. In this context it would be relevant to point out how D.P. Mukerji while discussing about the condition of Bengali educated middle class youth during British rule, stated that they had taken to literature and music largely as a result of alienation in economic spheres. After the 1880s, he pointed out, a number of graduates came out of the University. Due to their increase in numbers, not all of them could be absorbed in the British mercantile company
as clerks. Therefore the Bengali unemployed Babu began to look out for himself. Doors of commercial underakings had been shut by the Scotch and the Marwari in the name of the graduate's worthlessness and his sense of false prestige; capital was not available to start business since no body would trust the youth. So the Bengali graduate took to literature and music, to insurance and the films in a chronological sequence of despair (Mukerji 1979).

2.2.4 Sub-culture

The predominant cultural conceptions of youth have focused on youth sub cultures as deviant and debased as well as excluded from the predominant cultural norm. John Muncie in his *Youth and Crime* states that youth culture is seen to have some dysfunctional qualities. According to Talcott Parsons, who coined the term 'youth culture' (Muncie 2002), youth culture represents values of hedonism, leisure, consumption and irresponsibility rather than productive work. Consequently the young people have been antagonistic to the social order and were considered as the source of major social problems. The understanding of the youth culture began with the analysis of the 'gang' culture which is a concept typical of the twentieth century American society. The word gang was first understood as 'the play group' existing side by side the family and the community. Thrasher in his study *The Gang* (1927) concluded that 'what begins as a form of play brings youth into conflict with their community and into an environment where a delinquent career progresses' (Muncie 2002: 158). By the 1950s the concept of gang was replaced by the concept of 'sub culture' popularized by Albert Cohen. Cohen viewed the gang as the sub culture whose value system differs from that of the predominant American culture. The gang of boys (from the working class) used special vocabulary and specialized styles of dressing and acting which set them apart and against the mainstream social life. Hebdige argues that subcultures take up the objects, spaces, and
signs available to them within the larger system of late industrial culture in order to turn such objects and signs against the system. Through processes of negotiation and hybridization, sub cultures articulate their counter hegemonic styles and identities. But later in his work Hebdige reworked his method admitting that he had under estimated the power of commercial culture to appropriate and indeed to produce, counter hegemonic styles. The line between sub culture as resistance and commercial culture as an aspect of hegemony is in fact very hard to draw especially when youth markets are in question (During 1993).

Cloward and Ohlin (1961) explained the existence of the gang sub culture in terms of the youths' lack of opportunity in the ladder of the social mobility. They also noted that the study of the gang sub culture is to be rooted in the study of the analysis of the young people's position in the labour market and in the education market. The British sub cultural studies by Matza (1964) and Downe (1966) explained the existence of the youth sub cultures in terms of their leisure activities. Downe for instance states that leisure provided a solution to the problems of the working class youth. If their leisure aspirations remain unfulfilled then they might become delinquent (Muncie 2002). The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham in the 1970s portrayed the youth as resistant to the hegemonic cultural forms.

'In other words, the Birmingham school was concerned with the ways in which the young people expressed themselves in opposition to a culture in which their voice was rarely heard' (Miles 2000: 4).

Phil Cohen (1972) justifies the emphasis on subculture by stating that the hidden function of sub culture is to solve the unresolved contradictions of the parent culture (Miles 2000). To be more specific, Cohen felt that youth sub cultures can be said to be a collective response to the breakup of the traditional working class culture and its values. During the 1950s with the emergence of
industrialization and urbanization the traditional working class communities in East London were dismantled. This class of people was trying to come to terms with the major transition in their lives from a rural to an urban set up. The youth sub cultures, according to Cohen was nothing but a result of trying to bridge the gap between the new and the traditional lives (Bennett 2001).

It has been mentioned earlier that instead of conceptualizing youth in terms of 'sub cultural' or 'structural' approaches, Miles advocates the use of the concept of 'lifestyles' to understand the youth culture. The advantage of this, says Miles is that the latter approach do not operate independently of political or social change. It is also less prescriptive and less politically loaded than sub cultural perspective (Miles 2000). The major lacuna of the cultural perspective according to Miles and to which I agree, is the presupposition that looks upon youth as essentially problematic and rebellious while overlooking their sobriety. The youth as has been argued earlier can construct something new from the source of negativity.

It becomes clear from the above works that youth have a specific culture of their own. This specificity might be given the name of 'gang' or 'subculture' or 'lifestyle'. It also demarcates the fact that the youth are perhaps different from those of the adults and children. Since they are looked upon as the sources of trouble therefore these different labels are ways to categorize and isolate them from the rest of the society. To understand the specificity of their nature reflected mainly through band music the concept of sub culture has been adopted in the present study. Hebdige's position of appropriation of youth subculture by the commercial culture has also been helpful in understanding the journey of the bands as a medium of protest to their co-option in the capitalist market economy. It is worthy of mention here that I am aware of the fact that most of the terms in the above books have been explained with reference to the western context. But as far as the present research is concerned,
the essence of the above concepts and terms has been used to understand the nature and characteristics of youth in the contemporary Bengali society.

A brief review of the above works has been important in the sense that each has contributed something in my conceptual clarification of the youth. The definition of youth as an age category has been quite helpful in understanding who actually constitute the category called young people. It has helped me to locate who can be the ones behind the formation of the bangla bands. Besides, the reason for the formation of the bands has also been rooted in the phenomenon of 'alienation' of the young people. In other words the authors have pointed out the young age as a source of tension, unrest and zest to do something new. It is a stage where in there can be a conflict with the elderly generation. Probably this restlessness and urge to create something new, has been reflected in the formation of a new genre of music in West Bengal.

2.3 Popular Music

This genre of music, known as the Bangla band can perhaps be said to be a variant of popular music. Therefore one of the major questions involving the analysis in the study of popular music, according to Graeme Burton in his *Media and Society: Critical Perspectives* is its definition. In the chapter *Popular Music*, he raises the question as to what should constitute the term 'popular' in popular music. Does 'popular' mean something which is attractive to a large audience or does it mean something which is generated and consumed by the 'people'? (Burton 2005). Burton himself tries to provide multiple definitions of the term by stating that popular means something which attracts large audiences and have large sales of CDs. It also means something which appears in the charts. Thirdly, Burton says that popular music is the experience of every day because it includes everything that is available on radio stations, music stores and commercial venues. This definition might exclude all those
music which is not easily available. Fourthly, popular music is also defined as the music of the youth. But this definition is also not totally inclusive because at present youth is a declining population. There is a growth of the elderly population who enjoy a variety of genres of music. Fifthly, popular music is something which is produced on a mass scale, though it is pretty difficult to define precisely the exact number of audience required to make it popular. Sixthly, popular music appeals to a large and diverse category of people like 'folkies', US urban street cultures as well as an ageing middle class (Burton 2005). All these characteristics of the term 'popular' are important in the context of the present research because they have decided the parameters by which Bangla band music being included in the category of pop music. Burton also takes into account Toynbee's (2000) concept of popular music which says that it differs from both folk and classical music in the sense that it has developed with the emergence of mass media. This is true of the bangla bands that have emerged along with the emergence of cassette culture in India. The birth of satellite television as well as FM channels in radio has paved the way for the popularity of the bands in West Bengal. Along with it popular music (bangla band in this case) also develops through the efforts of the grass root musicians as well as through the process of music sharing across the world. John Storey in his book *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture* (2001) defined popular culture as simply that culture which is widely favoured or well liked by many people (Storey 2001). In this sense popular music has been defined by Hurst as that music enjoyed by the largest number of people at any given moment in time. It can not therefore be elitist, as is classical music (Hurst 2008).¹

Popular music's emergence, following Toynbee, can be said to be cyclical. The anonymous and independent artists create their own music which is then taken up by the musical giants in a commercial manner (Burton 2005). This has been found to be true in case of the Bangla bands. The music made by
the band members are recorded by the audio recording companies like Asha audio and marketed and sold. Longhurst (1995) while discussing Adorno's critique of popular music sets up a contrast between popular and serious music. He refers to the responses of the listeners of popular music as 'standardized and routinized' and the pleasure derived from listening as 'superficial and false' (Burton 2005). Whether this could be the case of the Bangla bands is a point important for discussion.

Apart from the form just discussed above, popular music has also been defined as a cultural experience. This is because the popular music now occupies a large part of our private life (in the form of computers, iPods and CD player) as well as public life (in the form of concert going, in the clubs and during festivals). The experience of listening to popular music may be different in different contexts. According to Burton (2005) in the shopping malls popular music becomes a device to convert a large public space more personal and private. In a club it is a mode of interaction and communication between the people present. In a way it forms a cultural identity of the group concerned. When played in the bedroom popular music is a medium of asserting one's privacy, space and territory. From all these instances it becomes evident that popular music takes a variety of meanings in a wide range of contexts (Burton, p. 154).

Burton also discusses the term popular in terms of political economy. Is the word 'popular' defined by the large scale corporations or does the audience have their own ability to decide what is 'popular' remain the central theme of the discussion. The theme becomes pertinent in the age of globalization of the media. The multinationals do have the capacity to control the popular music especially its distribution part. Institutionally 'popular' is anything which sells in large numbers. Therefore popular music is anything which is categorized into markets and is marketable (Burton 2005). It is an extremely profitable
business. Besides, popular music can also be downloaded from the internet and used for personal consumption in the form of cheap pirated CDs and videotape copying. There has emerged a conflict of interests between the big production houses (indicative of commodity capitalism) and the individual and small producers of music as far as the question of control over what is 'popular' is concerned. Burton further points out that the production houses are unable to control the creativity of the musicians. Such creativity and innovativeness in their music is what lend it the 'popularity' among the audience. In the case of the Bangla bands, marketing has become an important theme of discussion in the chapter on performance.

Rey Chow in her article *Listening otherwise, music miniaturized: a different type of question about revolution* charts out the function of popular music in regard to the dominant culture in China. She also raises the question as to, if popular music provides an alternative practical consciousness to the dominant ideology, are they still capable of maintaining their autonomous existence? This question becomes more pertinent in the Chinese context because here 'class' distinctions do not seem adequate in mapping the cultural differentiations (During 1993: 386). The author admits that China is a third world nation whose popular culture 'speaks a different language of oppressed emotions' (ibid). Chinese musicians consciously adopt Western models of rhythm, instrumentation, recording, and modes of distribution for the production of music, yet the content of such music is non-western due to non-inclusion of the theme of class struggle. Many of the motifs in Chinese popular culture (films, television as well as music) are described as individualist by nature and Chow says that this is ironical, since the official Chinese ideology is still communist by nature. She further states that the perception of class is undoubtedly present in the subversive emotions of contemporary Chinese popular music but it is present less as an 'agency' for struggle and more as the
disciplinary cliché of the dominant culture to be struggled against (ibid). The history of Chinese communism according to Chow can be described as the history in which class struggle is used as the foundation for the official culture of a nation state. The official state culture champions an irresistible grid of emotions that Chow defines as 'gigantic'. These gigantic emotions have been pointed out as the emotions of reverence, dedication and discipline as well as nostalgia—all of which must be able to preserve Chinese history. Since Chinese history is marked by a struggle against imperialism, the history that 'ought to be remembered' is the history of the successful collectivization of the people for the establishment of a national community (ibid: 387). The author states that amongst such a state diktat the central concern of any researcher is to find out how a popular cultural form like music can strike its note of difference (ibid: 388). Citing an instance of a musician named Cui Jian, Chow states that his songs focused mainly on history of communism in China and his lyrics were extremely powerful and excessively emotional. Such a kind of music so deeply antagonized the state officials that Cui Jian was dismissed from his post in the Beijing Symphony Orchestra and prohibited from performing in Beijing. The reason the state officials gave for such a denial was that they cannot allow anybody to play with the memory of Chinese ancestors that also, through the music imported from the west. According to Chow in reacting against Cui Jian's music the Chinese authorities were actually clinging on to an idealized notion of official history (During 1993). But if the lyrics are negated, then music produces a kind of emotion that is 'beyond words' (During 1993: 389). Association between music and emotion is problematic, to Chow, because it downgrades music to the realm of irrational, the feminine and the simply pleasurable (ibid). In the words of Chow,

'how do we theorize the significance of music-as-emotion at a time when it is precisely the reduction of music to emotionality that must also be critiqued?' (ibid).
To Chow, the problem of emotionality is the problem of surplus because emotionality is what exceeds the limits by which its functions can be rationally charted. Further, music has always been theorized upon as a pure form, which signifies nothing. Chow borrows Julia Kristeva's position and states that since music has an empty, trans-linguistic status it suits the theorizing of surplus the best because it provides a means of suggesting of what goes beyond. It is this power of surplus of the music which is used as a criticism of orthodox Chinese state ideology. And this surplus is commonly recognized as the emotionality of music (During 1993: 389). Chow adds that Chinese fictions portray forty years of communist history as alienation of human life par excellence through collective good (During 1993: 390). The Chinese popular culture protests against the 'collectivization' of human lives which produces the deepest alienation. The author also states that when people theorize about the Third World they refer to it as 'collective'. Such paradigms produce a stereotypical view of the members of the third world cultures as representatives driven solely by the cause of vindicating their own cultures (During 1993: 391). In other words, the people of the third world are depicted as devoid of their individuality and constitute a nameless collectivity. Chow explains this collectivity as part of the legacy of imperialism imposed upon a 'backward' nation. In her words, 'like most countries in the post-imperialist era, the alternative to ultimate destruction in the early twentieth century was for the Chinese to go 'collective' and produce a 'national culture'. Collectivity as such was therefore never an ethnic empowerment without neuroses, and it is the neuroses which are now surfacing in popular cultural forms like music' (During 1993: 391).

This account of collectivity does not explain the emotions that are played upon in contemporary Chinese music but makes us aware of its negativity and 'nihilism' as described by some.

The Chinese context has been interesting because both China and India
are third world nation states. Though the two countries might have many cultural differences yet the political ideology of West Bengal has been communism for thirty four years. It has been found that some bands had members who were deeply moved by the ideology of the Naxalbari movement and found the songs as the medium of protest. The Chinese experience is important in the present context because here also the band music has been found to use western principles of music but the medium of expression is local that is Bengali language. The themes addressed to in the issues of songs are at times specific to the context. This variation of the music (band music) has been one of the mediums by which the specificity of the young generation in Bengal is constructed.

2.4 The Issue of Gender in Pop Music

The issue of the absence of women in the Bangla band music scenario has been quite disturbing given the fact that it represents youth culture. If youth represents the present generation and the future of any society, then the absence of women in their cultural affairs indicates the predominance and strengthening of the existing capitalist patriarchal frame of mind. Hence I wanted to explore the international scenario with reference to the position of women in the cultural groupings.

In the chapter Girls and Sub culture from the book Feminism and Youth Culture, Angela McRobbie points out the absence of the role of girls in youth cultural groupings in the western society. She states 'they are absent from the classic sub cultural ethnographic studies, the pop histories, the personal accounts and the journalistic surveys of the field' (McRobbie 1995: 12). All this implies that youth portrays a masculine image and the very notion of sub culture has acquired a masculine overtone. In the chapter she raises the
following questions and tries to answer them. They are as follows

- Are the girls present but invisible from 'sub culture'?

- Is the position of girls specific to the sub cultural option, or do their roles reflect the more general social subordination of women in the mainstream culture?

- If sub cultural options are not readily available to girls, what are the different but complementary ways in which girls organize their cultural life?

The author states that women were invisible from radical and critical criminological scholarship. What attracted the attention of the scholarship was the violence of the youth sub cultures and this was the area where women were absent. The result was that the sub cultural approach predominantly tended to be associated with the image of men. The Teddy boy culture was explained in terms of their bid to escape from the burdens of the family. Though these girls spent much of their time outside their homes but it was also expected of them that they would not sexually invite the boys. This double standard for the women is indicative of the process of 'gendering' which shapes the differences and inequality between men and women. This has been reflected in the realm of pop music of the 50s where boys have become more participative and technically informed about music in contrast to the girls who became fans and readers of pop influenced love comics. In the 60s and 70s femininity as a representational form continued to become more acceptable within the prevailing vocabulary of the youth sub cultures (McRobbie 1995).

To the second question the author again states that the ways the girls are represented have always revealed their cultural subordination. Drawing three instances of the 'motor-bike girl', the 'mod girl' and the 'hippy' girl, McRobbie shows that the subordination of women in the sub culture is nothing but a reflection of their subordination in the mainstream social life. To resist against
this absence in the mainstream/malestream sub culture, the girls in the 70s formed their own alternative space in the 'teenybopper' culture. Though even in this the girls were merely passive consumers of music and the males active pop music performers, yet through this culture the pre teenage girls of the western society formed their identity independent from the younger and the older generation. In this respect the author states that the negotiative processes of this specific culture and its essential conservatism is responsible for its immense popularity among women. For instance, their shows ended of quite early so the question of returning home late did not arise and their uniforms were cheap and magazines and records were well within the pocket money. But most important of all, the membership of these groups involved few personal risks like that of sexual exploitation by the stars. Therefore according to the author the teenybopper culture was indeed a space for defining feminine identity although essentially within the confines of the patriarchal set up. The entire question of femininity and the absence of female in the popular music realm have become relevant in the present context of research because it would be interesting to note whether this predominance of males and absence of women persists in the Bengali band music scenario.

It has been found out in the literature on gender and band music in the west that in this particular genre of music there is a predominance of male members as far as the composition of the band members is concerned. Bennett explored the gender aspect in the Heavy Metal musical form. He draws an attention to the predominant male audience and male composition of the Metal bands. Researchers like Frith and McRobbie used the term 'cock rock' to explain the machoistic image of the heavy metal artists. Cock rock performers who are usually males are aggressive, dominating and boastful and display their bodies during the performances. There is an over emphasis on male sexuality which links the bands with their male audiences. Theorist like Sloat
(1998) while talking of women and female sexuality in heavy metal music has pointed out that the references to women include calling them by the names of 'whore' or 'bitch'. They are usually portrayed as subversive sexual objects perpetually in need of or in demand of male sexual pleasure. Sloat has rooted such one sided representation of women in the patriarchal nature of the contemporary capitalist society and as a safety valve for adolescent males who suffer from anxieties due to their lack of social, physical and economic status (Bennett 2001: 48). The males, who are otherwise victimized by the social circumstances, find respite in portraying the women as victims through the songs of heavy metal. In the album covers and videos of heavy metal bands, the female images are constructed in such a way so as to represent them as a 'threat' to patriarchal power and authority (Walser 1993). In addition, the metal artists use the strategy of 'female exscription' (Walser 1993) for dealing with the 'threat' of women. Exscription implies the visual creation of scenes and gatherings from which women remain absent. At the most elementary level this involves a performance or the simulated performance of all male artists performing for all male audience recorded on video. This standardized video format emphasizes on the male bonding to confront and belittle the threat of the feminine. The cock rock representation of the feminine image can be contrasted to the teeny bop representation where women are portrayed as serious and totally emotionally committed (Frith and McRobbie 1978).

During the mid-1980s, heavy metal also produced other gender representations in the form of 'androgyny'. Androgyny involves 'an undertaking of multiple identifications which results in a blurring of clear lines between gender' (Bennett 2001: 50).

Music artist David Bowie during his performances in the early 1970s used heavy make-up, hair dye and an array of ornate stage costumes. By doing this it is believed, he, to a certain extent tried to bridge the gap between masculine and
feminine. In the 1990s, extreme metal became popular and the audience of it was again predominantly male. But what is noteworthy is that the themes of the songs changed from male sexuality and focused more on loneliness, despair and frustration, the inevitable consequences of industrialism.

A reference to women band has been made by Tucker in his book *The New Wave of British Heavy Metal* when he talks of the all girls' band *Girlschool*. The girls playing heavy music were highly appreciated by the other male bands because their members admitted that girls did not often participate in this genre of music (Tucker 2006: 58).

In *Characterizing Rock Music Culture*, Will Straw states that the audience of heavy metal music is heavily male-dominated. The performers of heavy metal music are mostly males with the exception of 'Girlschool'. But the problem which Straw points out is how to reconcile the hypothesis that involvement in heavy metal music as critic, record collector, reader of the rock press or performer is primarily a male pursuit when these activities are for the most part absent from the most 'masculine' of rock audiences (During 1993: 377). Participation in rock music culture is one of the criteria by which status was assigned within youth peer groups. The heavy metal stylistic components include long hair for performers and audiences, denim jackets and jeans among audience members; smoke bombs as an element of stage performances; marijuana smoking and the taking of depressant drugs. The remarkable aspect of traits such as long hair and denim jackets, Straw points out, is their persistence and longevity within heavy metal culture even when they had become out of fashion in North American youth culture. By the early 1980s, heavy metal audience constituted of a significant extent of suburban males who did not acquire post-secondary education and who increasingly found that their socio-economic prospects were not as great as that of their parents (During 1993: 379). Heavy Metal iconography contributed to the proliferation of
fantasy and satanic imagery as poster art and T-shirt illustration. This heavy metal audience image was directly opposite to and in contradiction to 'nerds' whom Straw described as “unstylishly dressed and successful at school: it is precisely the preoccupation with knowledge that is seen rendering the boy oblivious to dress, grooming' posture and social interaction” (During 1993: 377). But interestingly enough neither of these two groups come closer to being “cool” which is the dominant discourse surrounding rock in the 1970s. “Cool”, in the words of Straw involves the eroticization and stylization of knowledge through its assimilation to imagery of competence (During 1993: 378).

A review of the above works has been quite illuminating and enlightening because they have given me an idea about the gendered composition of the concept of sub culture and band music in the west and the reason for the persistence of such inequality. Bangla band, it has been noted, is marked by a similar gender inequality as far as the composition of band members is concerned and its position is nothing specific and unique but deeply embedded in the international scenario. But quite contrary to the western counterpart, Bangla band is found to have as its audience quite a substantial number of women.

2.5 History of Pop Music in the International Context

One of the predominant challenges in my research has been to construct the social history of bangla band music in West Bengal. The major motive in doing so has been to understand the socio-cultural life of Bengal and the changes that the latter has been going through. According to D.P. Mukerji a sociological point of view reveals the silent process of social change going on beneath our prominent behaviours (Mukerji 1979). In looking for the above, I have found it strange enough that the history of the Bangla band has probably
not been documented systematically. Quite in contrast a review of some of the books on the western pop music shows how well documented and well researched the area has been. It is also inspiring and illuminating to find out that band music in the west has a deep nexus with the youth and can be traced alongside the history of youth discontent and struggle. Whether this is a case of the Bangla band is a point for discussion.

2.5.1 Rock-n-Roll

Andy Bennett in the chapter 'Post-war Youth and Rock 'n' Roll' in his book Cultures of Popular Music, tries to root the social context of the rock n roll music in the phenomenon of post war youth market in the 1950s. The author states that before the Second World War consumerism was a middle class phenomenon. But the increasing mass production during the war and the associated affluence made the working classes consumerist too. Besides, the goods were cheap and therefore easily available to the young people. Commodities and various forms of leisure implicated that young generation became less dependent on their parents for their leisure preferences. Music, magazines and fashion clothing became obvious choices of the youth and in music, rock n roll became their signature tune. In the following chapter, 'Sixties Rock, Politics and the Counter-Culture', Bennett states that from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s popular music had been used to create a political effect. Prior to 1960s it was alleged that popular music was completely under the capitalist pangs of control. The link between popular music in the 1960s and politics was established by the concept of counter culture. According to the pre-dominant sociological interpretation of the counter culture, young people were alienated from and disappointed with the culture of their parental generation and formed a counter culture of their own. Therefore both the working class and the white middle class youth posed a threat to the society from both within and outside.
Besides protesting against the institutionalized power structure of the parental generation, the youth also showed resentment towards the 'technocracy' which the adult society had created. Technocracy implied the peak of the organizational integration and an extreme rationalist and materialist orientation. It is completely devoid of human emotion and creativity. The youth, through their counter cultural activities exhibited a protest against the above and tried to over haul the entire system or drop out of it. The counter cultural movement of the youth helped to broaden the Marxist model of revolution which not only included the working class but also the middle class to reject the bourgeois norms and values (Bennett 2001). But the problem of applying this model was that the counter Cultural Revolution was only confined to the middle class youth and failed to take into account the youth from a varied cultural and social backgrounds. Theorists like Clecak, Eyerman and Jamison reject the above view pointing to the essentially diverse and heterogeneous nature of both the individuals and socio-political and cultural ideals involved in the counter-cultural movement.

During the mid to late 1960s music became a centrally significant medium for the dissemination of a range of socio-political issues like U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. and rejection of western political and cultural ideology (Bennett 2001). Protesting against the war in Vietnam was one of the most significant events of the counter cultural movement. The antiwar feeling was shared by many popular musicians like Country Joe MacDonald, Jim Morrison, and Joni Mitchell to name a few, who made their views clear through their powerful songs. Besides, the protest against the Vietnam War, the youths also showed their resentment to the authorities in the form of the Civil Rights Movement. The entire decade of 1960s in America was marked by the protest movements by both blacks and whites for establishing equality for the African Americans. Notable black singers of this period were James Brown, Aretha Franklin and especially Jimi
Hendrix (of the late 1960s). Hendrix decided to form an all-black group, the *Band of Gypsies*, influenced by the Black Power Movement. White groups like *the Young Rascals* also expressed their solidarity with the above mentioned movement.

In the book *Rock and Pop: the Complete Story*, the author states that popular music emerged in America during the mid-1950s and started to hold its grip over the world during the second half of the decade. Pop music gave the post war youth a channel to establish their identities independent of the adult world. The new genre of music 'was all about unleashing inhibitions and having unrestrained fun, not hanging out on street corners to kill time — and it was also about emphasizing the gulf between 'Mum, Dad and their over-sexed, under compliant offspring' (Heatley 2006: 12).

During the nuclear age and the cold war, pop music served as a diversion for the youth from the resulting tensions. But the realm of pop music started to be dominated by the British youth and no longer by the Americans. The Beatles were sweeping the entire pop scenario in Britain during the mid-1960s.

Mike Hurst, in his *Every Song Tells a Story: a Brief History of Popular Music* (2008) states the evolution of popular music in Britain and America starting from the 1960s to the present era. During the late 1950s, the British teenagers had found their own identity in the rock n roll. The music scenario in Britain in the early 60s was full of youngsters who, heavily influenced by the early rock scenario, had picked up their guitars and tried to foot themselves in the realm of pop music. Clapton, McCartney, Lennon, Richards and Jagger were a few of them. On the other hand, America was pre-occupied with the missile crisis in Cuba and got engaged in a war with Vietnam. A vacuum, both politically and culturally, was created in America after the assassination of Kennedy and in such an opportunity British pop music had entered the American music arena.
Deena Weinstein in her article *Youth in Key terms in Popular Music and Culture* edited by Bruce Horner and Thomas Swiss, projects the relationship between Rock and Youth. In her own words,

“Rock and Youth were born Siamese twins in the middle of that buttoned down decade, the 1950s, joined at the hip or perhaps at the pelvis” (Horner and Swiss 1999: 101).

Rock was known as 'Rock n Roll' a name given by Alan Freed and its twin was named as JD or better as Juvenile Delinquency. Weinstein metaphorically says that the power of the twins frightened many adults and some saw the pair as evil. Reaching maturity in the late 60s, the twins were hell bent on changing the world or at least serious about not becoming like their parents. They both were strong and confident. According to the author rock would not be possible, would be unimaginable without youth. The birth of the rock music in the 50s was the result of a confluence of many factors. The situation of adolescents in the 50s was unique because for the first time massive numbers of people in their teenage years were segregated. The increasingly affluent middle class American family no longer needed its children to enter the workforce in their early teens to help support it. With labour saving devices in their new suburban homes and with fewer children in their families than in previous generations, adolescents were not needed to help, apart from some lawn mowing or a night of baby-sitting. The teenagers were paid by their families for household chores or were merely given an allowance to be spent for their own pleasure. The author borrows James Coleman's view that, 'Industrial society has made of high school a social system of adolescents.....set apart, in an institution of their own. Isolated in schools, not needed by their families, and preyed upon by the market, teenagers became a phenomenon of concern for adult society' (Horner and Bliss 1999:103). The teenagers were neither kids nor adults; rather they began to enjoy a considerable freedom. This phenomenon
explains the emergence of youth subculture as well as their distinctive musical style. Youth subculture developed features that were not exclusively their own but were also oppositional to the middle class adult culture. Weinstein refers to Talcott Parsons' view (who coined the term youth culture) that youth culture “develops inverse values to the adult world of productive work and conformity to routine and responsibility” (ibid). To trace the history of rock 'n' roll, the author goes back to the beginning of 1950s when television was gaining popularity in the western society. Radio, on the other hand, was losing popularity fast because a large part of its adult audience had shifted to television. Teenagers listened to radio in large numbers as their parents were glued to the television sets during prime time. They retreated to their private spaces like bedrooms or cars, that is, the spaces furnished with radios. A few DJs responded promptly and captured the teenage audience by playing the music of their choice. Alan Freed, who was one of the most influential and innovative DJs of the time coined the term “rock 'n' roll” for the music enjoyed by the adolescent audience (Horner and Bliss 1999). The origin of rock 'n' roll music can be traced to race music popularly known as 'rhythm and blues' and rural white music. Both these styles were anti to the dominant culture's taste for pop. The demographics of those associated with R&B and country music were not favoured by white middle class adults (Horner and Bliss 1999). The 1954 school desegregation order by the Supreme Court and the post Second World War black migration to northern cities increased the uneasiness of the white middle-class. They started migrating to the suburbs in large numbers in order to avoid the blacks and also in search of larger inexpensive housing. The idea of free social interaction between the white and the black youths was shocking to the middle class white adults and they also detested their children's adoration for the black performers like Chuck Berry and Little Richard. This extra musical symbolic rebellion, according to the author, was a great part of rock n roll's allure to fifties era teenagers (ibid). But it must be noted that the above
named performers were not youngsters when their music became popular but their songs spoke for the teenage fans. Though the rock n roll artists were adults yet their mannerisms like piano pounding antics, ecstatic vocalizing and long wild hair and song lyrics epitomized the desires of the emerging rebellious teenage subculture. Being out of adult control or at least seeming to be so was a value to insult and offend the bourgeois culture (ibid).

2.5.2 Punk Rock

*Punk rock* is another variant of the popular music which has its roots in the social anarchy that prevailed in Britain during the late 1970s, according to Hebdige (Bennett 2001). At that time in Britain there was dismantling of the welfare state, increase in the unemployment level, and transition in the moral values of people as well as race riots in Britain. There was also an increase in the level of poverty with the onset of economic depression. All these had resulted in the frustration of the young people (Bennett 2001: 64). According to Hebdige the image of a punk corresponded well to the social breakdown of the British society. Punk's roots can also be traced back to the United States in 1965 to 1968 which is marked as the transitional period in the development of American Rock n roll (Bennett 2001: 59). The connotations of the term 'punk' as 'lazy', 'good for nothing', 'arrogant' and 'anti-social' had been readily adopted by the New York based bands. According to Bracewell (2006) everything about punk rock was modern; as such to participate within the punk was to make a highly visible statement about one's beliefs and personal politics, however arcane or nihilistic. This was risky commitment made at a time when music and fashion were still capable of provoking not just public outrage but open hatred (Craske 2006).
2.5.3 Reggae

*Reggae*, another popular musical expression of the youth, emerged during the late 1970s. It combined a distinctive musical style with a form of cultural politics that marked the importance of Africa as a spiritual homeland for African diasporic populations around the world (Bennett 2001). Reggae's attendant *Rastafarian* style acted as an important resource in negotiating the socio-economic hardship and the resultant phenomenon of racism and racial exclusion so much predominant in Britain during that time. The origins of Reggae can be traced back to the Carribean island of Jamaica. During the 1950s and early 1960s, the music in Jamaica was heavily influenced by African American **R&B (Rhythm and Blues)**. Situated adjacent to the south-east coast of Jamaica, the native Africans were pretty much exposed to the US radio stations. In addition the West Indians working in the US also brought home the American music. Taken together all these factors contributed to the emergence of a newer form of music called *Ska*. By the summer of 1966, ska had given way to a form of music locally known as *rude boys*. They also comprised of a group of musicians who were mostly unemployed and angry with the entire social scenario (Bennett 2001). A further modification of the rude boy music was the reggae, the history of which is rooted in Jamaica as a British colony. The population of Jamaica in the initial years comprised mainly of the Black settlers who were forcibly brought from Africa to work in sugar plantations. There were also some white British settlers like doctors, engineers and lawyers who mainly were the administrators of the colony. This diversity of the population in Jamaica brought in the interplay of cultures together with its unique musical style that is the reggae. Therefore reggae constituted of the different kinds of music from the African diaspora. This has led to its very unique yet global appeal (Bennett 2001).
2.5.4 Rastafarianism

Rastafarianism was another variant of black music and like reggae it also had its roots in the colonial history of Jamaica. The white colonial rulers had justified their rule over the blacks as an instruction from the Bible to enslave the native Africans and transform them into slaves. Though the African people grew familiar with the European culture through the institution of slavery, yet they looked for their representation in the Bible. From such an interpretation they found their own salvation by aiming to free their native land as well as trying to restore their rights as human beings (Bennett 2001: 77). Rastafarianism originates from such an interpretation of the Bible. 'Central to Rastafarianism is the belief that Haile Selassie's accession to the throne of Ethiopia in 1930 represented the fulfillment of the Biblical prophecies relating to the downfall of 'Babylon' (interpreted as the white colonial powers), and the deliverance of the black races. Up until the late 1960s, the Rastafarians of Jamaica had been systematically persecuted because they accentuated the racial, class and religious differences among the island's population that the newly independent government of Jamaica claimed no longer existed.' (Bennett 2001: 77).

In the 1970s the Manley regime was an ideological shift away from the western world (Europe and the US) and more towards the third world countries like Cuba. In such a political atmosphere the Rastafarians got acceptance from the mainstream Jamaican society. This coincided with the emergence of the popular culture industry at the center of which was the reggae movement. Together, the Rastafarian message and the reggae music acted as a voice of the blacks and their tale of suppression throughout the world.
2.5.5 Heavy Metal

Bennett did not clearly state the social background of the origins of Heavy Metal music. According to him heavy metal music emerged towards the end of 1960s with the waning popularity of psychedelic music. Country Rock (performed by groups like Eagles), Progressive Rock (by British groups like Genesis, Yes, Emerson etc.) and Heavy Metal were the three forms rock music had taken after psychedelia. There is no consensus among the theorists regarding the geographical origins of Heavy Metal. Some root it in the industrial city Birmingham in Britain where as others root it in United States (Bennett 2001: 43). During the second half of the 1980s, soft metal groups like Bon Jovi took over the popularity of the Heavy Metal. Such popularity was relatively short-lived and during the early 1990s Extreme Metal began to gain in popularity. But the origin of extreme metal groups like 'Metallica' can be traced back to the early 1980s.

The eighties was the decade of Heavy Metal, a decade where the metal punks began to make their own music. This phenomenon was known as the New wave of British Heavy Metal. Heavy metal is a loose term which includes the music of a wide variety of bands like Iron Maiden, Angel Witch and Witchfynde as well as variety of small bands. These smaller bands sprang up from the shanty towns of Britain which were far away from the dazzle of the bigger cities. A sudden interest in the heavy metal music had begun everywhere and this led to the foundation of the NWOBHM (New wave of British heavy metal). In spite of the fact that there were a number of old bands still existing but the media (music press) was desperately trying to figure some new form of music with a certain amount of freshness in it. NWOBHM brought about this freshness and novelty in the arena of music. As far as the definition of NWOBHM is concerned there is certain ambiguity and vagueness among the band members and the music scholars. It is due to these features that some
bands did not want to be associated with NWOBHM or with heavy metal (Tucker 2006). According to Tucker, 'NWOBHM was a time and place in the history of rock music, influenced by what came before and influencing what came after' (2006: 35). The term New Wave of British Heavy Metal was coined by Alan Lewis, editor of Sounds in 1979 as a response to Neal Kay's three band bill at the Music Machine on May 8 in the same year. It has been stated by Tucker that this wave of heavy metal music was a progressive and reactionary movement against the punk music (Tucker 2006: 57). During the post-punk era there existed a vacuum in the realm of music. Musically many things were in progress but nothing could be labeled as the 'Next Big Thing' (Tucker 2006: 35). The record companies wanted the next big thing in terms of marketability. They felt that heavy metal would be able to create for itself a niche market and provide them with a steady business in the following years to come. Therefore they either started to sign up or publish articles on heavy metal bands. With the progress of 1979, there were an increasing number of bands playing heavy metal music. At the same time numerous articles were being published about them in the newspapers and hefty record company chequebooks being waved around aplenty (Tucker 2006: 37). The significance of NWOBHM, according to Tucker was that, it had highlighted metal as a predominant form of musical genre on which the American and European bands would capitalize upon. The new wave had already begun to heavily influence the coming generations of heavy metal bands (Tucker 2006). But in spite of all this, what is noteworthy is that this movement of the metal music was not as popular and widely accepted as the rock n roll or punk. By 1983 the wave of British metal began to wane because it did not receive a continuous active support from the media for its publicity. Though in its initial years the NWOBHM had received an adequate amount of media publicity, yet it failed to consistently maintain it because of little innovation in its musical forms (Tucker 2006). The case in point is Kerrang! the only high street heavy metal magazine in the UK in 1984 which
had stopped writing on the heavy metal bands in Britain. It had justified its position saying that British heavy metal bands do not merit coverage. Rather the bands which dominated the market through the sale of their albums became the subject matter of *Kerrang*!

An analysis of the evolution of the popular music above shows an essence of protest inherent in them. The protest was mainly in the form of the youth protest. The root of emergence in African music is also important for it revealed how music became an expression of protest against colonial rule and everything that it stood for. The history of rock n roll has been relevant in the case of the Bangla bands. Either they have drawn their inspiration from the Beatles—a rock band during the formative years, or they have named themselves 'rock band'. It is to understand the essence or the principles of rock n roll and how far the Bangla band members have co-opted the principles that a review of rock n roll music became inevitable.

### 2.6 Lyrics and Issues

Decoding the lyrics of the songs of the Bangla band has constituted one of the major parts of the present research. This is because textual analysis has been a subsidiary strand in the expanding field of popular music studies (Middleton 2000). Hence the review of the following books became essential to obtain an idea as to what would likely be the themes of this particular genre of music. The themes would in turn hint at the problems of the youth in the society. The perspective of the youth and their understanding of the society are necessary not only for the sake of research but also for planning and policymaking at the state level.

Bennett in his book *Cultures of Popular Music* (2001) states that the audience of the Heavy Metal music constitutes of the adolescents and people in their early twenties. The issues usually touched upon in Heavy Metal music are
low socio-economic position, unsettled family life as well as postindustrial risk and anomie. Death, mutilation, physical violence and misogyny also form a part of its lyrics. (Bennett 2001). The popularity of this kind of music is more among the white, male and working class. This is true of Britain, Scandinavia and Australia. In North America it draws its audience mostly from middle class, suburban context. Early studies conducted in Canada derived a correlation between high preference for heavy metal music and low educational achievement, socio-economic status and the collective impact of all these on the youths' life chances (Bennett 2001: 44). From the 1980 onwards the class and gender dimensions of heavy metal music became more varied and diversified. This can be accounted for in terms of the emergence of the soft metal groups like Bon Jovi. The introduction of the soft metal music gained for it a large number of female audiences. During the 1990s, extreme metal music became very popular among young males. This genre of music has contemporary social problem facing the youth as its predominant subject matter. To be more precise the themes of the extreme metal songs revolve around destruction, decay and disease, disillusion corruption through power, confusion and isolation (Bennett 2001). Related to all these, is the dislocation created by the postindustrial society. The consequence of the dislocation is the increasing unemployment and uncertainty associated with it. This phenomenon has been termed as the risk society. The term was first used by Beck (1992). The young people can readily relate to these social problems in the contemporary society and therefore form a major part of the audience of extreme metal. They look at it a source of their empowerment. According to Harrell the death metal music (a subgenre of extreme metal) 'places the group, the fan and the ideology in opposition to the entrenched values of society – the “we vs. they” mentality..... serves to elevate the metal head to a position of moral superiority' (Bennett 2001: 53). The young audience of the extreme metal opines that it is truly representative of the environmental, economic,
political, educational and other social problems that the world confronts. The Rastafarian and reggae music of Jamaica addressed the issues of oppression, exploitation and tyranny faced by the blacks as a result of the perpetuation of the institution of slavery and colonial rule.

The discussion on issues which have become the subject matter of band songs in the west would give me an idea about the how the everyday issues get entangled in the songs of the band. In the case of the Bangla bands a similar trend has been noticed. Studying the issues in the international context would enable me to understand how specific and different or similar the issues of the bangla band songs would be from that of the former. The analysis of the lyrics of the songs of the Bangla bands is also likely to highlight the value preferences of the youth of today. Their dreams, aspirations, fear, passion, criticality, negativity, romanticism et al. is likely to be reflected in the process.

2.7 Performance

In the chapter Performance in *Key Terms in Popular Music and Culture* (edited by Bruce Horner and Thomas Swiss 2003), the author David R. Shumway writes that music has since long been defined as a performing art. He defines performance as a particular action or course of action undertaken by an individual or group. In this sense the action of performance, according to him, is subject to evaluation. To him whether recorded or live, music that are offered for public consumption, are performances. He also distinguishes performance from practice or rehearsal, where by in the latter, the audience remains absent. The scope for public evaluation is absent in the rehearsal. Performance also has a difference with text or work. The former has a certain amount of temporariness in it while the latter has an element of permanence. Shumway further states that interpretation is a basic pillar of performance. In his words,
'the standard songs of American popular music are often said to be given different interpretations by the various singers who perform them...' (Horner and Swiss 1999: 189).

One of the important components of the Bangla bands' is their live as well as recorded performances. Therefore the discussion of performance would very naturally emerge in the work that aims to study musical bands. The following works on performance in popular music have provided me with a guideline for observing the following components in the live performances of the bands.

2.7.1 Body Language and Stress

According to Ian Inglis any performance is also evaluated by metamusical components like facial expressions, body movements, microphone/instrument handling, spatial interrelationships and performer/audience topography. The performer's movements on stage as well as their costume are also worthy of observation because they might implicate a sexual or 'rebellious' interpretation. The above points have helped me immensely to have an idea about how to 'observe' the live performances of the bands. Inglis also points out that a distinction must also be made between the performers and performances as these two are not synonymous. An inexperienced musician may deliver a memorable performance whereas celebrated and established bands can (and do) give disappointing performances. The major reason for stress of musicians is shown to be performance related anxiety. Their problems range across a wide variety of potential problems like maintenance of musical standards, faulty equipment and degree of difficulty. These tensions can generate the energy and excitement lacking in the 'mediatized' performance. Inglis places the analysis of the performance within a broader discussion of context and consequences; to
him it is the 'opportunities for association, identification and resistance that the music permits between performers and audience, between the old and the new, which gives rock 'n' roll its peculiar distinction. The vocabularies through which music is encoded, assessed and decoded rarely remain static for long, but are subject to an ongoing process of adjustment, refinement and change, in which we all, as consumers or producers of popular music, participate on a regular basis. Popular music, like popular culture generally, is always in motion, yet the impacts and influences that a particular event has are not always apparent immediately' (Ingliis 2006: xvi).

2.7.2 Creativity vs. Technology

Performance, to Shumway, is understood to be a combination of creativity with composition. He cites the instance of a jazz musician who is free not to play the music as the songwriter wrote it because the song does not have a transcendent value. Here the performance gets a priority over composition. In this sense 'performance is not of a work; it is the work. Those works called performance art or sometimes just “performance” are not performances of something else, a text that could be performed again by someone else. Rather, they exist sui generis as performance' (Horner and Swiss 1999: 190).

If composition has been the term most strongly opposed to performance in jazz, it is recording that holds this place in rock 'n' roll. Composition of music or lyrics is only one element in producing a record, and as rock n roll has developed, it has become increasingly integrated into that process. For instance the Beatles provided a new model that became dominant in the 1960s. Instead of going into the studio to perform a previously composed song, rock n rollers increasingly wrote their songs in the studio as they recorded them (Horner and Swiss 1999). The Beatles had transformed music production by making the
recording studio the primary site of musical creation rather than that of mere reproduction (Horner and Swiss 1999). From the beginning of the sound recording in the late nineteenth century till the Second World War, the recorded music was just a reproduction of performances. The process of recording underwent a major change with the coming in of multitrack technology because then it was possible to record a song without recording a performance of it. In rock n roll music recording has gained a prior place than live performance. Shumway states that rock fans judge the live performances by the standard of recording. The rock performers are expected to be able to reproduce on stage at least a credible imitation of the sound of their recordings. This is considered a most difficult task because the recorded music is not a live performance. Another thing which Shumway finds in the rock audiences is the want for the spontaneous transformation of familiar material. This is direct contrast to the jazz audiences who look for novelty and unexpected in every performance. The rock audience on the other hand demands the repetition of what it already knows and loves. The author also raises the question as to why the rock fans continue to go to the live concerts when there is an emphasis on recording. In other words, 'what is the point of a “live” repetition of something that can be repeated perfectly ad infinitum on the home stereo or portable listening device?'(Horner and Swiss 1999).

The author himself provides the answer. He says although the recordings have aural priority as they are the means by which any rock n roll song is likely to be the first and most often heard, live performance continues to be an aesthetic ideal by which recordings themselves are judged. Rock n roll has oscillated between movements like punk and grunge, which take live sound and performance as their ideal. In the author's view, the aesthetic of live performance has been on the whole the more powerful in defining rock n roll as a practice. Secondly, he says that rock n roll has never been a purely musical
form. It has been from its emergence bound up with non-musical forms of
expression. Rock performances are not limited to the playing of music for live
audiences. During the 1950s and 60s, televised performances were
extraordinarily important to rock n roll. Movies have presented rock stars in
both musical and non-musical performances, and rock videos helped to define
the rock no roll of the 1980s. He further points out that rock stars cannot be
considered simply as musical performers even when they are on the concert
stage. No rock star is in performance the same man or woman who exists off
stage, even if some stars' personas entail precisely that fiction. Performance in
its various forms is indispensable to rock n roll (Horner and Swiss 1999: 193-
194). Shumway cites the instance of Elvis Presley and states that his dancing
was extreme and he incorporated new gestures like pointing to the audience.
These gestures are believed to have sparked the energy of the audience. The
excitement of the live audience is contagious; it makes the television audience
feel the star's power. Shumway agrees to Simon Frith's claim that in pop
concerts, 'it's not just the stars' emotions on show. The power struggle between
stars and fans is what gives concerts their sexual charge' (ibid 195).

Popular music in the twentieth century has embraced a plethora of
performances, from the presentation of an interpretation of a standard, to the
replication of a recording, to the creation of a star persona and finally to the
collaboration of erstwhile performer and fans in reconstituting the performer as
star. These forms of performance, available for use by artists and fans continue
to exist simultaneously, making popular music the music richest in the
possibilities of performance (ibid). The discussion of the above works has
provided the basis on which to ground the issue of performance, an important
component of popular music.
2.7.3 Interaction between the performers and the audiences

Talking of the performance of Extreme Metal music (a variant of the Heavy Metal), Bennett (2001) observes that there is a certain level of compactness between the performing group and its audience. The group usually uses a small venue and there is proximity between the audience and the dance stage. It is thought that this usually creates a bond between the performers and those who watch. The performance is accompanied by the frequent act of stagediving where the individual members of the audience climb up onto the stage during the performance and throw themselves off into the crowd below. The act though done spontaneously, but requires a co-ordination between the stage diver, those who are performing and the audience below (Bennett 2001: 47). This act of stage diving has not been observed in case of the bangla bands but its performers no doubt engage in other bodily movements to relate to the audiences. It is worth noticeable in the present research that in the performances of the Bangla bands the performers and the audiences usually seem to relate to each other.

2.7.4 Mediated performance

In the introductory chapter in Performance and Popular Music: History, Place and Time, the editor Ian Inglis points out that though music is a performance based art, yet most of the popular music performance is routinely 'mediatized'. This means, it reaches the audience through an array of increasingly sophisticated audio-visual technologies, rather than live. The author further states that both the live and the mediatized performance are parallel forms reciprocally dependent on one another. The latter form enjoys a far more cultural presence and prestige and profitability than live forms. Therefore the entire academic focus shifted from music making as an immediate theatrical act
to music making as a phased industrial process (Inglis 2006). Music has been looked upon as an economic system, as an industrial practice, as a political vehicle, as a developing technology as well as a sub-cultural agent.

But only rarely has it been considered as an opportunity for reciprocal exchange between those on the stage and those in front of it, in which the pulse of life, the imaginative charge generated when actors and audience come together can have long lasting and far reaching consequences for both the production and the consumption of music, and for its shifting form and content. To Inglis, this neglect is not only regrettable but puzzling since the live performance of any music has traditionally been one of the most valued ways in which audiences and musicians can effectively interact. There is a possibility of a kind of profound even spiritual response to the experience of personal participation in live musical performance (ibid). Apart from observing the emotional identification present between the audiences and performers, live performances are also important in the sense that any musical change and innovation introduced can be easily recognized. These performances, according to Inglis, can be characterized as moments of transition, in which old traditions are challenged and new ones established (ibid).

2.8 Consumers

Will Straw in his article entitled Characterizing Rock Music Culture in Simon During edited The Cultural Studies Reader stated that the suburban youth (who were largely disenfranchised by movements within rock in the late 1960s) constituted the major share of the audience of Heavy Metal in the 1970s. He further stresses the fact that heavy metal audience was hostile to the disco culture (an element of marginalized existence) because the latter were dominated by blacks, Hispanics, gays and young professionals. Heavy Metal music also was equally marginalized. In the suburbs the major sources of music
were radio, retail chain record stores and occasional large concerts. According to Straw these determined the status of the major label albums, as well as promoted and sold them. They defined an involvement in rock culture, excluding and negating what they called 'sub cultural activity' associated with disco or punk. What Straw tries to assert that the dominance of music by elites as well as the overall decline in small-scale live performance activity in the early 1970s operated to inhibit 'other' periods of rock history like heavy metal.

During its thirty year history, heavy metal has been at the centre of much controversy and faced consequent opposition from the parental generation. The most widespread allegation against it in the mid-1980s is the threat posed by it to the moral and physical well-being of young fans. The protest went to such an extreme that heavy metal became the subject of censorship and legal action. The legal action was initiated by a Washington D.C. based association named Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC) who had alleged that popular music lyrics promote the culture of sex, drugs, and violence. The church ministers and the psychiatric doctors also joined the movement stating the references to Satanism and black magic in the heavy metal lyrics and imagery used on album covers, videos and promotional material. Some researchers like Carlson (1989) states that such imagery has been used deliberately by the young heavy metal audience to shock the parental culture but the latter attributed the antisocial behaviour in teenagers to the satanic images presented in heavy metal music. In 1985 in a court case in US against British heavy metal artist Ozzy Osbourne it was alleged that one of his songs had led to the suicide of a 19 year old fan. Though the case was dropped on the ground that it violated the freedom of expression and speech yet the teenage suicide incidents were always associated to the effects of heavy metal. Five years later a similar case had come up against heavy metal group Judas Priest who were believed to have caused the death of one Nevada teenager and the attempted suicide of his friend. The case was finally dropped because of lack of evidence but kept enough ground for
subsequent research on the issue (Bennett 2001). Among other social concerns with the subgenre of heavy metal music was the act of church burning in Norway during the early 1990s by the black metal fans. They reasoned this act as a show of protest against the authority of the church and cleansing the society.

Researchers like Muller-Wiegand (1990) and Hafenger et al. (1993), have tried to show that punk culture can take on substantially different meanings even in the same country. Citing the instance of Frankfurt in Germany, they state that the punks are looked as being old fashioned both ideologically as well as stylistically by the non punks. The Frankfurt punks respond to it by following a more committed and authentic punk lifestyle. They follow the British image of punk in the late 1970s (Bennett 2001). The punks in Fulda (a small city to the north-east of Frankfurt) are looked down upon as socially deviant. They are treated as out of the mainstream society who must be distanced off and not to be trusted. Hafenger shows that there is also a difference in the experience of the rural and the urban punks in Germany which is not the case in Britain (Bennett 2001).

In the United States also the impact of the British punk was considerable but they did not receive appreciation from the people. The reason for this was that the strong economic position of the United States during the 1970s after the war in Vietnam inhibited the wide scale acceptance of the punk culture among the youth (Bennett 2001).

Tucker (2006), while talking of the significance of the New wave of British Heavy Metal, stated that it was a combination of '25% talent, 75% enthusiasm and some of the lyrics…' (Tucker 2006: 173). Nevertheless, this new wave showed the way to the next generation of bands from America. It prepared the ground for the acceptance of the different sub-genres of metal music like speed metal, thrash metal, black metal etc. among the generations to come.
The discussion on issues which have become the subject matter of band songs in the west would give me an idea about the possible issues touched upon in the songs of the Bangla band. It would also be possible to understand how specific and different or similar the issues touched upon the bangla band songs would be. As far as the audiences are concerned, a brief review of the audience profile in the western context would be a guideline to understand who would be the predominant consumers of this particular genre of music. In the Bengali society what would be the nature of the consumer of this music is a subject most worthy of the present study.

2.9 Interface between commerce and aesthetics

In the context of the present capitalist regime, there is an interface between commerce and aesthetics. Whether this is true of the bands has been a central problem of the study. The following instances have shown how this interaction has taken place in the international scenario. Tracing the roots of the Punk music in Britain, Hebdige notes that it is an element of youth sub culture. He categorically states that a youth sub cultural style remains an authentic expression of youth culture as long as it is remains ' undiscovered by the market'. As soon as it gets incorporated into the market it is simultaneously devoid of its cultural message and becomes simply a meaningless object of mass consumption (Bennett 2001: 65).

Publicity in the media is of extreme importance in gaining popularity by the bands. This is evident during the spread of the British Heavy Metal. The coverage by Sounds helped in the spread of the New wave of metal music. In addition, BBC Radio One's The Friday Rock Show provided an excellent platform for airing sessions of bands' performances. Recording a session for the BBC's show was not only a good way to popularize a band but also became a
status symbol for the band members. It earned for them a degree of prestige and membership of an elite club for the few bands who were worthy of such honour. Some specialist rock/metal record shop in London like Shades also promoted the bands (though not exclusively the NWOBHM) to perform on Sunday nights at the Royal Standard in Walthamstow (Tucker 2006).

Will Straw in his article Characterizing rock music culture: the case of heavy metal argues that the culture – industry centralization does not lead to the standardization of heavy metal music as has been stated by Adorno, because rock involves 'craft-production' techniques (During 1993). According to Straw the modern history of the American recording industry can be divided into phases running from 1940 to 1958, 1959 to 1969 and the epoch starting from 1970. the first phase was marked by a concentration and integration within and between the electronics, recording and publishing industries; the second was characterized by the turbulence associated with the introduction of rock music whereas the third marked by the presence of the oligopolies and their impact on the music industry. However Straw states that a greater trend towards oligopolization in the music industry did not implicate the industry becoming conservative or its products becoming standardized. Rather the industry tried to assimilate the smaller, specialized labels within conglomerates. It therefore depended on the contracts with producers and production companies. The rock music production industry in the early 1970s was dominated by rock elites or in other words the people already established in the rock music circuit were the employees of the record companies. To a certain extent this was a conservative approach in the sense that new street level talents were no longer encouraged. It also meant that the major music companies did not test the musicians before recording. In such a situation there was the phenomenon of the 'loosening of division of labour'. Those people who had worked in the support capacities like songwriters, session musicians etc. achieved a celebrity status because they
combined the functions of production, composition and performance. During the late 1960s and mid 1970s changes had occurred in the programming policies of FM radio stations both in the US and Canada. The increase of both group performance fees and overhead production costs replaced the mid-sized performance by performance in the large arena or stadium. These developments led to a process of ‘standardization’ on FM radio and in the rock press (During 1993).

After a brief review of the process of commodification of the band music in the global context, it has been realized that a similar process of commodification has been ongoing in the realm of band music. In a separate chapter on performance, it has been shown how the bangla band music has become a commodity, a process inevitable in the capitalist system.

### 2.10 Interface between Global and Local

The next section of the review of literature would be how the band music would be a local force emanating from local context but interacting on a global platform. This has found to be very relevant in the context of the bangle bands. The section below gives instances of how other musical forms interact on a global as well as local platform. The British punk music disappeared by the beginning of the 1980s but it began to gain popularity in the places like Hungary, Russia, Germany. In Hungary during the 1980s there was a widespread economic depression leading to social insecurity. The Hungarian youth who were more specifically affected by it, felt cheated by the socialist regime. According to many scholars punk became a medium through which the youth protested against the government authorities and negotiated with the existing anomie. The Hungarian authorities treated the punk scene as right wing and fascist due to their western origin. However soon after, the Hungarian punk
music created a niche for itself and became an intellectual and political weapon to protest against the western punk movement (Bennett 2001: 68).

A further engagement of the punk scene in local context was evident in case of Russia. Pilkington in her research (1994) has shown that punk had remained marginalized (underground) in Russia as both political and economic forces had inhibited it from entering the mainstream cultural domain. In Britain the punks had protested against the authority by subverting the everyday meanings, but this could be done in Russia because there was a basic lack of commodities to effect such subversion (Bennett 2001: 68). The punk protest instead focused upon the lack of items such as condoms, hairspray and cigarettes which were an integral part of their lifestyle (Bennett 2001).

In Western Europe the punk culture was highly influenced by the British punk scene but incorporating the local issues within it. For instance in Germany the punks protested against what they considered to the obsessive consumerist attitude of the dominant society. One major event in the punk calendar is the 'Die Chaos Tage' (Those Chaos days) organized in the month of August in Hannover. Since its beginning in 1982 this event has been facing major challenges from the local police and the coverage of the media depicts it as a scene of extreme social unrest (Bennett 2001).

The collaboration between Reggae and Rastafarianism put this specific variant of Jamaican music on a global platform. It had its impact in Britain on the African Caribbean, white British youth as well as on the aboriginal youth in Australia. During the 1970s reggae had a considerable impact on the African Caribbean youth who had readily identified with the message of Reggae and with its Rasta style of performance. According to Bennett both reggae and rasta culture represented the discrimination and exploitation of the black population at the hands of the white colonial settlers. The first group of the Jamaican immigrants came in Britain in 1948 and they mainly consisted of the skilled and
semi-skilled labourers. These settlers had come to Britain in the hope of building up a strong future for themselves as well as for their children. They tried in every possible way to integrate with the British culture. But in the 1960s the settlers had realized that far from being equal to the white inhabitants, they were being ghettoized more and more in Britain. Unemployment began to soar higher among the black youth and the worst sufferers of the situation were the children of the immigrants. The African Caribbean youth adopted a stylistic attitude by wearing short brimmed hats with dark glasses and Italian style sharp suits. This image came to be popularly known as the 'rude boy'. With the arrival of the Reggae-Rastafarian music in Britain during the 1970s, the African Carribean youth felt a sense of cultural and ideological solidarity with the Jamaican natives. Rastafarianism became a form of cultural resistance in the hands of the Jamaican youth and gave them an identity (black) amidst the predominant racial discrimination meted out by the 'whites'. The style of the African-Carribean youth also changed. Roughly woven loose fitting hat replaced the pork pie hat; sharp suits gave way to more casual clothes made out of natural fibres like wool and cotton. Their hair was allowed to grow out and plaited into locks (Bennett 2001). 'Although the material conditions of African Carribean youth remained unchanged, their ability to negotiate such circumstances was significantly transformed through the new cultural space which the Rasta image and reggae music created' (Bennett 2001: 82).

Reggae music and the Rastafarian style were constructive in creating a Black unity and identity and therefore remained almost impenetrable to the white British youth. Nevertheless, they constituted a large part of the audience of reggae. The white audience empathized with the issue of racist oppression of the Blacks which formed the lyrical content of the reggae-rastafarian music. Some white post-punk artists also appropriated the reggae style. In such cases, community rather than race becomes a key cementing factor between the
'Blacks' and the 'Whites'. Scholars like Back (1996) has termed such a feeling as the *community discourse*. It means that people inhabiting the same area develop an inter-racial tolerance between themselves as they get to know each other well. At the same time Back also suggests that this feeling is not extended to the members living outside the specific territorial space and community.

Studies have also been made regarding the impact of reggae-rastafarian culture on the aboriginal youth in Australia. According to Davies (1993) there were certain socio-historical similarities between the Australian aboriginals and the African Carribean people. Both were subjected to white oppression and transported from their cultural homelands to be used as slaves (Bennett 2001: 85). This affinity of experience had led the aboriginal youth in Australia to readily identify with the reggae music. This category of youth was seriously dissatisfied with the existing social conditions prevailing in Australia. As Australia was a colony, aborigines choosing to inhabit the cities had to live in extremely shanty conditions in the slums or on the outskirts of the city. The aborigines who chose to maintain a traditional tribal existence had to live on reservations. Therefore the main demands of these Australian aborigines were the right to land, to origins and to a cultural integrity beyond contemporary industrial arrangements. These grievances have been consequential in creating a bond between the African Carribean youth and the aboriginal Australian youth and the latter appreciating the reggae music (Bennett 2001). This entire section above shows how a particular genre of music, like the punk or Rastafarian has emerged in a local context and has obtained a global character. In the context of the Bangla bands this point is relevant in the sense that though it has emerged owing to certain specificities yet it has transformed into a global entity through the medium of its performances on international platforms. The process of interface between the global and the local and the nature of this interface in connection with the bangla bands would be an interesting phenomenon to explore.
2.11 Conclusion

A review of the above works has been extremely enlightening in the case of the present study because it provided a ground work on which my study can be based. In this context it needs to be mentioned that though all the above areas have not been elaborately touched upon in the study, yet ideas have been derived from them for further work in the future. While reviewing the books I had a realized the dearth of serious references on the phenomenon called Bangla band music. It also pointed to the urgency of taking up the issue of relationship between youth and music as a serious academic enterprise. It has been realized from the above works that music is a medium to express youth dissatisfactions and discontent. It acts as a catharsis to vent off their pent up feelings. It is a vehicle of youth expression and probably one of the mediums to know their minds. The existing inequalities in the society get reflected through their music, for instance it has been found from the aforementioned works that youth music is still a highly gendered realm. Their music also speaks of other forms of exploitation as is clear from the section on lyrics. It is due to these reasons that I have been attracted to the present area of research and my thesis has also developed taking clue from the above mentioned areas.

Endnotes

1. In the survey carried on the consumers of Bangla Band music, a majority that is 90% of the respondents said that they listen to the songs of the Bangla bands.