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2023 **Alexandra Lebriez**

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Environments of DIY Spirituality

Bachelor's thesis

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Abstract

This Bachelor's thesis investigates spiritual beliefs, practices, and experiences of transcendence in the secular subculture of Czech DIY *(Do-It-Yourself)* punk, a phenomenon that hasn't been given much attention in scientific literature. The exploratory study performs a qualitative comparative analysis of two distinct punk scenes in the Czech Republic: the Ostrava region and the Vsetínsko region with regard given to environmental factors. It generates descriptive data about the spirituality in both DIY punk scenes, focuses on local differences, and partially explains them by local factors, and it formulates a preliminary understanding of what might constitute spirituality in the Czech DIY punk scene. The main characteristics of Czech DIY punk spirituality are eclecticism, openness, and uniqueness of beliefs and practices. While the Ostravsko scene has been found to be more secular and humanistic in spirituality, Vsetínsko appeared closer to nature and put more emphasis on creativity.

Abstrakt

Tato bakalářská práce se zaměřuje na víry, praktiky a spirituální a přesahující zkušenosti v sekulární subkultuře českého DIY (*do-it-yourself*, *udělej-si-sám*) punku. Tento jev nebyl prozatím příliš studován v odborné literatuře. Studie je explorativní a kvalitativně porovnává s oheldem na environmentální prvky dvě DIY scény v České republice: Ostravsko a Vsetínsko. Výsledkem práce je popis spiritualit na obou scénách a formulace něčeho, co by mohla být spiritualita na českých DIY punk scénách. Základní charakteristiky této spirituality jsou eklekticismus, otevřenost, a jedinečnost vír a praktik. Ostravská scéna se jevila jako více sekulární a humanistická ve své spiritualitě, zatímco vsetínská scéna měla blízko k přírodě a dávala důraz na kreativitu.
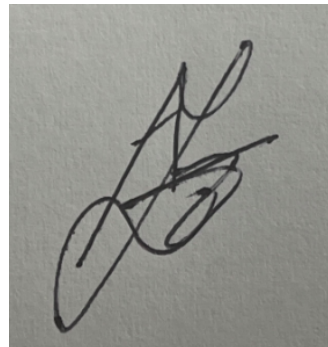
Keywords

Klíčová slova

Extent of thesis: 99 383 characters with spaces

Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.

2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.

3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague, July 31, 2023   Alexandra Lebriez

Institute of Sociological Studies

Bachelor's thesis proposal

Research topic

Alternative Spirituality(ies) in the Czech DIY Punk Subculture: Beliefs, Practices, and Experiences in a non-spiritual subculture, a comparative study between the scenes of Vsetínsko and the city of Ostrava.

Statement of the problem

The Czech Republic is known to be a strongly atheist country with a strong tendency toward alternative spiritualities. The aim of this study is to investigate differences in spirituality within the DIY punk subculture depending on the area, where the members live and practice or experience their spirituality. The comparison will be between the Ostrava scene (a big lowland city capital of a highly industrialized region) and the Vsetínsko region (a hilly, small-town region).

Merit of studying the problem

This study could be relevant for the field of subcultural studies, as well as spirituality studies, as it investigates spirituality in a non-spiritual and ubiquitous subculture. Its merit lies in its so far unexplored nature as no study about DIY punks' spirituality has been conducted yet, especially in the Czech Republic which is has its own specific attributes in terms of spirituality, and DIY (the „kutilství" phenomenon). It could also inform punks themselves, and let them know about the dynamics within their own subculture.

Content

Introduction

The aim of my thesis is to analyze and compare the spiritualities of two Czech DIY punk scenes with regard to environmental specificities. The work is based on qualitative research carried out through the primary method of observation and interviews, and it generates a description of the spirituality of the scenes as well as an analysis of the particular shape that they take. It attempts to explain the differences between the two scenes via the differences in physical, topographical, socioeconomic, and demographic environment. The thesis also attempts to render an account of what is common to the spiritualities of both scenes, following the theoretical assumption that commonalities or similarities between the spiritualities of both scenes are likely a consequence of what they share, *id est* DIY (*do-it-yourself*) punk.

This work attempts to find whether we can expect to find spiritual beliefs, practices, or even spiritual people in the DIY punk subculture, punk being a subculture that defines itself as mundane and secular and tends to take anti-establishment, including anti-religion positions. In this work, spirituality is understood as a loose set of alternative beliefs and practices, underpinned by a form of faith, not regulated by religious doctrine or religious institutions. In fact, the study excludes religiosity from analysis and only focuses on spirituality because it is more relevant to the Czech context which has an abnormally high rate of atheists and non-believers, making Czechia an interesting laboratory for the study of religious and spiritual phenomena.

This work preoccupies itself with some links that can be found between Heelas' "Spiritualities of Life", which characteristically celebrate inner life, self-expression, life in the here-and-now, humanistic values, and autonomous creativity; and DIY punk and the DIY ethos, which value very similar things but are conceptualized as entirely secular. This is particularly of interest in the Czech context where punk stems from the Czech underground, whose emblematic figure is the first president of post-communist Czechoslovakia Václav Havel, who himself devised his notorious ontologies of the inner sacredness of the individual, resistance through life and lifestyle, Good, Evil and Truth, as well as the importance of self-expression. In this context, the thesis attempts to investigate how spirituality is articulated, experienced, and lived in two DIY punk scenes, Ostravsko: a post-industrial peripheral urban agglomeration, and Vsetínsko, a traditional Moravian Wallachian region of small towns, surrounded by hills and forests.

The work finds that "punk spirituality" is influenced by local phenomena, and while most informants insisted on the secular nature of the scene, it did not prevent them from finding transcendental dimensions in certain punk activities, such as creativity, social engagement, caring for nature; experiencing transcendence through the vehicle of music; or agreeing that DIY punk was underpinned by a common faith in a better world. While rejecting doctrine and the superposition of supernatural worldviews and objective understanding of the world and its criticism, all punks were found to have spiritual sensitivities, even though spirituality was not a punk topic and it was not present on the scene except within the bounds of discussions or practices within close relationships, which punk, however, provides the space for.

Scene differences in terms of beliefs were highly impacted by environmental phenomena, the most prominent was the presence of a university in Ostrava which allowed for people with backgrounds in humanities to contribute to more secular, humanistic, philosophical, and ethical conceptualizations of the links between punk and spirituality, as well as the openness of the region toward Poland and Slovakia which created space for the flow of ideas and people, as well as an analogous openness of the scene toward other minorities and social engagement. Conversely, the more secluded region of Vsetínsko was characterized by a more *self*-oriented understanding of DIY punk, driving DIY goals more toward self-sufficiency and autonomy, and links between DIY punk and spirituality were more visible in regard to personal creativity and self-realization. As a region that is closer to vernacular traditions and the natural world, this region was also more characterized by beliefs in natural forces and sacralization of nature.

The thesis consists of four sections: the theoretical background (1) which presents the relevant literature and contextualizes the study; the methodological part (2) which lays out the means through which the problem was conceptualized and the modalities of the research design; data analysis (3) which presents the main findings, and a discussion part (4) where the findings are discussed in light of the existing literature.

1. Theoretical background.

1.1 Czech DIY punk subculture.

1.1.1 Subculture studies and music scenes.

A subculture is defined as a society different from the mainstream society through some common trait(s), the members adhere to institutions associated with this common defining trait, associate with one another, and have cultural tools in common (Swindler, 1986). Punk rock (or punk) is a music subculture, it gravitates around the music it produces and consumes (Laing, 1985).

The term music scene or scene is understood based on Andy Bennett's definition as a geographically delimited space where fans, promoters, and musicians coalesce around a particular genre of music (Bennett, 2004). This geographical aspect is important because it echoes the project's focus on environmental factors. Bennett's analytical trichotomy of local, translocal, and virtual scenes is of interest here, although, for the purposes of this thesis, the virtual aspect was not relevant. The local level of analysis gives importance to the context of the scene and its local environment. It encourages the examination of local socio-economic and demographic characteristics (as in Cohen, 1991) and in our context, physical ones too, as well as focusing on the local network that keeps the scene alive. Holly Kruse coins the term "translocal" (also "transregionalism", in Slobin, 1993), referring to agents' ability to pluck elements from one scene's context and reinsert them into the context of a different scene (Kruse, 1993); a consequence of globalization and communication technologies (Hodkinson, 2002). Here, flows of people and information are given credit: a scene's influence can reach beyond its physical limits.

1.1.2. Punk and *Czech* punk.

Punk is a music subculture born in the 1970s; it is disputed whether its birth took place in the United Kingdom or the United States. It was a movement of the working-class youth, plagued by the economic crisis, hence the nihilistic slogan "*No Future*" (Laing, 1985). Emblematic features of punk music include the accessibility of the style: it does not necessitate much technical ability, which contributed to its worldwide spread. In the West, punk was notorious for its rebellion and rejection of the establishment and authorities, and often hedonistic

consumption of alcohol and partying which ended up creating divisions between the movement itself (*exempli gratia* Straight Edge punks who live a sober and often asexual or strictly monogamous lifestyle, or Krishnacore). It also popularized DIY fashion: handmade safety pin piercings, ripped jeans, or otherwise customized clothes (ibid.). Over time, hardcore punk became increasingly political and took stands on issues such as sexism, animal rights, ecology, and more; but it was also affected by the capitalist drive to commodify subcultural identity (Thompson, 2001; Vladimír 518 et al., 2016).

Due to the division of the world into Soviet and Capitalist blocks that the style was born into, punk arrived in Czechoslovakia with some temporal delay. It was first introduced into the Czech Republic around 1979 and appealed to the youth that grew up in post-1968 normalization (Bárta, 2010). Czech punk localized punk's anti-establishment stances by criticizing the local political regime (Vladimír 518 et al., 2013 and 2016). Because of its political nature and inherent rejection of authority, the style was quickly forbidden by the ruling socialist regime; which relegated the style to the underground subcultures. This contributed to making Czech punk a resistant movement. Czech punk drew inspiration from the fanzines and recordings that would slip through the iron curtain, punks would also often try and record titles broadcast on the Polish radio where the genre was not forbidden (Kuřík, 2010). By the mid-1980s, the regime realized that most punk youth did not have a political agenda, as most of them simply wanted to listen to the music. Declaring the music illegal made it more likely for punks to socialize and sympathize with underground dissidents. The regime thus embraced the style and organized official punk concerts, but these were highly controversial among punks (Vladimír 518 et al., 2013 and 2016; Kuřík, 2018).

When the regime crumbled, Czech punk experienced both a golden age and an identity crisis. The 1990s were notorious for lax legislation, former prisoner and dissident Václav Havel was president, which made it a great time to be a punk, a squatter, or an anarchist (ibid.). At the same time, however, the common enemy of punk had been conquered, and due to its inherent resistant aspect, punk needed to redefine itself, and resist commodification (Vladimír 518 et al., 2016). Today, a separation can be made between "commercial" punk, and DIY punk which refuses the dependency on labels and emphasizes autonomy, although the line is at times blurry, so it should be treated as an analytical tool (Kuřík, 2018).

1.1.3. DIY Music scenes, DIY punk.

DIY or *do-it-yourself* culture is found in various music scenes, but the DIY record revolution is believed to have been started by punk-rock music (Dunn, 2012). Hardcore punk is tied to the DIY principles of punk and it is politically more active than for instance *No Future* punk (Kumová, 2018). DIY punk leverages principles of sharing and cooperation (Graeber, 2012; Belk, 2010; Widlok, 2013; Williams, 2002) to create a better world; with emphases often placed on ecological considerations, tolerance and solidarity (Kumová, 2018).

DIY culture is understood as a form of counter-cultural production. While it was at the beginning a practice mostly linked with home improvement – a practice which is parenthetically popular in the Czech Republic (Gibas & Nyklová, 2020) – it can be understood as an alternative form of cultural production, seeking other goals than profit (Holtzman et al., 2007) or mainstream fame in the musical context, but also as a critique of industrial production and the consumption-driven society. DIY implies a reordering of values (Hebdige & Tůma, 2012) – and is associated with a certain ethical code (Bennett & Guerra, 2020). The DIY ethos challenges certain societal tenets and puts forth alternative values: self-sufficiency, sustainability, as well as autonomy, independence, and creative self-expression (ibid.). Some forms of DIY culture have also been moving toward what Petra Kumová calls „*do-it-together*" culture where individuals leverage a DIY community to realize alternative production goals. Other authors highlight that while much leeway is given to self-empowerment, it does not exclude various kinds of mutual help. The goal is to create a symbolic alternative to the current way of life (Holtzman et al., 2007), which some authors understand as a form of prefigurative politics (Day, 2005; Graeber, 2009), or a form of anarchy in practice (Donaghey, 2013). To expand on the idea of community, other authors understand DIY production as a form of „commoning", *id est* producing and reproducing what is common while resisting the capitalistic push to dispossess and privatize (De Angelis, 2017; Linebaugh, 2014).

1.2 Punk and Spirituality.

1.2.1. Spirituality, Faith, and Religion

A useful definition of spirituality is provided by L. L. Newman in a model where she conceptualizes Spirituality and Religion as a function of Faith; Faith itself being independent from Spirituality and Religion. Faith can exist outside of them, but both Spirituality and Religion require Faith (2004). Defining Faith as a set of beliefs and their actualization over time („*Knowing*"), the author bases her definition of spirituality according to the Webster's dictionary: „of the spirit or soul, distinguished from bodily or material matters" and considers it as „*Being*", contrarily to religiosity's "*Doing*" which is more institutionalized and responds to a human need to distinguish between sacred and profane (Smith, 1995). Religiosity is thus defined as a system of beliefs and practices that relates to supernatural beings, stable over time (ibid.). Newman considers Spirituality and Religiosity as indicators of faith.

A more analytical approach to the kinds of spiritualities that we might encounter today is „Spiritualities of Life" (also referred to as „New Age Spirituality", „alternative spiritualities", „Inner-Life Spiritualities"), a term coined by Paul Heelas to better study the various forms of alternative beliefs and practices that are emerging today (2008), which tend to compete with religious beliefs and practices. These tend to include (but are not limited to) mind-body-spirituality activities, complementary and alternative medicine, or activities at the hands of spiritual practitioners. Inner Life Spiritualities' main features are their "typically holistic" and "life-affirming form" (ibid., p. 5). Their adherents are brought to look for the primary source of the sacred within themselves, with an emphasis on meta-empirical experiences and the „here-and-now" (Hanegraaff, 1999, p. 152). These spiritualities have received criticism from the scholarly realm as they place the individual at the center, leading him toward a self-absorbed life, entirely turned in on itself (vide Lasch, 1980). Due to the importance given to the inner life, there is no frame holding the individual accountable like a religious moral code would, the individual relies on his own „inner authority" which often results in a push to consume (Heelas, 2008, p.3). According to Heelas, New Age Spiritualities may be criticized for their commodification of experience along with other consumerist aspects (ibid.). The author presents a competing understanding of Inner-Life Spiritualities which postulates that these spiritualities help cultivate what it is to be alive, hence the term "Spiritualities of *Life*". As a form of protest against materialistic utilitarianism, they aim to

create a good life through expressivistic humanism. He brings up the point that it is the overly utilitarian world that creates the need for these kinds of spiritualities (ibid.). By focusing on self-expression and creativity, as well as the inherent rejection of the consumptive for its own sake through the embracing of creativity, which are at the bases of Spiritualities of Life, we can start seeing links emerging between Spiritualities of Life and the DIY ethos.

1.2.2 Punk and (DIY) Spirituality

While stylistically close to speed metal, hardcore punk is often differentiated by being more concerned with mundane matters, with less dreaminess and a bigger emphasis on sharing political stances (Vlček, 2001).

According to *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Popular Music* (Partridge et al., 2017), punk is defined as secular, in the sense of „not [being] regulated according to religious beliefs" (Abraham & Stewart, 2017).

Punk is characterized by inner fragmentation and inner contradictions. According to Garnett, punk's ability to contain consistent aesthetics and ideological norms does not result in any sort of uniformity in terms of spiritual, political, and ethical perspectives (Garnett, 1999).

Stacy Thompson analyzes punk as a cultural form comprised of a set of "interrelated *desires*" (2004; pp. 4-79). The desires Thompson refers to are the following: to resist commercialization to retain autonomy over self-expression (expressed in the maintenance of a DIY approach to culture); the critique of popular music resulting in the desire to explore alternative subjectivities, and finally, the desire for communities where the two former desires can be satisfied.

The authors explain that there are aspects of punk that might provide a template for individualized forms of holistic spiritualities; these aspects being commitment to DIY as well as the exploration of alternative subjectivities (Abraham & Stewart, 2014; Stewart 2012 and 2016). There is according to the authors a „punk DIY Spirituality" very similar to new spiritualities found by Heelas and Woodhead in their emphasis on the „freedom to be yourself" as opposed to abiding by a set of rules (2005, p. 95). The authors admit that there may be divergences between „punk DIY spiritualities" and the new Spiritualities that have been observed by Heelas in the West, but the extent of these differences remains unclear

(Abraham & Stewart, 2017). Shared elements between the two are the rejection of external authority, the emphasis on experiential self-authorization, and the relocation of the transcendent to the therapeutic. Undeniably though, because of the aforementioned constitutive „desires" of punk, there exists a framework that renders individual accountability possible when it comes to the beliefs that one chooses to live by, whether these beliefs are religious, secular and humanistic, or eclectically assembled in a „DIY" fashion; according to Lewin and Williams, contemporary punks share at least the practice of sincerity and self-reflection (2009). The extent to which punks themselves may be willing to see their own beliefs and practices as spiritual and religious remains unclear however; the authors note that many punks would locate religious concepts and processes in the realm of the secular, and articulate them as such.

Further literature understands Straight Edge punks as a form of "Implicit Religion", in the sense that these punks have faith in the Straight Edge way of being and place faith into this lifestyle (Stewart, 2012). Straight Edge evolved from hardcore punk as a reaction against the hedonism of the subculture, often ridden with violence, and heavy alcohol and drug use (Fuchs, 2002). Straight Edge punks reject these practices and abide by a strictly abstinent and vegan or vegetarian lifestyle.

Finally, it should be noted that music, of its own accord, can present transcendental qualities and evoke transcendental experiences in those who hear it. Several authors conceptualize these intense experiences involving music as "altered states of consciousness" (e.g. Becker, 2004; Harrison and Loui, 2014). While the authors of the source use "transcendental" synonymously with "religious experience" and "spiritual" (Bist & Smith, 2021), their article focuses on music's neurological effects and its therapeutic potential in healing, it grapples with the fact that music's transcendental qualities have been reported in the past. Authors report the experience of attending rock concerts as a religious experience (to be understood as "spiritual" in the context of this thesis), "like attending Church", a feeling of being part of something larger than the self, which can also be suscitated by partaking in live performance. (Bist & Smith, 2021; Sylvan, 2002; Galbraith 2014).

Drawing on these works, the thesis will work with a conceptualization of spirituality inclusive of transcendental experiences of any kind, while situating spirituality outside of the allegiance to a spiritual doctrine characteristic of religion. The thesis will therefore also examine the underlying faith, as it is conceived to be a requirement for spirituality and

influences it. While it is understood that spiritual beliefs and practices do not evolve in a vacuum, *i.e.* outside of religious or atheist influence (as is the case in Czechia), religion per se is not the focus of the work.

1.2.3 Spirituality in the Czech Republic

The Czech Republic is a country notable for its persistent secularism (Hanuš & Spousta, 1999; Greeley, 2003; Hamplová, 2000; Kvasničková, 2005, Tížik, 2006). There is evidence of low organized religiosity, but the belief in supernatural forces and interest in spiritual questions persists (Hamplová, 2008).

Czechia, similarly to other post-secular countries, encounters the permeation of religious or quasi-religious contexts into society. In sociology, this phenomenon is empirically studied through the investigation of beliefs in horoscopes, sacred objects, reincarnation, neopaganism, New Age beliefs (Hamplová, 2008), and alternative and complementary medicine (Heelas, 2009). Hubert Knoblauch summarizes these beliefs under the notion of "alternative religiosity" (2003), while Andrew Greeley employs the term "magic" to highlight the underlying wish to manipulate and instrumentalize transcendental forces for their effects on life (2003). Greeley finds that "Slavic" cultures register higher rates of belief in magic (ibid.), but his analysis may be criticized for including Baltic countries under the umbrella of Slavic cultures, which leads Hamplová to question whether the underlying factor may not rather be these countries' post-socialist heritage (Hamplová, 2008). Knoblauch argues that Luckmann's theory of invisible religion (1967, 1996) is a suitable theoretical framework for the study of European alternative religiosity. Thomas Luckmann's theory understands religiosity as an anthropological constant in societies, meaning that the decline of traditional religiosity can be understood as a replacement by alternative religiosity in Knoblauch's definition, rather than a decline of total religiosity (1967). In Luckmann's view, meaning systems move toward being subjectively constructed, as the individual attempts to exercise his autonomy in the private sphere. To the same extent that individual autonomy is being exercised through private choices such as consumption choices of goods and services, or choices of friends and partners, the choice and eclectic assemblage of subjective meanings is also an attempt to evade the control of institutions that do not have jurisdiction over the private sphere (ibid.).

A psychometric analysis of the Czech population also shows that the rates of spiritual experience tend to be higher in women, widows, and widowers, and there also seems to be a positive correlation between spiritual experience and age (Maliňáková et al., 2018).

1.3 Environmental Approaches.

1.3.1 Subcultural Theory of Urbanism.

One of the main features that differentiate the scenes of interest is the degree of urbanism.

Claude S. Fischer developed a subcultural model of urbanism which posited that the expression of a subculture in a specific setting would be impacted by the local degree of urbanism and that as a result, notable differences were to be expected between towns with significant disparities in urbanism (defined in his work as synonymous with population density). This is a convenient theoretical framing for the purposes of this research because it bypasses a "rural-urban" dichotomy that is not relevant for the localities under observation: both are urban spaces that differ in their degree of urbanism: Vsetín's population density if the lowest in its region (124 inhabitants per km^2) (Czech Statistical Office (CSO), 2023a), whereas the Ostravan agglomeration's metropolitan territory (which includes municipalities such as Havířov, Český Těšín, Bohumín, Frýdek-Místek, and more), which concentrated in 2019 81% percent of the regional population has a nearly triple population density of 362 people per km^2 (Ouředníček et al., 2021). The definition of subculture that Fischer works with has been stated in section 1.1.1. His model isolates the effects of population density on subcultures while assuming an ecologically possibilistic perspective which allows for other factors such as the socio-demographic structure or economic variables to affect local subcultural forms. His model posits that higher levels of urbanism are linked with more heterogeneous subcultures: because more urbanized spaces tend to attract more heterogeneous individuals, because of increased contact between more numerous subcultures causing these subcultures to both differentiate themselves more, but also borrow elements from one another (what he calls "diffusion"). He also mentions that mainstream society, from which the studied subculture inherently differentiates itself, might adopt elements from the subculture. Finally, his theory postulates that more urbanized subcultures are more intense, where intensity is defined as the strength of subcultural institutions and the hold they have over the actor. (Fischer, 1975 and 1995).

1.3.2 Case-study: Ostrava region.

A journalistic case-study essay tackles the evolution of the Ostravan industrial punk scene through the lens of environmental anthropology (Kuřík, 2010). Although Ostrava's industrialism is now a remnant of the past, both the city and its punk were strongly influenced by industrialism, even in the present post-industrial chapter of the city.

When punk was brought into the Czech Republic, it had two epicenters – Prague and Ostrava (Fuchs, 2002). Anthropologist Bohuslav Kuřík argues that it was only a matter of time until Ostrava had its own punk scene, for reasons rooted in ecological factors. Firstly, there was openness toward Poland due to the agglomeration's peripheral position within the Republic and its nearness to the Polish border: Poland's punk scene was quite developed which influenced the Ostravan scene, through flows of people, music, information, and ideas. But within the city too, Ostrava's environment favored the development of a strong scene, as the city's industrial scenery, comprised of a complex of factories, smoking chimneys, and mines, with all kinds of industrial noises, smells, and pollution; strangely contrasting with the surrounding nature, provided, according the Kuřík and his informants, a perfect environment for a problem youth willing to experiment with various kinds of taboo activities. As a result of Ostravan industrialism, local punk music has a particularly harsh and industrial sound to it (Kuřík, 2010).

The author discusses the town of Havířov, which was one of the most active punk scenes in the Republic during the former political regime. The town was designed to accommodate workers coming to Ostravan factories from afar, resulting in a mix of many nationalities and races. It was an urbanistic specificity with small apartments stashed together as closely as possible, where many languages were spoken and people who had abandoned their roots were mingling together. Kuřík cites a local poet, Petr A. Výšovický, who describes the town as a place where people drink to forget, but must sober up in the morning to go to work, which epitomizes the difficult daily life of this industrial agglomeration, and contextualizes the beginnings of hardcore punk in this city (ibid.).

Because of its centrality in the context of Czech punk, Ostrava set the tone for much of Czech punk's identity and had an important influence on Czechia's other scenes. Under socialism, Havířov's *Radegast* band refused to take part in concerts where their music would have to be preemptively screened by some official organism (*přehrávky*). A motto of Ostravan hardcore punk: „Hardcore is more than music" *(Hardcore je víc než hudba)* which

stood for the lifestyle aspect of Hardcore, became popular. After the regime change in the 1990s, the uncompromising approach to the mainstream and commodification did not flinch as the band remained true to itself despite the appeals of the label industry, setting the tone for an alternative, DIY stance even in this new era (ibid.).

1.3.3 Case-study: Rožnov.

The same author also conducted a lengthy ethnographic study of the Rožnov DIY punk scene, which is situated about 20 kilometers from Vsetín.

The Rožnov scene is specific. Its members have higher levels of education, and many of them are employed in fields in some capacity close to nature. This scene was a cornerstone of the Czech DIY punk which was radically opposed to the commercialization and commodification of punk. Kuřík (2018) makes the case that the Rožnov DIY punk scene adopted a philosophy of existentialist protest through an alternative way of life, inspired by Václav Havel's writings on living in Truth and life itself as a source of Truth, over the acceptance of empty ideologies and lies to be allowed to live comfortably; be it the lie of the collectivist socialism, or consumerist capitalism, both of which have their own perverse ways to numb the individual (Havel, 1990 [1978]; 1984). Havel saw the source of Goodness in the individual and emphasized the need for self-realization to make it come to the forefront, a view inspired by Heidegger's writings on authenticity. Václav Havel was an important figure for the Czech underground: he was a symbol of the oppressed, but his persona became polemical as he accessed power after the change of regime: many saw that he wasn't living nor governing entirely in line with his own writings. This was the reason for a Rožnov band's album named *mrtví havlové* (*dead havels*), echoing the foreign band's name *Dead Kennedys* which was an allusion to the death of the American dream (Kuřík, 2018). Indeed, Havel's governance and the political regime that followed was a source of disillusion for punks, many manifested their discontent by the critique of the ex-president through speeches and in lyrics, but also participation in a particularly violent demonstration against the International Monetary Fund and World Bank summits hosted in Prague in 2000, which were perceived as a betrayal by a man who claimed that Czechia should find its own path instead of aligning itself with the East or the West. Pre-revolution Havel is, for Rožnov punks, the object of admiration, especially for his dramaturgical, philosophical, and literary contributions, the importance he gives to Truth, and the ontology of Good and Evil which inspires the scene to

this day. President-Havel however was the object of substantial criticisms (ibid.). It should be noted here that the Rožnov scene is highly specific in its music and very different from Vsetín which was the center of this research. However, Rožnov had a strong translocal influence, and the geographical proximity, as well as the richness of the ethnographic data, makes Kuřík's study relevant background information.

Kuřík argues that Havel's philosophies were reappropriated and reworked by Rožnov punks, who asked themselves similar questions, but in a post-socialist context. Their ontology of life diverged from Havel's in that instead of an inherently human source of sacredness, they instead saw an innate crudeness in humanity. The scene also adopted a very critical position against any sort of utopianism. Like Havel, Rožnov punks placed importance upon the experience of life as an individual, although the punk adoption of Havel's philosophy resulted in something that was closer to Dante's *Inferno*, with emphasis on the necessity to immerse oneself in the darkness of life to be able to fully comprehend the good in it; and to be able to truly live (ibid.).

2. Methodological part.

2.1 Methodology: design of the study.

The study is designed to cross-compare two environments (Vsetínsko, Ostravsko) and to consider how they influence spirituality in each scene. The independent variable is considered to be „punk", the design assumes that differences in spirituality between the select scenes may be explained by the environmental differences, while commonalities will likely be features of punk or DIY punk, which allows us to devise a description of what we call „DIY punk spirituality".

2.1.1. Research questions.

The theoretical framework seeks to answer the following research questions:

In terms of spiritual beliefs and practices, how are the scenes of Vsetínsko and Ostravsko different from each other? How are they similar? **What is the role of environmental factors**

in these developments? Is it possible to explain the common traits through their common DIY punk participation? How can we describe the spiritualities in both scenes?

2.1.2   Theoretical framework.

The theoretical framework had to be constructed *ex nihilo* for the purpose of this study due to the significant literature gap on the links between Spirituality and Czechia, Spirituality and Czech punk, Spirituality and DIY, and DIY punk scenes in Czechia.

This theoretical framework is rooted in the literature that claims that the environment of one scene will have an impact on the scene's development (Fischer, 1995; Cohen, 1991; Bennett, 2004), which is also supported by Bennett's emphasis on studying the local features of a scene. The translocal aspect of Bennett's analytical model (2004) allows for the data collection to include questions asked to informants from one scene about the other scene and expect relevant answers.

The comparison will be focused on questions of spirituality and faith based on Newman's (2004) conceptual model and Knoblauch's umbrella term of alternative religiosities (2003), Greeley's understanding of the presence of neopaganism in Slavic countries (2003), and the theoretical premise that religiosity is an anthropological constant (Luckmann, 1967) which justifies the endeavor of looking into alternatives forms of religiosities rather than the traditional kind, especially in the Czech post-secular context laid out by Hamplová (2008) and the characteristics of punk itself, which provide possibilities for individualized forms of spirituality despite the context of a secular scene (Abraham & Stewart, 2017). The study thus excludes organized religion due to its reported decline in European societies; coupled with the persistent secularity of the Czech society regarding this type of religion and the characteristic punk rejection of doctrine. It instead turns toward the investigation of Spirituality under its various declinations presented in the literature; meaning spirituality oriented toward Inner Life (Heelas, 2008), Spirituality as a function of an underlying Faith (Newman, 2004), spirituality as practices or beliefs in alternative religiosities (Knoblauch, 2003), or magic (Greeley, 2003).   Because of the reported individualized forms of DIY spiritualities that may be more present in punk (Abraham & Stewart, 2017), and the societal turn toward more subjective meaning systems (Luckmann, 1996), the focus of the research is therefore framed in terms of these subjectivities, seeking to find patterns between the subjectivities of punks' spiritual beliefs and practices. The

subjective approach is also justified by the difficulty for lay informants to put into words transcendental and spiritual experiences.

The study has been designed to allow for a comparative analysis of two distinct DIY scenes with differing environments. The framework assumes that environmental factors will be capable of explaining many or most of the differences found between the DIY punk scenes and the spiritualities found in them, without, however, being ecologically deterministic. These factors are expected to be topographical such as the presence and prevalence of different kinds of natural phenomena and structures (forests, hills), and modern artificial structures (industry, infrastructure); drawing on Fischer's work we also expect an impact of urbanism, socio-economic factors or demography. The theoretical framework assumes that similarities between the scenes will be explained by what is common to both scenes, allowing the theoretical isolation of the effects of DIY punk, the DIY ethos, and punk.

2.2 Methodology: Data.

2.2.1. Data collection.

To allow for comparison, a semi-structured questionnaire was devised, with common core questions and site-specific questions including photo-elicitation to encourage informants to also talk about their perception of the environment; informants were shown pictures of their towns.

The method of semi-structured interviewing was chosen based on the exploratory nature of the study. No definition of spirituality was given to the informants, they were asked to define what the term means to them at the beginning of each interview. Interviews lasted 90 minutes. They covered the informant's background on the punk scene and their subjective understanding of what "spirituality" means. They were also asked about their own beliefs and practices. We then moved on to discuss their experience of spirituality in the local scene. Informants were asked whether they personally saw any relation between Spirituality and various aspects of DIY punk.

The environmental data collection happened on several levels. Firstly, Internet research provided information about the most important aspects to keep in mind, and the case studies from the literature review were considered. Secondly, during two preliminary

fieldwork days (one on each site), environmental data was collected through observation. This preliminary research provided the basis for the selection of the pictures which were then used for photo elicitation. Finally, informants were asked during the interview about spaces: „punk" spaces, *id est* various punk venues, and also „spiritual" spaces, which were spaces that the informants sought out for their spiritual qualities.

Some punks also provided their bands' song lyrics, some of which may be found in the appendix, however, it was impossible to perform an in-depth lyrics analysis due to time constraints, this data was thus treated with regard to what the informants told us about the lyrics, and was only used in the study as an additional illustration of their testimonies.

2.2.2 Data analysis.

The studied phenomenon is conceptualized as a context-sensitive and unique case, as indicated both by the specificity of Czechia in terms of punk and secularism, as well as the environmental features that were unique to each city. While an emergent idea of „DIY Punk spirituality" was extracted from the data, it should be noted that both towns share some environmental features, which makes it at times difficult to generalize or extrapolate the findings.

Interviews were transcribed and analyzed using the tagging method. Tags were grouped together by locale in order to perform comparative analysis, as well as using the method of thematic coding.

2.2.3 Sample.

The data was provided by 8 informants, 4 from each scene, recruited through the method of snowball sampling in addition to the purposive criterion of scene longevity. All of the informants had been in punk since their teenage years, at least since the end of the 1990s; all of them were over 38 years old.

Three informants were from the city of Ostrava and one was from Orlová. The sample from the other scene was comprised of 4 informants who were living in the town of Vsetín.

Each sample was made up of three men and one woman; this was a coincidence, I was aiming for at least two women in each scene. Most of the interviews (6 out of 8, 3 out of 4 for each scene) included photo elicitation.

2.3 Limitations of the Research.

The methodological choice of assessing spirituality through subjective understanding can be debated. Because of the importance given to subjectivity in Heelas and Woodhead (2005), as well as the difficulty that is an inherent part of getting strangers to discuss matters of transcendence and topics often difficult to put into words, the decision was taken to approach spirituality through a subjective understanding of the term.

The framework doesn't account for the effect of self-selection which was difficult to mitigate when recruiting participants for the interviews. Participants were recruited knowing that they were going to be interviewed about punk and spirituality, which might have biased the more spiritual informants to be willing to participate, and non-spiritual people to reject participating because they were not interested in speaking about this topic for 90 minutes. To offset this, questions about the spiritualities that informants had witnessed on the scene were asked, but this is not enough because of the importance of subjectivity when grappling with spiritual beliefs (practices were easier to identify). This affects the representativity of the sample, leading to the study only reflecting a certain aspect of DIY punk spirituality: the spiritualities of DIY punks who are willing to discuss them with a researcher.

The theoretical framework doesn't take into account the fact that both scenes might share elements that might cause similarities in their DIY Punk or spirituality; it is necessary to keep this in mind when assessing the analysis. To partly make up for this, a part discussing commonalities between the environments and punk scenes was devised.

Because of its exploratory value, assessing the study's success or failure will imply assessing the validity of the method employed to understand the links between Spirituality, Czech DIY punk, and the environment. However, because of the specificities of Czech punk, Czech spirituality, and the two observed cities themselves, it is unclear to what extent this study is reproducible or to what extent its results may be extrapolated. The recommendation is to approach it as an idiosyncratic case study.

While the sample was constructed with older punks for more legitimacy, it should also be considered that the probability of having had a spiritual experience increases with age (Maliňáková et al., 2019), so the results may not be extrapolated to youth subcultures. However, informants on both scenes reported that the scenes were aging and didn't have many young punks, which means that the results remain acceptable for the investigation of the scenes themselves.

2.4 Ethical Considerations.

This research was undertaken with the method of methodological agnosticism, whereby the faiths and beliefs of informants were not judged, criticized, or challenged within the interviews. Particular care had to be allocated to the language and terminology used by informants throughout the interviews as spirituality and transcendental matters are often difficult, profound, and personal topics, and therefore, great care was given to transcription and data analysis to avoid misconstruing informants' reports. Informants were often asked throughout the interview to rephrase or confirm the researcher's understanding of their answers.

The researcher's bias should also be addressed, especially in regard to the topic of spirituality which is difficult to dissociate oneself from entirely. Within qualitative research and with the self as the main research instrument, especially in the case of semi-structured interviewing, I was likely led to some extent toward pursuing some questions more in-depth than others, although this was mitigated by a conscious effort not to do so throughout the interviews, and it was acknowledged beforehand during the interview design and mental preparation for the interviews. Because spirituality and faith are understandings that may change throughout life and also by the result of meaningful conversations, which the 90-minute semi-structured interview could have provided the space for, great attention was given not to ask leading questions or try in any way to influence informants' answers or understandings. The findings were analyzed also with regard to punk's self-conceptualization as a secular subculture, which the thesis is meant to explore, not challenge.

The decision was taken to anonymize most informants, even those who included lyrics from their punk bands even though they might be identified due to their band not being

anonymous. This decision was taken because of informants' criticisms leveled against fellow scene members and the discussion of the use of controlled substances and other activities.

Finally, while the interviews were carried out in Czech and on Czech punk scenes, the results of the research are written in academic English, which is not a medium that is easily accessible to the informants who were kind enough to provide often much more than the required 90 minutes of their time. Therefore, the thesis will be reworked in an essay or article form to be published by punk magazines, so that the results of the research can also benefit the communities that rendered it feasible and enriched it with their personal lives and experiences.

3. Data analysis.

3.1 Scene and Environment.

3.1.1. Similarities and nuances.

The similarities in environment between both regions are scarce, but they exist and should be taken into account for a fully objective analysis.

Both scenes are similar in their closeness to geographical relief, despite differences. While Ostrava is close to the Beskydy mountains with higher altitudes, it remains a lowland region, as opposed to Vsetínsko which is located within the hilly region itself and is very marked by this topography.

Both scenes have also been impacted by the presence of industry, although to varying degrees. Throughout the 20th century, the history of Vsetín town was very impacted by the arms industry: Zbrojovka Vsetín employed a substantial share of the town's population (Kostka, 2017). Vsetín was therefore a town with a strong worker base, similar to Ostrava as discussed in the theoretical part. Both cities were impacted by the closing of these industries, in Vsetín, it was the privatization and fragmentation of the arms factory starting in 1990, whereas, in Ostrava, it was the closing of most factories altogether. As a result, both areas deal with unemployment. In Ostrava, over 26% of the workforce was unemployed in 2021 (CSO, 2023c), while Vsetín has the most unemployment in the Zlín region (CSO, 2023b).

Both punk scenes also had venues that utilized this industrial past; both played shows in what used to be factories, in Vsetín also bunkers devised to protect the industrial infrastructure.

Both spaces are surrounded by forests, although a closer look unveils some divergences. Ostravan nature is incorporated into the city in a very urban and structured way, and one has to actively seek to leave the city in order to spend time surrounded by the forest. In Vsetínsko, however, perhaps also because of the town's size, nature is at every border of the town, it is very present and noticeable, and it looks less maintained than the nature one finds inside of the Ostravan city.

In terms of punk music, both punk scenes (Ostravsko and Vsetínsko *excluding* Rožnov) are characterized by a very harsh sound even by hardcore punk standards. While the Ostravan punk sounded more industrial, imitating the sound of the machines that the locals were used to (Kuřík, 2010), the Vsetín harsh sound was more crude (described as *syrový, surový, tvrdý*).

The translocal aspect of both scenes also demands attention. While the Ostravan case was already alluded to in relation to the agglomeration's peripheral placement, closeness to Poland and Slovakia, large number of inhabitants, and significant infrastructure; as one the epicenters of Czech punk, we also know that Ostrava had strong transregionalism, not only oriented within the country, but also without. Vsetínsko is more sheltered, and the railway network is not as developed because it was not designed to transport a similar volume of industrial products, however, the region is also close to Slovakia, and used to have significant translocal flows in the 1990s[1] according to informants.

3.1.2 Specificities: Ostravsko.

The industrial past which to this day marks the Ostravan cityscape has changed a lot since the 1990s. While the chimneys, factories, long and large streets, and other remnants of the industrial past remain, the city made an effort to reinvent itself and rid itself of the pollution. The ruins of industry are now part of the city's pride: Lower Vítkovice, an enormous industrial complex with its 70-meter high tower, is now a proper tourist attraction, and punk might have had a role in this, as punks gave life to these old industrial places by appreciating

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[1] *Maria, appendix.*

them and using them as concert venues[2]. Most punk informants were strongly emotionally attached to the city of Ostrava, they spoke of a prevailing "genius loci". Local punk venues such as the club *Cihelna* (*Brick factory*) and the former club *Barrák* were characterized by being small spaces that would easily get packed during concerts.

Since 1991, the city has had its public university with six faculties, including three humanities faculties. Post-industrial Ostrava is becoming increasingly cultured. The influence of science is also seen in the adaptation of some of the old spaces of Lower Vítkovice into scientific educational facilities for children. The university's presence reflects on the punk scene, too. When speaking of the punk scene in the past tense, Prokop mentions *"the boorish, alcohol-smelling, worker, communist Ostrava"[3]*, Franta reports a new scene dynamic that has been taking place:

" among the 30-35+ years old, well, I'd say about half have studied or study at university, and the rest, I call them „alternative kids from Ostravan schools". [...] Here in Ostrava particularly it just attracted many kids from Ostravan schools: Art faculty, [...] humanities, they all come to these events. "[4].

The juncture of these two worlds can be explained both by the very presence of the university and by the historical need of Ostravan subcultures to join forces in order to be able to maintain autonomous cultural spaces, unlike in most metropoles where subcultures tend to generally differentiate themselves from one another.

"there weren't many people able to create venues here when communism ended. That forced sub-scenes to join forces. [...] it's kinda funny, you all look similarly dirty, but one listens to drum & bass and the other listens to hardcore punk and you try to differentiate yourself from each other so much when you have the most in common, which [...] I think is strongest in bigger cities; well in [...] our 300 thousand people Ostrava, that never worked and punks were always forced to cooperate[5]".

As a result, new kinds of musical and artistic projects (coming from the youth) flourish on the scene: *"These two [artists] are really unidentifiable... they're people who can combine Jesus Christ and Karl Marx, and play something that reminds of black metal... What I like about it*

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[2] *Prokop, appendix*
[3] *Prokop, appendix*
[4] *Franta, appendix*
[5] *Prokop, appendix.*

is that you know how punk has this rebellious, disturbing element to it? [...] Well these boys, it's not some cheap nihilism like what you see in metal, [...] these two, while they keep the ethical principles of punk, they also add bits of Christianity and disturb in this way, it's different, they're not using these 30-year-old known punk templates that have been the same for a long time and barely disturb anymore."[6]

These projects reflect both the subcultural cooperation through the merging of genres and the innovative, humanist, and philosophical thinking linked with the proliferation of a university and people who have been encountering the humanities field.

Finally, the Ostravan region is also specific by its persistent racism (MVČR, 2011). The exodus due to unemployment has increased the concentration of the Roma minority in the region as for historical reasons, the agglomeration was already a melting pot of different races and nationalities. The consequence of the sharply rising unemployment resulted in the accentuation of racism. Many issues linked to joblessness ensued, the informants also mentioned the role of dysfunctional families in their stories, but racism and intolerance against Roma people skyrocketed. Neo-nazi organizations had a political base in Orlová:

„At that time, when I was 15-16, there [in Orlová] were quarters of the ‚National Resistance' Silesia, and the republicans of Miroslav Sládek had large support. There were big demonstrations, easily 90 nazis, and there was a racially motivated murder at the time where two people killed a Roma... [...] Truly, situations where you walk through the city and you're looking over your shoulder in case something is happening. At the time I had a broken head from an attack on a club, in terms of this it was definitely rougher [in Orlová] than in other cities. Not to mention, we were pretty vocal because we wouldn't let them have their way with us, so though we'd be hiding as much as possible, we were also [giving them trouble] as much as possible. And I think that if it left a mark, then that would be absolute intolerance vis-à-vis this kind of thing [...] it makes a big difference to have grown up in this, it doesn't feel like a good thing at all to belittle [and joke around with] this."[7]

Similarly violent confrontations with neo-nazis were also reported by informants from Vsetín who had visited the city[8]. When one understands the violence and insecurity that was part of the everyday lives of young punks at the time, it explains firstly the fact that two interviewed

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[6] *Prokop, appendix.*
[7] *Laura,, appendix.*
[8] *Maria, appendix.*

Ostravsko punks independently used the term "safe space"[9] to characterize the scene, a safe homosocial space where certain rules apply; but it also explains other developments that the scene registered, such as the initiative *Food Not Bombs* which seeks to distribute free food to those in need, or the creation of spaces such as *Spodní 27*, a cultural center where various activities (including punk concerts) are engaged against racism, to help and educate disaffected children, or for causes such as human rights, affordable housing and the elimination of prejudice, especially against the Roma community. The ability to create such a space came from the synergy of environmental factors and punk's DIY values:

„Around 2011, people who wished to do some social good started appearing. They first came up with 'Food Not Bombs', and then by coincidence, an agreement was somehow negotiated with the administration of one part of the city to use [...] six flats which were in possession of the city. The city at the time had several options: „[the apartments] are decaying – they are in something which is considered a Roma ghetto within Ostrava, which means that no one wants to live there", everyone is scared because the Czech racism is big – from there on, the city had a few options: „either we renovate these flats for a lot of money and no one will want to live there anyway. Or we let them decay, or, for a small rent, we give it to people who are willing to dwell there [...]. And the only ones willing to do that were punks, of course."[10]

3.1.3 Specificities: Vsetínsko

According to ethnographic studies, the town of Vsetín is at the core of the ethnic and cultural region of Moravian Wallachia (Štika, 2009). Vsetínsko's environment is different from Ostravsko in that it does not coalesce around a big regional capital, it is a cluster of much smaller towns, somewhat separate from each other, accessible either by car or train. The region of Moravian Wallachia is known for its closeness to tradition, exemplified by the pride of the inhabitants when it comes to their origins, and tradition also marks the physical environment: vernacular architecture and vernacular know-how in the industry of sheep farming. It is a smaller urban area, surrounded by dense forests. Nature is not as maintained. Comparably to Rožnov, inhabitants have a closer relationship with the flora and fauna (Kuřík, 2018). Geographically, Vsetín is near many places with interesting natural phenomena; the

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[9] *Prokop and Laura, appendix.*
[10] *Prokop, appendix.*

Beskids natural reserve, but also the icefalls or rock formations in Pulčín, Vizovice highlands, or the source of the river Zrzávka which is known for its colored mineral water.

The role of unemployment has been found to be double: in the first instance, it causes people to accept any available job, which is often some kind of hard manual labor. On the other hand, it also drives people who want to study humanities outside of the town, as there are no jobs for this kind of qualification locally, causing a brain drain.

The nearness to nature was apparent in this scene via the unequivocal preference for open-air festivals in nature, which gives participants a sense of freedom. In fact, there's a plethora of these kinds of events in the region: *Vzdor fest (Resistance festival),* near the Zrzávka river, a festival called *Pohanské běsnění* (*Pagan rampage*) in the Brantice quarry, or an event called *Horizontovka* in the Vizovice highlands. Punk spaces overlap with the places where these beautiful natural phenomena take place. These festivals are characterized by a community of free-thinking individuals, and nomad artists partaking, in Viktor's words: *"Everyone is always looking forward to these"[11].* But the beautiful landscapes are not only exploited by punks for their activities; one informant mentioned *hotel Antarik* which exists since the 1990s near Francova Lhota, a space owned by Buddhists and utilized for all kinds of spiritual practices, which appears to have had an influence on the scene's spiritual developments too, as we will see later.

Interestingly enough, the Wallachian scene has been described by Ostravan punks as *"a sort of hippie punk, they had long skirts, something like that would never work here"[12].* Of course, this is an idealized view (although one Vsetín informant admitted to having been a hippie before entering punk), but it is true that compared to neonazi and violence-ridden Ostravsko, it is understandable that calm and quiet Wallachia gave birth to a more pacifist scene. But even within Wallachia, scene differences can be pronounced. While close to Rožnov, Vsetínsko, and Vsetín specifically knew a distinctive development; especially due to environmental factors. Indeed, while Rožnov could reach the Polish broadcast waves, Vsetín was too isolated and had to rely, especially at the beginning of local punk, on the recordings possessed by one local punk.

"at the beginning, the first concerts we attended here in Vsetín were in [...] a bunker [...] [one of the guys] came back from military service, he'd met some punks there, liked it... and

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[11] *Viktor, appendix.*
[12] *Laura, appendix.*

he was the one who let us record his cassettes. They're the ones who started with the shows, we took over after them."[13].

With the influence of time and increasing streams of information, regional scene differences faded. But these origins, which were similar to Rožnov in that punk was introduced through the influence of one person (Kuřík, 2018), also explain a certain "conformity" of the scenes, noticed by an Ostravan informant, which could be linked to the introduction of the style, on each scene, through one person:

"There really aren't many people of the Vsetín type here, from this really „pure" DIY scene... And Vsetín, just like Rožnov, they're pretty fundamentalist in this... Which I'm not criticizing, yeah? [...] They [...] can conceive it [DIY punk] very like, strictly... meaning that [...] really you come there for a show, and everyone is in black, they all have the same patches, the same type you know? It's quite the view. They have a similar image, listen to similar bands, on stage you'll also see similar bands, all of them are totally one hundred percent vegetarian, all of them are 100% such and such... [...] And like that's okay, but sometimes it's too... like... perfect...[14]*"*

Many informants spoke about Vsetínsko through comparison with the Rožnov scene, showing the importance of Rožnov's influence in the region. Both scenes had very different sounds, and they also listened to a different set of bands.

"The Rožnov scene was dancier. More melodic, with female vocals. Here, the bands were... rougher, I'd say.[15]*"*

In his chapter, Kuřík speaks of the "Rožnov school of punk" (2018), foreshadowing that Rožnov influenced much of Czech punk. This was confirmed by the informants who admitted drawing significant inspiration from Rožnov and its *Vrah* club when developing Vsetín's own punk scene. Both scenes also helped each other, organized all kinds of events together, and had a common label.

"For me, Rožnov played a big role [...] In the beginning, I would go there often, I had more friends there than here. What happened in the Vrah club, the way they approached things, that influenced me, I used it as an example, and learned from it too, how to do the

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[13] *Karel, appendix.*
[14] *Franta, appendix.*
[15] *Maria, appendix.*

shows [...] We collaborated in various ways [...] We also had a common DIY label and agency: Cultburger."[16]

Compared to Rožnov, Vsetín was also allegedly a more individualistic scene, unlike Rožnov, where there appeared to be more cohesion and cooperation within the scene. Nowadays, in the words of Vsetín punks, it seems that a more vibrant scene exists in Rožnov.[17]

3.2 Spiritualities on the Scenes.

3.2.1. Similarities and nuances

There were few similarities in the different kinds of spirituality found on the scenes, but the findings appear important. Firstly, it was very clear that any expression of spiritual beliefs or their practice was generally relocated to the private sphere, they did not have their place on the punk scene. While it did not exclude punks from discussing and debating these things, the subculture itself was seen by members as primarily mundane. Similarly, while punks did at times report engaging in spiritual practices together, this was not as much linked to punk as an ethos, community, or musical style, but rather because within the punk scene, they had deep friendships with whom they felt comfortable to experience these things.

In line with this, while it wasn't uncommon to find that punk music, whether through the attendance of a live performance or the act of performing itself could suscitate transcendental experiences, it was something that punks found on the scene without coming to look for it[18], as the subculture doesn't present itself as a spiritual place. It also remained unclear to what extent people did or did not experience this, and whether the people who did would have acknowledged or been aware that it was a transcendental experience without being asked to think about it. The experience related to music was described as cathartic, a form of escape[19]; but there were scene-specific differences as to how these experiences may be seen as transcendental. Vsetínsko's punk music placed more emphasis on self-expression, artistic presentation of the self, creativity, and self-realization, as well as a harsh sound to

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[16] *Karel, appendix.*
[17] *Karel, appendix.*
[18] *Andrej, appendix.*
[19] *Karel and Prokop, appendix.*

counteract feelings of powerlessness against *"some things you just can't change"*[20]; Ostravan punk placed more emphasis on the connection with the audience, being able to create a "collective energy", the industrial sound giving them a sense of power and connection with Ostravan history, especially when performances took place in former industrial spaces.

"A typical punk thing is that often people talk on stage, they'll bring up some topics because the lyrical side is just as important to them; and the fact that the audience perceives it in some way, and reacts, and creates in some sense a collective energy... For example there's a hardcore dance where everybody's spinning in a circle, and when suddenly someone manages to make a thousand people spin like that, [...] – that feels like it transcends you."[21]

In this sense, it was rather clear that feeling like one can or cannot have a real impact on the world was very different from scene to scene. Ostravan punk was more characteristic by linking transcendence to the ability to create social change and abiding by certain ethics, whereas Vsetínsko focused more on an individual alternative lifestyle, where transcendence was more likely to be found through the act of being creative, while the ethics of punk were seen as secular.

Informants from both scenes agreed on the importance of community. An analogy was proposed between the punk community and a Christian church, where Christians may come to mass on Sunday not necessarily because they meet God in church, but rather to spend time in a like-minded community of people who abide by the same beliefs. The answers in this regard were very interesting; most punks agreed with the analogy. Both scenes concluded that at the basis of a DIY punk, there is a form of common faith:

"Well I think that similarly to others who did this [DIY] we believed that we could manage to create, like, our own culture, our own music, while taking as little as possible from the system. So some faith in a common scene, a common punk, that was certainly there, without it wouldn't even be possible. [...] I think if I didn't believe that it's possible, that it works... I wouldn't have entered punk, or I would've done it differently, perhaps in a more consumerist way."[22] (Karel, Vsetínsko)

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[20] *Karel, appendix.*
[21] *Prokop, appendix.*
[22] *Karel, appendix.*

"Christians, at least, had the wit to know that [the utopia] will be built after death – i.e., it's difficult to build. But punks believe in that, sometimes, you know? If that's spiritual, this vision [...] here we have our own rules, it's our safe space [...] you're with your herd... Well if you want to see this as spirituality, then yes, punks have that. And I can't think of a single modern subculture where there's a similar societal transcendence, and ethical rules, or the fact that you're trying to build something better and improve yourself too."[23] (Prokop, Ostravsko)

As these two quotes show, the way punks related to their communities was different from scene to scene. These two quotes exemplify very tellingly Vsetínsko's punks' seclusive anti-system tendencies; as opposed to the Ostravan punk's more pro-active societal transcendence.

The punk community appeared more closely knit in Vsetínsko, even though an informant mentioned that they were bigger individualists than in Rožnov, they were perceived as closer to each other from the Ostravan point of view: stylistically and generally speaking as more conformist. The Vsetín interviewees themselves often spoke of the community aspect by referring to the unit of the band, emphasizing creativity, and they used stronger words, "*a small sect*" to qualify punk; *"a bond as strong as in a family"*, they placed more emphasis on being able to share emotional matters together. Here, the role of the local drinking culture might also have played a role in bringing them closer[24]. On the Ostravsko scene, the community aspect was more synonymous with ideological agreement on values of humanism, tolerance, openness to new ideas, the idea of the "safe space" and transcending racial barriers, *i. e.* creating a community larger than punk itself. The community is enriched not as much by a creative approach - notably, creativity was not mentioned at all in Ostravsko - but rather by innovation and new ideas. We can start noticing the influence of the urbanized metropolis where the university education of certain strata of society orients the DIY punk scene more toward the realm of ideas, humanism, and social transcendence. Vsetínsko, on the other hand, employs a *do-it-together* approach to set personal, creative, and independent goals outside the consumerist system, but remains focused on the individual lifestyle, *i.e.* while Vsetín punks will leverage their community to contribute to build their home based on the DIY principle[25]; Ostravsko leverages the community to benefit other communities such as

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[23] *Prokop, appendix.*
[24] *Andrej and Viktor, appendix.*
[25] *Karel and Maria, appendix.*

minorities. Vsetín also illustrates the influence of the Rožnov ethos of existential resistance through the alternative way of life, as well as their rejection of the idea that punk will manage to change the world. Conversely, Ostrava, as a city that underwent significant transformations and rid itself of its pollution in a short period of time perhaps still has reason to believe that changing the world is possible. Ostravan punk's openness toward other communities is also analogous to Ostrava's openness toward other countries as a peripheral city; whereas the Wallachian secluded small towns, hidden behind hills echo a similar approach to DIY punk: autonomous and independent creation for an alternative culture, a punk *for itself*.

Both scenes agreed on finding spirituality in nature, especially in the sense of nature as an escape from every day bothers and its relaxing and therapeutic properties. But scene differences persisted. The Wallachian scene mentioned specific natural phenomena (icefalls, old trees, colored water), "energetically powerful places" (*silová místa*) and was generally more inclined to believe in the existence of a force of nature; the Ostravan equivalent included sunsets when they're particularly beautiful, going for a run in the forest to utilize the breathwork principle and calm oneself, as well as the view of Ostrava from the mountains where one can see nature and industry *"contrasting beautifully in an artificial-natural yin yang"*[26]. The following quote epitomizes this secular, almost scientific fascination:

„I still consider myself a spiritual person to this day, [...] I mean, I like physics, I believe in science [...], I think that when I die I will become dirt and that is entirely fine with me [...] but even science is a sort of faith in its own way. [...] we believe that the universe is infinite, we believe in the Big Bang theory – but it's a theory. [...] I think it's a form of faith, though [...] Today I get more fascinated when I find out that some jellyfish can produce something – there's a fascination with the world and how we still don't understand it... Instead of looking into some spiritual books [like I used to]."[27]

Nature as a spiritual place was also seen, in Ostravsko, as more in line with the transcendental aspect of the utopia inclusive of nature, and more connected to ecology in politics, whereas the Vsetín informants were more likely to perceive nature as spiritual in the immediate here and now.

Spending time in nature after taking hallucinogenic drugs (psilocybin mushrooms and LSD) as a spiritual practice to get in touch with the inner self was a practice found in both

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[26] *Prokop, appendix.*
[27] *Laura, appendix.*

scenes, which might be linked to more recent developments of the punk subculture accepting the consumption of drugs, and the dispositional openness of its members. The role of drugs was double though, and it likely necessitates an approach differentiating between the specific kinds of drugs if one would like to investigate this further. While psilocybin mushrooms and LSD are known to suscitate transcendental experiences at certain doses (Cummins & Lyke, 2013; Griffiths et al., 2006; Grof, 2009), other drugs such as amphetamines or marihuana were spoken of in the same way as alcoholism, they led people to stagnate in life and thus had a negative effect on the person's spirituality, attention should thus be given to individual use patterns.

While it was not a widespread practice, it appeared that in both scenes there were people who were interested in paganism. While on the Vsetínsko scene, this seemed more linked to the belief in natural forces and also a rejection of the Church which was more present on this scene; the Ostravan side was more interested in it in relation to esoteric trends *and* Czech historical roots. In Ostrava, the rejection of the Church was also more debated in light of the tolerance principle. Esoteric trends and New Age Spirituality were overall also criticized, but not by every informant, some also agreed that there were good things about some of them; but they were mostly seen as unnecessary. This topic led many to say that they preferred to experience spirituality without commenting on it, and that esotericism seemed to appeal more to women. They also commonly criticized the people who liked these trends, as they would obscure these people's entire worldview.

„it's also becoming a trend, to smile, be positive, and only think of good things [...] to see everything so brightly, I also don't think that that's good [...] I feel like there should be an opposite force to that, [...] if we all wear rose-colored glasses, we stop paying attention to what's wrong. "[28]

A generalized criticism of these trends also involved the fact that some of these people would preach a lifestyle while they're not necessarily good people themselves. A similar criticism was leveled against the Church by the Vsetínsko scene[29], showing the importance of accountability.

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[28] *Miroslav, appendix.*
[29] *Viktor, appendix.*

3.2.2 Specificities: Ostravsko.

Spirituality on the Ostravsko scene related more to the socially transcendental dimension of punk, *i.e.* the spiritual remained in some major respect paradoxically mundane. Conversely though, and in opposition (though not contradiction) to the literature, while informants did locate religious concepts in the realm of the secular: the ethical side of punk, the genius loci over spiritual views, and humanism, they also found spiritual experiences (especially in the therapeutic sense - but not only) in mundane activities: recharging through the practice of running, or reading, the experience of a concert generating a sense of spirituality, the spirit of a place, or nature (which is not otherwise conceived of as a supernatural force), the practice of suspension on hooks…

Experiences of transcendence on this scene were particularly marked by the local genius loci, which was recognized by all informants who were from Ostrava; their appreciation of their city was palpable and repeatedly brought up, and they mentioned perceiving the place deeply and emotionally; which then likely shaped their other experiences. The case of one informant, the least spiritually oriented of all, is very telling in this sense.

"I understand it as a cultural heritage [...]: it's the genius loci. And maybe that's why we don't have much spirituality here because we have this instead.[30]".

However, it's also interesting to see how being socialized within a place with such recognized genius loci within the scene shaped his mind in a materialistic way, where he would seek out interesting places such as churches or cemeteries and spend time there to perceive the "spirit of the place".

"I'm not an atheist, more like a materialist. I prefer physical things to spiritual ones. So I can't be an atheist because since churches are material... They wouldn't have existed without the faith. Therefore, all these gods that people came up with – or didn't come up with – certainly exist [...] I believe that they do... But it's the spiritual side that doesn't speak to me, I'd much prefer to take in the atmosphere of some old church. But not spirituality. Just the fact that people built it and it's there."[31]

The other Ostravan punks perceived this more consciously.

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[30] *Andrej, appendix.*
[31] *Andrej, appendix.*

"If there's anywhere I go to flee civilization, it's the Beskids. If I go somewhere to meditate, it's [...] Lysá Hora, you can meditate there and... at the same time you can see how Ostrava is the greenest city, and you see the prominence of the industrialism [...], it evokes the contrast of the most brutal things that civilization came up with – and what it is built upon; and then the nature; it's some industrial-natural yin yang."[32]

We can also see the impact of the presence of the university, which shapes spirituality into a more humanist, value-based, and secular understanding. Another aspect of this is brought up by Laura who is not the only informant from the scene with a humanities education.

"I keep friends around with whom I can discuss pretty deep things, it doesn't just have to be the existence of God, but also questions of who we are, how we are, and how we influence each other. Perhaps it's also because I studied cultural anthropology/sociology [...] we'd discuss these topics quite passionately, and well, yeah, you end up there; it's not like discussing politics – but even if you start from politics, you often end up asking why things are the way they are, what is „natural", what is it all built on..."[33]

While Laura mentioned that she doubts that her university education was the cause for her fascination with these questions, people like her thrive in humanities fields, and are therefore more likely to seek them out and live in places where such a diploma allows them to work, which is the case in Ostravsko, but not Vsetín, for example. The secular orientation of the scene coupled with the education may explain why the emergent understanding ends up being more centered around values, ethics, science, and ideas, rather than supernatural perceptions. Similarly, Prokop saw a spiritual dimension in Straight Edge punks, a movement that started from this ethical side.

While there wasn't as much Church-related antagonism on the Ostravan scene, it was present and informants mentioned that it had been debated in light of the tolerance principle[34]. The city's geographical closeness to Poland and Slovakia also played a role, as informants would encounter eclectic punk adaptations of religious beliefs from more religious societies:

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[32] *Prokop, appendix.*
[33] *Laura, appendix.*
[34] *Laura, appendix.*

"But if you go to Poland or Slovakia, you'd be surprised that such a mundane subculture rooted in so many socially critical stances and which on the contrary often actively stands against spirituality and any religion, well, there, you'd be surprised at how many times you enter the homes of these people and there's a cross on the door. [...] you start inquiring, you find out that often these biggest punks [...] [believe in] the lord [...] but in a healthy way [...] I was talking with one Slovak punk [...] who was saying that he saw the „original Christians" [in his faith]. It's true that they were a sect that was reacting to the cruel way of life in Ancient Rome and they had many thoughts about how people should be nicer to each other, polite, considerate, they should build a better world – and I know that when it comes to the basics, that's all that punks are doing! Except that every emancipatory thought, once it becomes the dominant culture, [tends to incorporate all kinds of evils] and justify them... This is how he said it: „Well Saint Peter, had he lived today, he too would have been a punk, not a priest." That's how he summarized it. [...] they took the original idea and found that it had the same principles as punk. Emancipatory principles, a fight for a better world. [...] I found that so interesting, [...] I cannot say that I disagree."[35]

New Age Spiritualities, were criticized for their consumerist aspect particularly, which is understandable because as a larger city, Ostrava has more spiritually oriented stores and it is overall more in touch with (capitalist) mercantilism, which calls for more critique of this side from the scene. This is exemplified in the following reaction to a picture of Ostrava:

„a feeling of futility, a dying periphery, an urbanistic specificity, something a bit linked with punk, actually; being a misfit, someone [left behind] by this society which rapidly goes forward and eats away at everything that's natural, liquidating everything that's useful and to hopefully profit off of it,... and at the same time, leaving behind various ruins and remains..."[36]

and the informant's comment on esoteric trends:

„I'm not an expert and I do believe that it helps many people, but because I encountered it in this vulgar shape, of this dull Western civilization that lost its spirituality and now needs to [consume it] wrapped like a hamburger in a dumb book – you just see the individualism and instrumentalism [...] – rather than the spirituality itself."[37]

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[35] *Prokop, appendix.*
[36] *Prokop, appendix.*
[37] *Prokop, appendix.*

This echoes Max Weber's idea of disenchantment, characteristic of modern industrial times, accentuated by Ostravsko's post-industrial, ambiguous experience with modernity. We can also see the link between urbanism and individualization. In this regard, too, many informants spoke of the nihilism of punk, albeit critically most of the time. It was mentioned that as Ostrava was getting more cultured, nihilism was stepping back. Prokop's quote, as an educated historian who performs in a band, epitomizes this quite tellingly:

„But if I were to try and find something spiritual or transcendental in there [...] Perhaps in [our] last album, Vanitas Vanitatum [...] This saying specifically was used a lot [...] after the Thirty Years' War, Europe was destroyed and people lost everything that [...] used to bind society in the sense that you accept that society works, that there's one religion which gives people direction. Since people were able to murder each other for 30 years because one was a Protestant and the other a Catholic, and bring [society] to a state where it lost 50% of its population, [...] that caused people to lean toward, not like nihilism, but [...] a feeling of futility. The world didn't work in binary categories of Good and Evil anymore, everything had lost meaning. But [...] they didn't vent through nihilism, more through like knowing that Evil is Evil, ... you're scared that the Good can also be pretty big Evil,... but if you're a nihilist you'll just say „Well if Good can be Evil then I'll just do Evil". But if you feel like the baroque artists, you will lean toward something kind of spiritual, and seek reassurance there, it's not always so easy [...], but at the same time you refuse to fully abandon the idea..."[38]

As we can see, Ostravan spirituality is articulated in a peculiarly secular way. Enchantment is found in scientific findings, and as a city with a university, spirituality and faith are more linked with philosophical and ethical ideas of solidarity, and fighting the nihilism that a dying periphery may inspire. There is also an interesting influence of the 'genius loci': the emotional attachment of inhabitants to their city. The city's openness to other countries translates into punk's openness toward other communities, resulting in a mix of ideas and initiatives circulating and enriching the subculture. Ostrava is also affected by its more recent history of transition from an industrial and polluted hub to a more cultured and greener place; a transformation radical enough to inspire the sense that enacting political change is not impossible, giving punks more reasons to combat this nihilism.

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[38] *Prokop, appendix.*

3.2.3 Specificities: Vsetínsko

One might explain the fact that Vsetínsko's spiritualities were less oriented towards larger societal goals by environmental seclusion, as well as Rožnov's influence. On the one hand, Viktor explains that the nature of the available employment, which is hard manual labor, might also make people less likely to have time or energy left to even consider larger spiritual questions[39]; on the other hand, the types of people who would be interested in these societal and ethical questions and bring this view to the local spirituality are likely to leave to obtain a degree in humanities, and not come back because there is locally no employment which would make use of that kind of diploma[40].

Rožnov's influence is exercised through the worldview that punk will not achieve large-scale societal change. As a result, the Vsetín scene is more centered around applying the DIY or *do-it-together* principles in the individual way of living life. Indeed, it also seems logical that as a set of smaller towns, inhabitants feel more alienated from political change than people who live in a regional capital and metropolis, where change might seem more achievable. For example, vegetarianism used to be a punk cause, and Ostrava now has many vegetarian venues, whereas in Vsetínsko, being a vegetarian remains an everyday effort. Vsetín punks thus resort to realizing alternative ways of living in their own private sphere, through, for example, building their own homes on DIY (or *do-it-together*) principles. The leveraging of community to help build one's own home, as Karel and Maria did, may also influence the relative closeness of punk members of this scene, as they help each other in building something very personal and intimate: the home itself. This is also closer to the Czech social fact of *kutilství* (a DIY home improvement practice) where DIY is not an ethos as it's often done out of necessity, but it is still deemed a fulfilling and enriching activity for the individual (Gibas & Nyklová, 2020).

Interestingly enough, Rožnov's philosophical influence emphasizing the darkness of human experience seems to have affected the particularly dark and at times nihilistic nature of the scene. One informant explains that as a hypersensitive person, the scene eventually became toxic for her as she was witnessing people killing their creativity with alcohol and partying[41], creating the need to leave the scene for some time to focus on spirituality instead. She mentions that she is not the only punk member who has had a similar process, and says

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[39] *Viktor, appendix.*
[40] *Karel, appendix.*
[41] *Maria, appendix.*

that there is a real fracture between people who have "kept progressing" in life, and those who have reduced their punk identity to alcoholism and incessant complaining, losing the creativity they once had. Her case is particularly interesting because she kept the link between DIY punk and spirituality through creativity, another one of the Havel-inspired philosophical tenets which marked the Rožnov scene. Her creativity centers specifically around closeness to vernacular tradition, very characteristic of her regional identity.

"*I draw [these motives] a lot on glass and wood, I use the vernacular motives a lot.*"[42]

She has leveraged the *do-it-together* principle to build her own house, utilizing natural materials and vernacular know-how, while her spiritual practice involves spending as much time as possible in nature, growing herbs, and making various things with them. The closeness to nature and vernacular know-how was also exemplified by the importance informants placed on using natural resources and materials, which was shared by Miroslav, who had helped her in building her house. For Miroslav, the simplicity of the architectural procedures, the know-how that had been passed down for generations, and the attention to the natural materials that this know-how entailed all boiled down to a humility and appreciation of nature that mattered to him. He was one of the two informants who resonated strongly with the idealization of Native American cultures for their lives which were in harmony with nature, and he also mentioned an ideological closeness to paganism, which may be seen as a form of "local" expression of this Native American worldview. This is one of the ways in which a closer relationship with nature was expressed in Vsetínsko.

"*I think that some respect should always be had toward nature, I always liked the Native Americans, this lens of theirs, it fits me. Of course, it's theirs, it can't really be [connected] with our European worldview, but I feel like... they understood it quite naturally. [...] I think they kept this... they would thank for food and... it's some sort of natural humility, respect toward the animals, when they killed the animal to eat it, they apologized.*"[43]

When asked about the name of the *Pagan rampage* festival, the answer was *"Well [us punks] we've always been sort of pagans*"[44] but this was likely not understood in the neo-pagan sense, but likely more as punks being pagans by Catholic standards. The more pronounced presence of the Church likely fueled Vsetínsko's punk's more pronounced

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[42] *Maria, appendix.*
[43] *Miroslav, appendix.*
[44] *Miroslav, appendix.*

rejection of its doctrine, as in an unrecorded conversation, Viktor mentioned how older Czech women would make the sign of the cross when they would encounter local punks, leading the local lyrics to criticize the religion and its adherents for their fanaticism.

Finally, most Vsetínsko informants reported the influence of Buddhist philosophy, which was for some time a trend that attracted many local punks[45]. This is likely linked to the presence of the Buddhist *hotel Antarik* near Francova Lhota. Additionally, Buddhist philosophical emphasis on concepts such as life in the here and now or lifestyle vegetarian lifestyle connect with punk.

4. Discussion of the results.

As we can see, the results bring to the forefront various aspects of the theoretical framework, which retrospectively justifies the multidisciplinary approach that was taken by the research, at least in light of its exploratory value. The specificities of both scenes, whether environmental, historical, or socio-demographic proved to have had an impact on both scenes. The impact was significant enough to justify the idiosyncratic approach to these scenes, and it means that likely, these results are difficult to generalize beyond Wallachia and the Ostravan agglomeration. This vindicates the importance that Sara Cohen gave to the local context when studying the music scene (1991), while also giving credence to situating scene developments in topographical and urbanistic contexts.

The study of the influence of urbanism on subcultures, according to Fisher's theory bore debatable results. Ostrava had a locally specific context that forced subcultures to cooperate (rather than differentiate) to be able to create and maintain autonomous subcultural spaces. This in turn affected the subculture in terms of a stronger emphasis on the tolerance of differences to achieve common goals. Fischer was correct in his postulate that the sources and instances of diffusion were more frequent in more urbanized spaces; this was the case in Ostrava where punk spaces attracted youth from universities. Diffusion happened at the level of ideas, where the Ostravan punk scene adopted more humanistic understandings, and the influence of the university was evident. The diffusion from the punk scene toward the mainstream was also expressed, for example, the cause of vegetarianism and veganism,

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[45] *Karel, appendix.*

which was a punk topic, was successfully pushed into the mainstream society: Ostrava now has many vegetarian and vegan venues.

The results show that credit ought to be given to the framework of Spiritualities of Life conceived by Paul Heelas for the analysis of modern-age spirituality, especially in the Czech atheist context. Its emphasis on the necessity to escape the world through spirituality was found in the results, although individuals did not only evade the „iron cage" pressures that scholars surmised through spirituality, they also did so through participation in the scene. Heelas' theory does not give much attention to local factors, which were, however, the focus of this thesis. While he summarizes what roles Spiritualities of Life play in an individual's life and in the modern context, the study showed that various environmental factors affect the need for and form of these spiritualities.

The influence of DIY punk itself is strong in pushing the subjective understanding of spirituality toward a form of self-improvement and self responsibilization for their own well-being, while DIY punk's political aspects play a role in the rejection of the passivity associated with spirituality as a form of consumerism. Commodified spirituality was the object of criticism. This is in line with Abraham and Stewart's claim that punk provides a template for individual accountability, although it is unclear, in this study's case, whether individual accountability is a result of punk, DIY punk, or its more recent developments toward self-responsibilization.

Heelas, Abraham, and Stewart also share the understanding of spirituality as a relocation of the transcendent to the therapeutic. For Heelas, Spiritualities of Life are a way to escape the overly rational pressures of the world through practices that are meant to improve the experience of Life. The spiritualities found on both scenes certainly fit these descriptions, but this might also be a byproduct of the fact that members of such an alternative culture are already the kinds of people who are willing to make a continuous effort in their lives to escape various systemic pressures because this is what being a member of such a critical subculture naturally entails. This is especially true for older punks, who were the object of this study; the literature is very clear on how difficult it becomes to combine punk membership, with everything that it entails (the political opinions, the style, the lifestyle, *et caetera*) with other life goals that become important with age: having a family, maintaining a job... (Davis, 2006 and Kumová, 2018).

Both scenes agreed on a faith in a better world that underlies DIY punk efforts to bring this world into existence. While this was understood by the authors in the literature as a secular phenomenon: „prefigurative politics", this may be challenged by the fact that both scenes placed a transcendental value in this faith and the endeavor of building this better world. Interestingly, this kind of understanding is also more reminiscent of religiosity than alternative spiritualities (or Spiritualities of Life), because Spiritualities of Life are much more centered on the individual's experience and tend to lack the aspect of community which is so central to punk. Additionally, in Newman's conceptual model, religion relates to „*Doing*", and is a function of faith. The only notable differences are the relative novelty of DIY punk compared to the ancient religious traditions, and the lack of a belief in supernatural entities in DIY punk; but both religion and DIY punk operate on the basis of like-minded communities, have their institutions, homosocial spaces, rules, norms, and rituals, unifying philosophical outlooks, both give meanings to people's lives... This might give credence to the analytical lens of DIY punk as „implicit religion" to the same extent as Straight Edge; but this is more likely a result of religious communities being a specific form of subculture, that happens to have commonalities with DIY punk on the ethical plane.

In terms of individualized practices, both scenes converged with Heelas' Spiritualities of Life, in terms of meditation and the consumption of hallucinogenic drugs; both practices were articulated by the informants as instrumental therapeutic practices to connect with their Inner lives.

The criticism of esoteric practices might seem contradictory to punk's emphases on personal freedom, tolerance, and openness. While it is true that there is existing knowledge of punk's internal contradictions, it is particularly strange as "punk beliefs" proved to be unique and eclectic, and this feature was rather a testament to the individual freedom of thought of each individual, it could have been considered a positive by punk standards. Especially since punk provides the platform for individual accountability and the necessary framework to enforce authenticity. Why not, then, embrace these expressions of spirituality as a subcultural feature, when subculture members themselves often were people with various kinds of unique spiritual sensitivities? A functionalist answer to this question can be surmised, whereby there may be a form of utility to the subculture being a mundane place. This utility is, in my view, double; on the one hand, it serves not to deter people with a complete aversion to spirituality from being engaged and serving a purpose that transcends the individual, which they might

not have done had they known that there were spiritual underpinnings to the engagement. It is clear from this study that punk can be considered spiritual insofar that punks are spiritual (as the interviews showed, many saw that in a loose sense, they were spiritual although they did not consider themselves to be, although spiritual, to them, meant "ethical", "creative", "sensitive to nature" or other things). They can also be considered spiritual in the sense that they're animated by a common faith in a different world. Punk may thus self-conceptualize as "secular" in the same sense that most modern European nation-states do: as a testament to inclusivity, respect, and neutrality, and not to deter people from joining. Another reason for the utility of a secular punk may be the point brought up by Miroslav regarding "spiritual people" and their "*rose-colored glasses*". DIY punk's raison d'être is among others to bring visibility (and subsequently, either solutions, or criticism) to problems of the real world, and one of the incompatible aspects of both Spiritualities of Life, and religions, are their tendency to seek to improve the quality of life of individuals through modifying the lens of individual perception without addressing the larger, social and sociological tendencies that may cause them. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that the reason why punk remains secular is also that it seeks to remain socially critical, and social criticism, while needing an ethical basis, also needs not to rely on individual, philosophical, or supernatural bases that may justify the status quo, instead of combating it. While this is not a constant feature of these spiritualities, it is a recognized risk that punk deals with in this way at the institutional level. As we have seen above, though, some aspects of punk may also at times fuel its own resistance, whereby even though punk seeks to act as a counterforce to overly positive justifications of the status quo, its emphasis on negativity and criticism may drive people to see the world through the lens of disillusionment and seek out spiritual worldviews and alternative therapeutic practices in order to mitigate the negative effects of enclosing oneself in too much of a negatively oriented Weltanschauung. This is why the openness of punk remains a critical feature of the subculture, it allows individuals to adopt a personalized, DIY approach that works for them, and discuss them openly with like-minded punk friends, while the other aspects of punk keep them aware of the world issues and accountable for their behaviors.

Conclusion

The results of this study are therefore multiple. Firstly, it can be noted that spiritualities have been found on both scenes and while both scenes proved to be very

different, they also shared some notable similarities. The most important one is likely the uniqueness and peculiarity of the beliefs on both scenes, as well as the fact that these spiritualities were first and foremost personal, and only discussed or experienced on the scene within deep friendships that the scene provided. The informants agreed that the scene was primarily a secular space. On both scenes, practices such as meditation and the consumption of hallucinogenic drugs were found, and both scenes placed a spiritual importance on nature. Generally speaking, there may be a double-sided role that substance use plays depending on the substance type and substance use patterns.

The differences in the scenes could indeed be linked to environmental factors. The environmental factors that played the strongest roles were the following: proximity to nature and specific natural phenomena, educational background of scene members, especially in regards to education in humanities, availability of employment and its effect on the presence of people with certain educational backgrounds, and generally speaking, contact with certain ontologies and philosophies which was itself mitigated by subcultural and environmental factors such as transregionalism, or local contact between subcultures and minorities.

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List of appendices

Appendix 1: Quotes.

Appendix 2: Materials provided by the informants.

      2a. Miroslav's song lyrics (Vsetínsko)

      2b. Viktor's song lyrics (Vsetínsko)

      2c. Viktor: fanzines.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Relevant quotes from the interviews

Footnote	Informant	Scene	Original	English translation
1	Maria	Vsetínsko	Tady nad Vsetínem. To bylo úplně na začátku, tehdy v těch 90kách [...] tam teda bývalo ale kapel ze světa strašně moc: z Francie, nevím, ze Švédska, Japonci tam byli.... To bylo fakt vyhlášené. [...] Jezdilo sem plno Slováků, na koncerty z Prahy lidi, ... ten koncert té kapely byl třeba Vsetín a Praha. A někdy Bratislava... ten Vsetín byl velké zázemí tehdy v těch 90kách pro ty punkové koncerty.	*Here, above Vsetín. It was pretty notorious, back in the 90s. There were so many bands from the whole world: from France, I don't know, Sweden, Japanese people... Really notorious [...] plenty of Slovaks, people from Prague.... the band would for instance perform in Vsetín, and Prague. And Bratislava sometimes... It was a big base for punk concerts in the 90s.*
2	Prokop	Ostravsko	Prostě „šup" se změnou politického systému se všechno zavře, najednou más 20% nezaměstnaných a město které předtím bylo hrdé na tu svou dělnickou sílu tak najednou neví jak má jako fungovat, co má dělat. A jak se má postavit ke svému průmyslovému dědictví – které tady je, todle prostě je město které je hnusné, s komínama, [...] všechno je hrozně daleko nejsou nikde jakoby ulice, a ... jako... nezávislá scéna, a i... přispěli k tomu i punkáči tím jak zůstali propojení, všichni ti jak jí je tady málo té nezávislé kultury tak se museli propojovat, tak přispěli i k tomu že... to že todle (ukázuje obrázek)	*Well, here it was sudden: with the change of political regime, all factories closed and suddenly you've got 20% unemployment, a city that used to be proud of its industrial workforce suddenly doesn't know what to do, how to function, and how to deal with this industrial heritage – because it's here, this city, it's ugly, it has chimneys, everything's built so far apart, there are no streets, and... the independent scene, including punks because of how they joined forces [...] they contributed to this (he points to the picture) being perceived as the Ostravan Hradčany and it's in UNESCO today! It's a national cultural monument, it's the most visited*

| | | | což je bráno jakoby Ostravské Hradčany a dneska je to je v UNESCO... ale... je to národní kulturní památka, je to dneska nejnavštěvovanější oblast v Ostravě [...]. Ale to že se vůbec proměnilo vnímání – jako, v 00tých letech kdy jsme začali dělat jako různé – pankáči, teda samozřejmě nejenom my ale patřil jsem mezi ně [...] Tak tím že v takových místech začneš dělat koncerty, a nějakým způsobem je oživovat a dávat jim nějakou novou úlohu, a ještě si nad tebou klepaj na čele [...] – „se jako posral ne? Tady když někdo přijede z venku do Ostravy tak ty mu budeš ukazovat nějakou tady ošuntělou šachtu..“ – a přitom jo. A myslím že tomu částečně ... je tam určitý příspěvek toho punku kterému připadalo to prostředí sympatické a které nakonec ukázalo na čem postavíš tu identitu. [tady] to byla před 200 lety vesnice o 2000 lidech a vyrostlo z toho hnusné, špinavé město, a jenom to že prostě místo toho že by ses za to styděl, tak na to začneš být hrdej. Ten punk se tom jako trochu podepsal. | *area in the city [...] But just the fact that this perception changed – around the year 2000, when we started doing various concerts in these places, giving them life in some way, and the people think you're stupid for doing that [...] [saying] „are you nuts? Someone will come here to visit and you're gonna show them some old industrial [thing]..." and yet, yeah. And I think that punk partly contributed to this, they liked the environment, and in the end Ostrava's identity got built on this. [Here], 200 years ago, it was a village of 2000 people and an ugly, dirty city got born from that. And instead of being ashamed of it, you become proud of it. Punk left its mark on it.* |
| 3 | Prokop | Ostravsko | ta buranská chlastem načichlá dělnická komunistická Ostrava | *the boorish, alcohol-smelling, worker, communist Ostrava* |

| 4 | Franta | Ostravsko | [...]klub Brno, teď byl třeba koncert, nevím, minulej týden, býval vobčas – malinké, komorní, a to, co se tam odehrává: hrajou tam prostě hardcore kapely, dá se říct že to je prostě DIY punk, lidi který tady chodí tak... plus mínus by do té scény mohli patřit, ale když prostě tady přijdeš [...] tak se tu s nejbližšími znám osobně, a zbytek jako víc od vidění, tak třeba tady jsme prostě extrém že [...] to jsou všecko vysokoškoláci prostě! Jo? Jako chlapi, ti starší samozřejmě ne, ale mezi těma 30-35 plus, tak je to tak no polovička možná mají jako výšku, a zbytek, tomu říkám „alternativní děcka z ostravských škol“. [...] speciálně tady v Ostravě to natáhlo hodně děcek z Ostravských škol: fakulta umění, prostě, Ostravská univerzita, humanitní obory tak oni prostě chodí na tyhlecty akce. [nejsou punkáči], některý trošku jsou si myslím, některým to určitě nějak zůstane jako, pro některý to je taková epizodka prostě, ale to dává těm koncertům (*laughs*) takovou... takovej prostě univerzitní šmrnc. [...] je to takové celé kulturní... nebo kulturní – jak to říct? Není to tak nihilistické. Nebo nějaké prostě šílené jak to třeba může být. Ale to je třeba jev teďka těch posledních let. [...] taková vlna těch mladších, a z nich polovina | *In the Brno club [name of an Ostrava venue] there was a concert, like, last week; they're small events and here's what happens there: hardcore bands perform there, it's kind of DIY punk. The people who come to these events could more or less belong to that scene, but if you come here [...] they're all university [people]! You know? The older men not, of course, but between the 30-35+ years old, well, I'd say about half has studied or studies at university, and the rest, I call them „alternative kids from Ostravan schools". [...] here in Ostrava particularly it just attracted many kids from Ostravan schools: Art faculty, Ostrava university, humanities, they all come to these events. [They aren't punks], some are a bit and I think that it will last for some, whereas for others it's just a phase, but it gives these concerts (laughs) a sort of university vibe. [...] it's kind of... cultural, or... not as nihilistic. Not as crazy as it can be. But that's a very recent phenomenon, the last few years [...] a wave of these younger people – and half of them had a degree, or was studying – you know? Which is pretty funny.* |

			prostě má výšku nebo byla v tu chvíli – jo? Což je docela sranda.	
5	Prokop	Ostravsko	Těch aktivních kádrů se zánikem komunistické strany tady není dost, tak tě to nutí spojovat v rámci těch subscén. Zatímco kdysi... je to jakoby vtipné, všichni vypadáte stejně umolousaně akorát někteří poslouchají drum & bass a další poslouchají hardcore punk a hrozně se jakokdyby vymezujete ačkoli mezi sebou toho máte nejvíc jako společného, a něco co bylo... doteďka to jako existuje a myslím že silněji i v těch větších městech, tak tady v největším subkulturním malém městě v celém česku což je tady 300-tisícová Ostrava tak to nikdy nefungovalo a vždycky byli ti punkáči nuceni spolupracovat [...] víc než kdekoliv jinde.	*there weren't many people able to create venues here when communism ended. That forced sub-scenes to join forces. [...] it's kinda funny, you all look similarly dirty, but one listens to drum & bass and the other listens to hardcore punk and you try to differentiate yourself from each other so much when you have the most in common, which [...] I think is strongest in bigger cities; well in [...] our 300 thousand people Ostrava, that never worked and punks were always forced to cooperate*

| 6 | Prokop | Ostravsko | Oni jsou takoví hrozně neidentifikovatelní ... lidi který dokázají splácat Ježíše Krista a Karla Marxe... a k tomu ještě hrát něco co zavání black metalem... mně se na tom líbí to že jak má punk v sobě takový buřitelský rebelský element [...] A tady tihle borci, u nich to není tak jak to vidíš u metalistů prostě laciný nihilismus kde prostě když jseš nihilista až moc tak to končí vypalováním koncertů a vraždama jak u nějakého norského black metalu... tak tady tihle ačkoli si udržujou nějaké etické principy toho jakoby punku tak to tak jako zvláštně občas nabourávají že jako cpou nějaké drobty z křesťanství a jako pobuřujou tady tímhle jak jsou jakoby jiný a nejedou v těch zavedených punkových šablonách které se jako kdyby 30 let nemění a už jako ničím moc nepobuřujou. | *These two [artists] are really unidentifyiable... they're people who can combine Jesus Christ and Karl Marx, and play something that reminds of black metal... What I like about it is that how punk has this rebellious, disturbing element to it [...] Well these boys, it's not some cheap nihilism like what you see in metal, this cheap nihilism where if you do too much of it, it leads to setting fire to concert venues and murder like in Norway... these two, while they keep the ethical principles of punk, they also add bits of Christianity and disturb in this way, it's different, they're not using these 30 year old known punk templates that have been the same for a long time and don't disturb anymore.* |

| 7 | Laura | Ostravsko | „v té době kdy mi bylo 15-16 tam [v Orlové] byla základna Národního Odporu Slezsko, a vlastně velkou podporu tam měli tenkrát Sládkovci – republikáni Miroslava Sládka, a byly tam velké demostrace, prostě třeba 90 nácků, byla tam tenkrát rasově motivovaná vražda kde zabili dva lidé jednoho Roma... [...] fakt jako situace kdy člověk prostě procházel městem a vlastně jako se fakt ohlížel přes rameno jestli se něco děje. Já jsem měla tehdy rozbitou hlavu z jednoho útoku na klub a v tomhletom to bylo rozhodně drsnější než v některých jiných městech. [...] Navíc jsme byli docela držkatí, protože jsme si nenechávali nic líbit, takže sice jsme se schovávali v rámci možností v rámci možností jsme jim taky dávali docela. A myslím že jestli to něco nechalo tak je to absolutní netolerance tady k tomuhle [...], je to velkej rozdíl tím že jsme vyrůstali v tom tak nám to vůbec nepřijde dobrý to zjednodušovat." | „at that time, when I was 15-16, there [in Orlová] were quarters of the ‚National Resistance' [a neonazi organisation] Silesia, and the republicans of Miroslav Sládek [a far-right party] had large support. There were big demonstrations, easily 90 nazis, and there was a racially motivated murder at the time where two people killed a Roma... [...] Truly, situations where you walk through the city and look behind your shoulder in case something is happening. At the time I had a broken head from an attack on a club, in terms of this is was definitiely rougher [in Orlová] than in other cities. Not to mention, we were pretty vocal because we wouldn't let them have their way with us, so we might have been hiding as much as possible, we were also [giving them trouble] as much as possible. And I think that if it left any mark, then that would be absolute intolerance vis-à-vis this kind of thing [...] it makes a big difference to have grown up in this, it doesn't feel like a good thing at all to belittle [and joke around with] this." |

8	Maria	Vsetínsko	Divoké. Divoké celé. Jak s těma náckama třeba. Tams utíkala fakt z toho klubu na nádraží aby tě někdo nezmlátil, kolikrát to tam bývalo prostě. Já jsem měla fakt strach a jednou když jsme nasedli do rychlíku tak nás přece pronásledovali ti náckové. Tak [můj kamarád] je cigoš že? Tak jsem fakt měla strach abychom nedostali do huby. To si nepamatuješ? Jak jsme se schovávali tam v kupéčku?	*Wild. It was all wild. Like with the nazis. There, you were literally running from the club to the train station not to get beaten up, it was so frequent. I was genuinely scared, and then once we got on the train and the nazis followed us there. [My friend] is Roma, right? I was terrified that we'd get beaten up there. Don't you remember? How we were hiding in the train compartment?*
9	Prokop	Ostravsko	Jestli tohle je to spirituální, ta představa [...] je to jako i v tom pojímání těch prostorů, že tady fungují nějaká ta naše pravidla že tohle je můj safe space kde se všichni cítíme dobře, když je ti blbě tak půjdeš [...] na koncert na Spodní nebo do Provozu, tam se ti udělá dobře protože jsi jakoby mezi svými ovečkami, tak tam jakoby... jako pokud se až takhle chce brát ta spiritualita, tak tohle jo, to tak mají.	*If that is spiritual, this vision [...] and it's also present in the way we conceive of our spaces, that here there are some of our rules and that this is my safe space where we all feel good. If you feel like crap, you can go to a concert in Spodní or Provoz, where you'll feel better because you're with your flock,... If this is considered spiritual, then yes, that's there.*
	Laura		Myslím si že určitě, [...] když jsem se o tom bavila s manželem jak jsme to měli, on je teda [punk] ještě z úplně jiný země ale vlastně oba dva jsme to měli hodně podobně; že vlastně zničehonic – je ti 13-14-15, a teďka koukáš a najdeš ty první lidi co jsou vlastně hrozně podobní, a vlastně s těma lidma prožíváš de facto celý svůj život – ani si moc nejseš schopná	*I think that certainly, [...] we spoke about how we had this with my husband – he's [a punk] from a completely different country but it was actually very similar for both of us. Essentially, out of nowhere, you're 13, 14, 15 and you look around, you're finding the first people who are a lot like you; and you de facto experience your whole life with these people – and you can't really imagine that*

			představit že by se ti úplně ztratili. Jo, to neznamená že postupem času nenabíráš lidi který jsou „mimo scénu" a netrávíš s nima čas, ale to zapadnutí do toho řekněme jako fluffy safe spaceu je jako docela důležitý.	*you'd ever lose sight of them. Of course, that doesn't mean that you don't take on people from outside the scene, but certainly belonging into this, let's say, „fluffly safe space" is important.*
10	Prokop	Ostravsko	„Když se kolem roku 2011 začali objevovat v Ostravě lidi který měli jako touhu nějak se sociálně angažovat, tak přišli jednak s Food Not Bombs, a pak byla taková shoda náhod že se s tehdejší radnicí jednoho městského obvodu podařilo nějak vyjednat obsazení jednoho vchodu s šesti byty které byly ve vlastnictví města. Město tehdy mělo víc možností: „Máme tady byty které chátrají, jsou v něčem co je považováno v rámci Ostravy za romské ghetto, to znamená že tam nikdo nechce bydlet", všichni se bojí protože ten českej rasismus je velkej a teď to město má několik možností: „buď ty byty rekonstruujem za těžké peníze a nikdo tam nebude chtít bydlet. Anebo to necháme zchátrat, anebo to za symbolický nájem dáme lidem kteří jsou ochotní tam nějak fungovat." A jediní takoví ochotní lidi byli punks, samozřejmě."	*When around 2011 there started to be people in Ostrava who wanted do some social good, they came up first with Food Not Bombs, and then, sort coincidentally, we managed to reach an agreement with the administration of one of the city's districts to be allowed to take possession of one entrance with six apartments that belonged to the city. The municipality had a few options at the time; „We've got decaying apartments, they are in what we consider within Ostrava a Roma ghetto, meaning that nobody wants to live in them" – everybody's scared because the Czech racism is big and from then on, the city had a few options: „either we renovate the flats for lots of money and no one will want to live in them. Or we let them decay, or we give them to people who are willing to function there for a small rent." And the only ones willing to do that were punks, of course.*

11	Viktor	Vsetínsko	Ano, lepší než v hospodě nebo v garáži, v bunkru.... Je tam možnost to udělat v přírodě kde je člověk svobodnější, volnější, nebo se vyvalíš do trávy, hraje ti dobrá muzika... a to v hospodě nebo klubu nemáš šanci udělat. To je to kouzelné na tom. Je to jiné a vzácné. A těšíš se na to. A víc než na „obyčejný koncert". Vím že to tam vždycky bude bezva [...]Ano, všichni to vnímají jak kdyby stejně: je to venku, je to paráda, po roce zase... Všichni jsou spokojený, šťastní, když to tak řeknu „jedna velká šťastná rodina". Je to něco jiného, je to netradiční	*It's better than in a pub or in a garage, a bunker... you have the possibility to do in nature where you're more free, less tense, you just lie in the grass, there's good music playing... you can't do that in a pub. That's what's magical about it. It's different and rare, everyone is always looking forward to these – more than a „regular concert". I always know that it'll be amazing there [...] everyone perceives it the same: it's outside, it's great, after a year, „one big happy family" if I may call it like that. It's something else, not traditional.*
12	Laura	Ostravsko	Jako je pravda že ta vsetínská scéna pro nás vždycky byla víc jako hippie punk. Minimálně jako vizuálně : dlouhý šaty a dlouhý sukně ale nemyslím to negativně, je to dost jako sympatický ale tady by to nikdy nevyšlo. Tadys jako musela mnohem víc ... dávat takový ty jako ramena...	*It's true that the Vsetínsko scene for us was more seen as a sort of hippie punk. At the very least visually: long dresses, long skirts – and I don't mean that negatively, it's pretty nice, but something like that would have never worked here. Here you needed to [build more walls, come off tougher].*
13	Karel	Vsetínsko	úplně na začátku vlastně první koncerty na kterým jsme tu na Vsetíně byli... tak byly divadelním klubu Josef,... to je [...] kryt civilní obrany[...] Kluci měli tohle divadlo, 4 lidi, a k tomu tam jeden z nich prostě působil v kapele, byl punkáč, vrátil se z vojny a tam se nějak potkal s nějakýma punkáčema, zalíbilo se mu to... a to byl právě	*at the very beginning, the first concert we attended here in Vsetín, they were in the drama club Josef, it was in a bunker [...] the guys had this theater, 4 people, and one of them was also in a band, he was a punk: he came back from military service, met some punks there, liked it... and he was the one who let us record his cassettes. They're the*

			ten u koho jsme si pak nahrávali ty kazety. A oni začali vlastně s těma koncertama. Po nich jsme to nějak převzali, ta naše parta	*ones who started with the shows, and then took over after them.*
14	Franta	Ostravsko	Těch lidí toho Vsetínského typu taky v podstatě moc není.. bych řekl... nebo tady z té DIY scény takové opravdu ryzí... a oni Vsetín stejně jako Rožnov jsou docela v tom takoví jakoby fundamentalisti... Což neříkám že je špatně jo? [...] Oni ... [...] Můžou to [DIY punk] pojmout hodně tak jakoby striktně... to znamená že [...] opravdu prostě tam jakoby přijdeš na ten koncert a opravdu všichni jsou jakoby v černém prostě, všichni mají stejné nášivky, stejný typ, jo? Vizuálně to je [opravdu pohled] ... Podobnou image, poslouchají podobný kapely, na podiu hrajou taky podobný kapely, všichni jsou totálně prostě stoprocentně vegetariáni, všichni jsou 100% takoví a takoví... [...] jakoby je to oukej, ale někdy je to až nějak [...] dokonalé...	*There really aren't many people of the Vsetín type here, or like, from this really „pure" DIY scene... And Vsetín, just like Rožnov, are pretty fundamentalist in this... Which I'm not criticizing, yeah? [...] They... [...] can conceive it [DIY punk] very like, strictly... meaning that [...] really you come there for a show, and everyone is in black, they all have the same patches, the same type you know? It's quite the view. They have a similar image, listen to similar bands, on stage you'll also see similar bands, all of them are totally one hundred percent vegetarian, all of them are 100% such and such... [...] And like that's okay, but sometimes it's too... like... perfect...*
15	Maria	Vsetínsko	Rožnovská scéna byla víc taneční. Melodičtější, s ženským zpěvem. Tady ty kapely byly takové... Bych řekla drsnější	*The Rožnov scene was dancier. More melodic, with female vocals. Here, the bands were... rougher, I'd say.*

| 16 | Karel | Vsetínsko | Jo u mě to hrálo velkou roli, já jsem jezdil do Rožnova hodně. [...] V těch začátcích jsem tam hodně jezdil a dá se říct že jsem tam měl víc přátel než tady. A ovlivnil mě ten přístup toho co se tam stalo na Vrahu, dalo by se říct, že jsem si z toho vzal i příklad, že jsem se tak trochu poučil, co a jako dělat ty koncerty. [...] Různě jsme spolupracovali, třeba nám napsala jedna kapela jestli jim můžeme udělat koncert, nám se to nehodilo... tam jsme napsali někomu z Vraha... a zase opačně [....] Také jsme měli společné DIY Vydavadetlství a agenturu, Cultburger. | *For me, Rožnov played a big role [...] In the beginning, I would go there often, I had more friends there than here. What happened in the Vrah club, the way they approached things, that influenced me, I used it as an example, and learned from it too, how to do the shows [...] We collaborated in various ways [...] We also had a common DIY label and agency: Cultburger.* |
| 17 | Karel | Vsetínsko | Tady jsme hodně individualisti na Vsetíně, myslím že v Rožnově se to povedlo daleko líp, jakože nějaká komunita... ale možná je to protože to vidím zvenčí, oni to možná vidí jinak. [...] Že tam dokázali víc spolupracovat a víc se tolerovat. A možná víc mezi sebou komunikovat... Jednu dobu se stalo na Vsetíně že nám tu dělali koncerty 5 lidí, individuálně. Organizátoři – pak jsme zjistili že si trochu lezem do zelí, tak jsme se pak spojili protože nás to vyčerpává, a bylo to funkční, ale nebylo to tak silné jak v tom Rožnově. | *We're pretty individualistic here in Vsetín, I think they did better in Rožnov, in terms of some „community"... but maybe it's because I'm looking at it from the outside, they might see it differently [...] They did better at cooperating and tolerating each other. And maybe communicating together more.... What happened here in Vsetín once was that we had 5 different people organizing shows, individually. We then realized that we're kind of interfering with each other so we joined forced because it was exhausting, and it was functional, but it wasn't as strong as in Rožnov.* |

18	Andrej	Ostravsko	Asi tak nějak, že tam nejdu kvůli něčemu... ale pro něco. Nejdou tam cíleně prostě že každou neděli musí... ale že prostě chcou.	*Essentially, yes. I'm going there because of something... But for something. They're not coming every Sunday because they must... but because they want to.*
19	Prokop		No jako taková nějaká katarze nějaký únik prostě..	*Well it's a sort of catharsis, some form of escape*
	Karel		Nechal jsem si [punk jako] nějaký takový únik, přece jenom být pořád s rodinou... Ten punk je spíš takový živelný, nějaká katarze nějak.	*I kept [punk as] some sort of escape, after all being with your family all the time...* *Punk is more wild/chaotic/spontaneous, catharsis kind of.*

20	Karel	Vsetínsko	I to působení v těch kapelách, tam ta katarze měla fakt velkou roli. Nějaké vybití z toho s čím jsem normálně nemohl bojovat, proti čemu jsem byl bezmocný. Vyřvat ten vztek do mikrofonu, dát to do textu, protože jinak to nešlo. Myslím že to v punku je docela častý.	*Even being in bands; the role of catharsis was pretty significant. You let off steam (the original word emphasizes the idea of violence) from all the things against which I cannot normally fight, the things I'm powerless against. You scream your anger into the mic, put it into the lyrics, because it wasn't possible in any other way. I think that's pretty frequent in punk.*
21	Prokop	Ostravsko	ten punk je typický tím že často ti lidi na tom podiu mluví a apelují a hovoří o nějakých tématech protože ta textová stránka je pro ně stejně důležitá, a že ti to publikum nějak vnímá, a reaguje, a vytvoří to nějakým způsobem nějakou kolektivní energii... třeba způsob toho hardcoreového tance kdy se všichni točí do kolečka,	*A typical punk thing is that often people talk on stage, they'll bring up some topics because the lyrical side is just as important to them; and the fact that the audience perceives it in some way, and reacts, and creates in some sense a collective energy... For example there's a hardcore dance where everybody's spinning in a circle,*

			když najednou někdo dokáže roztočit 1000 lidí , [...] – máš pocit že to člověka přesahuje.	*and when suddenly someone manages to make a thousand people spin like that, [...] – that feels like it transcends you.*
22	Karel	Vsetínsko	No myslím že podobně jako ostatní kteří se na to podíleli jsme věřili že bychom si dokázali vytvořit jako svoji kulturu, svoji muziku, s co nejmenším podílem toho, že bysme si něco brali od toho systému. Takže asi nějaká víra v nějakou společnou scénu, společný punk, to tam určitě bylo, bez toho to ani nešlo. [...]asi kdybych nevěřil že to jde, že to funguje... tak bych do toho punku nešel, anebo bych do něho šel jiným způsobem. Třeba více konzumním.	*Well I think that similarly to others who did this [DIY] we believed that we could manage to create, like, our own culture, our own music, while taking as little as possible from the system. So some faith in a common scene, a common punk, that was certainly there, without it wouldn't even be possible. [...] I think if I didn't believe that it's possible, that it works... I wouldn't have entered punk, or I would've done it differently, perhaps in a more consumerist way.*
23	Prokop	Ostravsko	U mě je to asi... jak jsem říkal že to mám jako spojené, tak bych pojmenoval jako všecky ty... jednak dejme tomu ohled k životnímu prostředí, dejme tomu ten hardcore punk souvisí se vším; slow móda, to že neplníš ty kapitalisticky konzumní vzorce, to že neustále něco kupuješ a tím dostáváš nějaké postavení ve společnosti... Todle jsou prostě nějaké etické roviny, že dělám něco co mi připadá že má smysl, něco co přesahuje ať to je... většinou to jsou sociálně, solidárně etické věci tak ono kolikrát – aspoň u mě, [vzhledem k tomu že umím být i cynik] tak to má přesah. Když prostě člověk dělá něco jako Food Not Bombs,	*Well for me... as I said, it's all linked for me; so to name each of them... well, let's see; caring about the environment, hardcore punk is linked to everything... slow fashion, i.e. you won't follow the capitalist consumerist patterns, constantly buying things and being rewarded with some societal status... These are all ethical planes, where I do something that I think has some meaning, something that transcends... Whether it's... often it's social, solidarity, ethical things and oftentimes – for me, at least, [considering the fact that I can be really cynical], it is transcendental. When a person does something like Food Not*

				tak vidí že to je kolikrát bezvýsledná aktivita která možná koriguje nějakou nespravedlnost světa ale vidíš že to pravděpodobně nikdy nebude fungovat, přemýšlíš nad tím jestli se ti lidi k tomu dostali nebo nedostali vlastní vírou, a nemít takové spirituálně-etické přesvědčení, tak by to člověk podle mě nedělal.	*Bombs, they see that it's very often a futile activity that might perhaps correct for some injustice in the world, but you also see that it likely won't ever work; you think about it and consider whether people came to this through some personal faith, and I think that if you didn't have such a spiritual-ethical conviction, I don't think you'd be doing it.*
				[...]	*[...]*
				někdy je rozdíl mezi punkáčema a křesťanama, že křesťani měli aspoň dost velkého fištrona, že věděli že ten ideální svět, ta utopie, to nebe, že to se vybuduje až po smrti, to znamená že je to problém budovat – ale ti pankáči tomu někdy věří. Víš? Jestli tohle je to spirituální, ta představa že tohle je to jako i v tom pojímání těch prostorů, že tady fungují nějaká ta naše pravidla že tohle je můj safe space kde se všichni cítíme dobře, když je ti blbě tak půjdeš idk na koncert na spodní / do Provozu, tam se ti udělá dobře protože jsi jakoby mezi svými ovečkami, tak tam jakoby... jako pokud se až takhle chce brát ta spiritualita, tak tohle jo, to tak mají. Asi u žádné jiné tady moderní subkultury jako kterou znám není ten společenský přesah a etické pravidla a to že se tím snažíš vybudovat něco jako lepšího a i sám sebe udělat lepší – tak jako málokterá subkultura...	*Christians, at least, had the wit to know that [the utopia] will be built after death – i.e., it's difficult to build. But punks believe in that, sometimes, you know? If that's spiritual, this vision [...] here we have our own rules, it's our safe space [...] you're with your herd... Well if you want to see this as spirituality, then yes, punks have that. And I can't think of a single modern subculture where there's a similar societal transcendence, and ethical rules, or the fact that you're trying to build something better and improve yourself too.*

24	Andrej	both	Ale tam to bude i tou slivovicí trošku no.	*Well there, it's probably also because of the slivovitz.*
	Viktor		Jo jojo... tak todle bylo, stoprocentně, možná i proto nás to tak zcelilo... že když jsme spolu pili tak jsme zažili takové věci co bychom možná i nezažili ... je pravda že z lidí leze když jsou opilí.. prozradí co třeba nechcou, co by normálně neřekli, [...] je to nějak otevře. Že to otevře ty lidi, řeknou co by ti normálně jinak neřekli, a tím pádem se dostaneš do takových věcí – i nálad takových, že prostě ti lid prozradili že mají nějaký problém , a teďka měl úplnou depku ten člověk, ale tím že jsme třeba pili a byli s ním, tak jsme mu dokázali i pomoct. A prostě to tak fungovalo, když měl někdo problém tak to normálně neřekne ale pak se ožere, dá si 4 piva, dá si štamprlu, a pak to z něho leze a my jsme mu tím pádem dokázali pomoct. Tím že jsme se viděli častěji a byli jsme prostě fakt kámoši, tak jsme mu dokázali i pomoct.	*Yep, yeah, yeah... That was there one hundred percent, maybe that's why we had such a strong bond... we'd drink together, and then we'd experience things we'd maybe never experience [had we not done it]... It's true that things come out of people when they're drunk, they tell you things they didn't want to say, that wouldn't have normally said, [...] it opens them up. People tell you things they wouldn't normally say, you get into things, or even moods – people admit to you that they have a problem, and that person had complete depression, but thanks to drinking together, we were able to even help him. And it worked like that, when someone has a problem they wouldn't normally say, then they get drunk, has 4 beers, has a shot, and then it's all coming out and it enabled us to help him, especially since we'd see him more often and we were really friends, so we could help.*

| 25 | Maria | Vsetínsko | My jsme třeba na domek takhle všechno těžili z přírody [...] půlku toho domku stavil můj jako táta a ten všechno opravdu jako vytěžil to dřevo... nařezalo se to někde... a tak jak jsme pokračovali s [Mirkem], tak jsme dělali to samé. Takže to dřevo se těžilo z naší hory, nechalo se to zpracovat všechno na pořezu, měli jsme tam na podlahy, všechno, nábytek dělal všechno jako táta, tak to bylo [...]s tím že jsme to všechno dělali fakt sami. Anebo s kamarádama. Topení, a takové věci, byli kamarádi kteří pomohli pak k tomu [...]ta blízká komunita, rodina a a kamarádi | *For our house, for example, we extracted all the materials from nature [...] My dad had built half of the house, and really he got the wood... it got cut into pieces somewhere... and just like that we continued it with [Mirek], doing the same. So the wood got extracted from our hill, we got it processed, for the floors, he made the furniture and everything just like my dad, that's how it was [...] we really did it all on our own. Or with friends. The heating and such things, we had friends who helped [...] it was the close community; family and friends* |
| | Karel | | a ještě jsem měl jeden sen: postavit si barák na venkově, nebo téměř na samotě i s nějakým hospodářstvím, prostě s... nějakou zahradou ... kde bych si pěstoval i ty potraviny... že bych tam měl nějaká zvířata které bych potom jedl, to si moc netroufám, to spíš vůbec, mi přijde jednodušší vytrhnout mrkev než zabít králíka... [...] Ale k tomu teď jako nějak směřuju, myslel jsem si že se mi to podaří nějak dřív, vlastně ... [...] si stavím dům, v létě se tam asi budu stěhovat [...] ten princip toho DIY se mi vlastně osvědčil jakože když už nic tak jsem ušetřil spoustu peněz a řemeslníky. A naučil jsem se | *and I also had another dream: to build my own house in the countryside, or almost isolated, a homestead with, like... a garden... where I'd even grow food.... That I'd have some animals that I'd then eat – that I wouldn't really dare, not at all actually, I find it easier to pull out a carrot than to kill a rabbit... [...] But yes, that's what I'm aiming towards now, I thought I would achieve it earlier [...] I'm building my own house now, I'll be moving there in the summer. [...] the DIY principle really proved to be a good things, if anything, I saved a lot of money and people I would've otherwise hired. And I learned so much, improved my relationship with my* |

			spoustu věcí, zlepšil jsem si vztah s bratrem, bratr je stavební inženýr, a ten v rámci toho DIY nakreslil celý barák, jak to bude fungovat, konzultovali jsme to spolu, a mockrát jsme se pohádali třeba o fotovoltaice nebo využívání energií, ale jako úplně super...	*brother – he's a construction engineer and within this DIY process, he designed the whole house, how it's going to function, we consulted it together, and fought about it many times for instance when it came to solar panels or energy use, but like really great.*
26	Prokop	Ostravsko	kontrast toho nejbrutálnějšího svým způsobem co ta civilizace vymyslela na čem je postavena, a pak ta příroda, takovej průmyslovej-přírodní yin-yang	*contrasting [beautifully] in an artificial-natural yin yang*
27	Laura	Ostravsko	Za spirituálního člověka se asi jako svým způsobem považuju doteďka, protože, teda jako mám ráda fyziku, věřím ve vědu, jako vědecké uchopení mně je logické, myslím si že až umřu tak se proměním v humus a je to pro mě naprosto v pořádku [...] Takže v tomhletom nějak spiriutální jsem i přestože si myslím jako že se spousta věcí dá vysvětlit jako matematicky tak ale i věda je svým způsobem jako víra. V určité fázi my už jako věříme že ty věci takhle jsou, protože my už jako nemáme... laboratorní experimenty které by to jakoby potvrzovali, matematické výpočty, který řeknou jako jasně asi by to tak mohlo být, za nějakých podmínek ale nevíme jestli ty podmínky dokážou nastat nebo jsou to ideální podmínky... takže my vlastně věříme že vesmír je nekonečný, my věříme	*„I still consider myself a spiritual person to this day, because – I mean, I like physics, I believe in science and a scientific conception of the world is logical to me, I think that when I die I will become dirt and that is entirely fine with me [...] In this sense I am somewhat spiritual even though I do think that many things can be explained mathematically, but even science is a sort of faith in its own way. At some point, it's a form of belief when mathematical calculations tell us that things could be this way, under certain conditions but we don't know if these conditions could actually be realized, or if they're ideal... so we believe that the universe is infinite, we believe in the Big Bang theory – but it's a theory. [...] I think it's a form of faith, though [...] Today I'm much more fascinated when I find out*

			že je prostě Big Bang teorie – je to teorie. [...] A v tom je podle mě určitá víra [...] dneska mě možná mnohem víc fascinuje když zjistím že nějaká medúza dokáže produkovat něco, je tam nějaká fascinace nad tím světem, a jak tomu zase nerozumíme trochu... Než abych jako hledala nějaké spirituální knížky.	*that some jellyfish can produce something – there's a fascination with the world and how we still don't understand it... Instead of looking into some spiritual books [like I used to]."*
28	Miroslav	Vsetínsko	že prostě se z toho taky stává taková móda, být prostě usměvavý, a být pozitivní, a myslet jen na pěkné věci, a přijde mi že někteří si prostě nasadí růžové brejličky a nevidí takovou tu... že prostě všechno je růžový a všechno je v pohodě a to mi přijde taky jako špatně [...] že mi přijde, jakože by měl být takový protipól jakože dobře, ať se někdo věnuje takovým těm duchovním věcem, ale přijde mi že to je takový nasazování růžových brýlí a že se potom vytrácí vnímání i tady těch špatných věcí. Že oni vidí jen takový ty dobrý věci, že prostě svítí sluníčko.	*„I feel like it's also becoming a trend, to smile, and be positive, and only think of good things, and I feel like some people just put on rose coloured glasses and don't the... to see everything so brightly, I also don't think that that's completely good [...] I feel like there should be an opposite force to that, like sure, some people can spend their lives on these spiritual things, but I feel like if we all wear these rose coloured glasses, we stop paying attention to what's wrong. They only see the good things, that the sun is shining..."*

29	Viktor	Vsetínsko	Znám takové kteří jsou až tak zfanatizovaní a prostě věří v Boha až tak moc že nevidí nic jiného. A to je taky špatně, to je taky jistá forma toho že my ti budeme říkat jak budeš žít. Prostě Bůh je náš pán a nic jiného neexistuje a budeš se chovat podle toho. [...] Nepřemejšlej, tady máš desatero, můžeš zabít ale... Bůh ti odpustí. To je prostě špatně. A když vidíš na co si dělají nároky, dřív když byly ty Inkvizice, kolik zabili a upálil prostě nevinných lidí... a kolik... dělali tolik zla že to je horší než nevímco, taková falešná víra. Neštěstí. My jsme vždycky vystupovali proti tomu jako	*I know some people who are such fanatics, they believe in God so much that they don't see anything else. And that's also bad, it's also a form of being told how to live. God is our Lord and there's nothing outside of that and you will behave accordingly. [...] Don't think, here's the ten commandments, you can kill but... God will forgive you. That's not good. And then you see how entitled they are, before it was the Inquisitions, how many innocent people they killed and burned... They did more evil then I don't know what, such a fake faith. It's a shame. We've always been against that.*
30	Andrej	Ostravsko	Já to beru jako kulturní dědictví. Celkově jakože dědictví, je to genius loci. A proto tu možná není tolik ta spiritualita, protože tady je zase to.	*I understand it as a cultural heritage, a heritage, it's the genius loci. And perhaps that's why we don't have much spirituality here, because we have this instead.*
31	Andrej	Ostravsko	Nejsem ateista, spíš materialista. Spíš nějaké ty hmotné věci než ty duchovní. Takže nemůžu být ateista protože když jsou ty hmotné kostely... tak ty by nevznikly bez té víry. Tím pádem určitě existují všichni bohové které si lidi vymysleli i nevymysleli... *[...]* Jakože věřím že určitě jsou... Ale nic mi neříká to duchovno, ale radši si zajdu nasát tu atmosféru do toho nějakého starého kostela. Ale ne	*I'm not an atheist, more like a materialist. I prefer physical things to spiritual ones. So I can't be an atheist because since churches are material... They wouldn't have come to exist without the faith. Therefore, all these gods that people came up with – or didn't come up with – certainly exist [...] I believe that they dot... But it's the spiritual side that doesn't speak to me, I'd much prefer to take in the atmosphere of some old church.*

			to duchovno. Prostě to že to lidi tam postavili a je to tam.	*But not spirituality. Just the fact that people built it and it's there.*
32	Prokop	Ostravsko	Jestli já někde zdrhám před tou civilizací, tak jsou to Beskydy. Když někde budu chodit meditovat tak tady nejvyšší kopec Beskyd na Lysou Horu, tak tam si člověk jakoby pomedituje, ale zároveň jako vidí že ... prostě Ostrava je na plochu to nejzelenější město, tak tady vidí proslulost toho prostě industriálu s těma horama, a ve mě to evokuje jako kontrast toho nejbrutálnějšího svým způsobem co ta civilizace vymyslela na čem je postavena, a pak ta příroda, takovej průmyslovej-přírodní yin-yang bych skoro řekl.	*If there's anywhere I go to to flee civilization, then it's the Beskids. If I go somewhere to meditate, it's the highest mountain Lysá Hora, one can meditate there and... at the same time you can see how... well, Ostrava is the greenest city, and so you see the prominence of the industrialism with these mountains, it evokes in me like the contrast of the most brutal things that civilization came up with – and what it is built upon; and then the nature; it's some industrial-natural yin yang I'd almost say.*
33	Laura	Ostravsko	Mám pocit že kolem sebe mám kamarády se kterýma můžeme řešit poměrně hluboký věci a nemusí to jenom být existence Boha ale i otázky jako kdo jsme, jak jsme a jak se navzájem ovlivňujem, možná je to i tím že mám vystudovanou kulturní antropologii/sociologii [...] ale tím že [...] jsme tydle témata poměrně živě diskutovali tak... jako jo, to tam jako sklouzlo že prostě to není jenom politika, ale prostě i od té politiky se člověk kolikrát dostane k tomu jako proč to tak je, co je ta přirozenost, na čem to teda stojí...	*I feel like I keep friends around with whom I can discuss pretty deep things, and it doesn't just have to be the existence of God, but also questions of who we are, how we are and how we influence each other; perhaps it's also because I studied cultural anthropology/sociology [...] but because [...] we'd discuss these topics quite passionately, well, yeah, we'd end up there; it's not just like discussing politics – but even if you start from politics, you often end up asking why things are the way they, what is „natural", what is it all built on...*

| 34 | Laura | Ostravsko | To asi není k tématu ale pamatuju si že tu bylo velké uskupení kolem lidí z Godarchy, což byli lidi co byli vlastně anarchisti a zároveň byli křesťani. Ale asi mě překvapilo – jak pro mě bylo vždycky logický tolerovat ty lidi – vlastně naše 1. zkušebna byla na faře de facto jo? tak mi přišlo jako zvláštní když se potom hrozně řešilo jestli může křesťanský hardcore někde hrát, a nějaký kapely se proti tomu vymezovaly, a já si řikala „tyjo to jsme jako úplně mimo..." ale to mě nepřekvapilo a jsem možná ráda že jsem vždy zažila otevřenost, sice kritickou ale otevřenost. | *I remember Godarchy was a big topic, it was a group of anarchists who were also Christians. And I was surprised – because to me it's always been logical to tolerate these people – our own first rehearsal place was in a parsonage, so I always thought it was weird that it was such a big deal whether Christian hardcore can be played in certain venues, and then other bands would be so opposed to it, and I always thought „damn, we're completely wrong with this..."I wasn't surprised, but I'm happy I always experienced openness. Critical openness, but openness.* |
| 35 | Prokop | Ostravsko | Ale třeba když jsem na Slovensku nebo v Polsku, tak tě překvapí že taková jako světská subkultura vycházející z nějakých sociálně kritických pozic a která se naopak vymezuje aktivně proti kolikrát spiritualitě a nějakému náboženství tak [tam] jsem byl překvapenej že kolikrát k těm lidem přijdeš domů a visí ti křížek na dveřích. A když se začneš vyptávat tak zjistíš že i tady tihle největší pankáči který budou mět na sobě tričko s obráceným křížem ale doma bude jenom kříž – a mají toho pána boha, ale v takové jakoby zdravé podobě jako v sobě, a když se s nima bavíš, tak ty v podstatě; a zase mě jako historika ten | *But if you go to Poland or Slovakia, you'd be surprised that such a mundane subculture rooted in so many socially critical stances and which on the contrary often actively stands against spirituality and any religion, well, there, you'd be surprised at how many times you enter the homes of these people and there's a cross on the door. And when you start inquiring, you find out that often these biggest punks who will wear a t-shirt with the cross upside down, well at home they have the regular cross; and they [believe in] the lord, but they have him in a sort of healthy way inside of them, and when you talk to them – and as someone who's a studied* |

argument jako bere, že my si máme tendenci – a hlavně my ateisti v čechách – vykreslovat tu církev a celé křesťanství jako něco proti čemu máme bojovat, jako pilíř toho establishmentu a jako pilíř té společnosti. Prostě když se někomu řekne křesťanství, tak určitě pankáč nebo většina punkáčů si vybaví já nevim, čarodějnické procesy, a zneužívání dětí, a [...] církevní restituci a jak se s církví nakládá v rukavičkách. Ale právě bavil jsem se o tom s jedním slovenským punkáčem [...] kterej říkal že on v tom vidí „ty původní křesťany". Je fakt že jako ti původní křesťané byla sekta která jako svým způsobem reagovala na ten jakoby krutý život starověkého říma a která měla plno myšlenek o tom jak by se k sobě měli chovat hezky, slušně, měli by být k sobě ohleduplní, budovat lepší svět – a vím že v podstatě ti punkáči nedělají nic jiného, jo? Jenom prostě holt z každé emancipační myšlenky jakmile se stane nějaké dominantní kulturou tak se s ní má tendenci zkostnatět a stát se z ní takový jako moloch který naopak potom umí jakékoli bezpráví inkorporovat do sebe a jakkoli si ho zdůvodnit... tak jak mi to říkal: „No svatý Petr by dnes byl taky pankáč a nebyl by kněz". Takhle to shrnul. Takže v Čechách to moc neznám ale v

historian, I am taken by this argument that we have a tendency – and especially us atheists in Czechia – to paint the Church and Christianity as something to combat, as a pillar of the establishment and society. You will say „Christianity" and people will immediately think of the witch trials, abuse of children, [...] the restitution

and how the Church is dealt with carefully in politics. But I was talking with this one Slovak punk [...] who was saying that he considered the „original Christians" [in his faith]. And it's true that the original Christians were a sect that in a way were reacting to the sort of cruel way of life in Ancient Rome and they had many thoughts about how people should be nicer to each other, polite, considerate, they should build a better world – and I know that when it comes to the bases, that's what punks are doing! Except that every emancipatory thought, once it becomes the dominant culture, it [tends to incorporate all kinds of evils] and justify them... This is how he said it: „Well Saint Peter, had he lived today, he would have been a punk, not a priest." That's how he summarized it. So I haven't encountered it much in Czechia, but it's a lot in Slovakia and Poland. Not taking over a tradition because you've been

			Polsku a na Slovensku jsem se s tím hodně setkal, že ti pankáči – nejenom že přebereš nějakou tradici aniž bys nad tím přemýšlel, protože jsi tak vychovaný, jsi křtěný... ale že si v tom našli že prapůvodní křesťanství má stejné principy jako pankáči. Jako kdyby emancipační, světový boj za lepší svět. [...] Ale přišlo mi to jako zajímavá myšlenka, mám ji v hlavě a úplně nemůžu říct že bych s tím jako nesouhlasil.	*taught to, ... but because they found the original idea and found that it had the same principles as punk. Emancipatory principles, a fight for a better world. [...] I found that so interesting, I have the idea in my head and I cannot say that I disagree.*
36	Prokop	Ostravsko	pocit marnosti, umírající periferie, urbanistické specifikum, něčeho co je jakoby spojené trochu s tím pankáčstvím, že jsi jakoby vyjeděnec někoho koho ta společnost jdoucí dopředu hrozně rychle ožírající prostě likvidující všechno co je přírodní tak likvidující na všechno co je užitné člověku a nejlépe z toho bude nějaký jako zisk... a zároveň nechávající za sebou jako různé trosky a pozůstatky...	*a feeling of futility, a dying periphery, an urbanistic specificity, something a bit linked with punk, actually; being a misfit, someone [left behind] by this society which rapidly goes forward and eats away at everything that's natural, liquidating everything that's useful and to hopefully profit off of it,... and at the same time, leaving behind various ruins and remains...*
37	Prokop	Ostravsko	já to teda nejsem odborník a věřím že ta spiritualita jako hodně lidem pomáhá, tak já jsem to poznal v té jako vulgární podobě, vyprázdněné západní civilizace která ztratila svou spiritualitu a teď ji potřebuje dostat zabalenou jak hamburger v rámci nějaké debilní knížky a stejně tam za tím vidíš ten individualismus a dosažení	*I'm not an expert and I do believe that it helps many people, but because I encountered it in this vulgar shape, of this dull Western civilization that lost its spirituality and now needs to [consume it] wrapped like a hamburger in a dumb book – you just see the individualism and instrumentalism [...] – rather than the spirituality itself.*

			nějakého cíle který si [potřebuješ najít] přes nějakou spiritualitu než tu spiritualitu.	
38	Prokop	Ostravsko	ale kdybych tam mělo něco spirituálního nebo přesahujícího najít... [...] Možná že na poslední albu které vydala Sheeva Yoga tak se to jmenuje Vanitas Vanitatum, [...] což je částečně inspirováno barokním přístupem k realitě, že prostě... Je to spíš takové... deziluze z toho světa, barokní jako příklon k duchovnu v reakci na to jak je ten svět hroznej. Přímo [...] tohle rčení se hlavně používalo v Německu po třicetileté válce, Evropa byla celá zničená a lidi ztratili jakékoliv jakoby [...] pojivo té společnosti v tom že uznáváš že to jakoby funguje, že je tu jedno náboženství které lidem něco určuje tak vzhledem k tomu že se lidi byli schopný 30 let vyvražďovat kvůli tomu že jedni byli katolíci a druzí protestanti a dovést ji ke stavu kde ztratili 50% obyvatelsta, kdy tady jako 2/3 německých měst vypadaly dneska jak Mariupol, tak to vedlo k tomu že se lidi přimkli k takovému ... Ani ne nihilismus, byla to taková deziluze, pocit marnosti. A je to takové že už ani tak jak dost věcí funguje v binárních kategoriích dobro a zlo, a většinou ty jsi jakoby na té straně dobra, tak všechno ztrácí smysl. Ale pak máš jako dvě možnosti. Buď z toho utečeš tím	*But if I were to try and find something spiritual or transcendental in there [...]... Perhaps in the last album by Sheeva Yoga, it's called Vanitas Vanitatum [...] which is partly inspired by the baroque approach to reality, where... there's like... a disillusion from the world, leaning toward spirituality as a reaction to the horrors of the world. This [...] saying specifically, was used a lot in Germany after the Thirty Years' war, Europe was destroyed and people lost everything that [...] used to bind society in the sense that you accept that society works, that there's one religion which gives people direct, well since people were able to murder each other for 30 years because one was a Protestant and the other Catholic, and bring [society] to a state where they lost 50% of their population, and where two thirds of German cities looked like Mariupol today, well that caused people to lean toward... not like nihilism, but it was like a form of disillusion, a feeling of futility. It was not true anymore that the world worked in binary categories of Good and Evil, and generally you're on the side of the Good, [but now] everything is losing meaning. So you have two options: either you*

| | | | že jsi nihilista, to znamená že si řekneš „Ok tak srát na všechny pravidla, srát na všechny konvence a budu myslet jen na sebe a na své hedonistické užívání protože mi nic nedává smysl"... anebo je to jakoby že to baroko ani nikdy nesklouzlo k tomu že tu marnost a tu bezradnost nad tím světem... že ji budeš ventilovat v nějakém nihilismu, ale: víš že zlo je zlo... máš strach že to dobro umí být taky být pěkné zlo... ale když jsi nihilista tak si řekneš „OK tak když může být dobro zlo tak já se na to můžu vysrat a budu dělat jenom zlo." A když budeš mít pocit tady těch barokních umělců tak se spíš jako přimkneš k něčemu jakoby spirituálnímu, hledáš v tom jakoby nějakou útěchu, tušíš že to dobro to s ním není vždycky tak jednoduchý že by se stačilo postavit na jeho stranu, ale zároveň nechceš tu myšlenku opustit [...]. | *run away by becoming a nihilist, which means you say: „well okay, fuck all the rules, I'll only think of myself and my own hedonistic enjoyment since nothing makes sense to me"... The baroque didn't really go there, [...] they didn't vent through some nihilism, more like, you know that: Evil is Evil, ... and you're scared that the Good can also be pretty big Evil,... But if you're a nihilist you'll just say „Well if Good can be Evil then I'll just do Evil". But if you feel like these baroque artistists, you will lean toward something, like, kind of spiritual, and you look for reassurance there, you have a feeling that it's not always so easy that you can simply „be on the side of Good", but at the same time you refuse to fully abandon the idea...* |

| 39 | Viktor | Vsetínsko | Lidi tu žijou v drsném kraji. Taky s tou prací tu není žádná sláva, všichni makají tvrdě, dělají v nějakých fabrikách a tak. Ve velkých městech málokdo dělá v nějaké fabrice. Všichni chcou být intelektuálové,... tady se prostě fakt maká, někdo si tohle ani pořádně neuvědomuje. I z té Ostravy, tam jsou borci, dělají překladače v ČT nebo bedňáka | *People live in a rough region. It's not great here in terms of work, everyone works hard, in factories and stuff. In big cities, there's barely anyone who works in a factory. Everyone wants to be an intellectual, ... Here, we really work, some people don't even realize that. Even in Ostrava – there, people translate for the Czech TV, or they carry things in* |

			kdo tam poskakuje v nějakém divadle, nosí kulisy – takové „práce" – tady lidi chodí do fabriky, na pilu, svařujou, prostě od 6 do dvou, a pak až teprv mají čas a volno. [...]nemají čas asi myslet na takové kraviny jako je spiritualita. [...] Tady té práce opravdu není moc. Některé lidi to naplňuje, ale spíš jezdíš protože musíš a odbydeš si to. Lidi co třeba dojíždí 30km z vesnice, a nemůžou si stěžovat ani si vybírat protože té práce tu opravdu není hodně.	*a theater, these are „jobs" – here people will go to a factory, the sawmill, they weld, from 6 to 2pm, and only then do they have time for leisure [...] they do not have time to thing about stupid things like spirituality. [...] There really isn't that much work here. It doesn't really fulfill some people, but you go because you've got to, you put up with it. People will drive from a village 30 km away, and they can't pick and choose or complain, because there's really not that much work available.*
40	Karel	Vsetínsko	Taky se tam hodně podepisuje že tu odchází mladí lidé z toho města. Je to pohraniční město, a to není moc ... možnost se realizovat. Že třeba takový člověk který vystuduje... sociologii... to jsou třeba obory s kterýma se člověk tady vůbec neuplatní.	*What's also impacting things is that young people leave the town. It's border town, there's not many... possibilities for self-realization. For instance someone who studied... sociology... these are fields we don't really have a use for here*
41	Maria	Vsetínsko	A to jsme právě vždycky říkali že někteří lidi z té punkové scény, to co měli v sobě, tu sílu a tu kreativitu, že to zabili právě tím chlastem a tím nic neděláním, a ti co do toho opravdu šli a využili ten potenciál tak jsou opravdu někde a dokázali to vytáhnout. Opravdu znám i terapeutky co byly předtím v punku a jsou fakt dobré. [ti co to zabili] byli v té punkové scéně dlouho. Dlouho.	*We've always been saying this, there's some people from the punk scene, what they had in them, this force and creativity – they killed it by the booze, and not doing anything, and those who went and really utilized their potential, they're really somewhere and managed to do something with that. Really, I even know women who are therapists and used to be in punk before and they're really good. [The ones who killed their*

				creativity] were on the punk scene for a long time. A long time.
42	Maria	Vsetínsko	*Vnímáš to jako nějaké tvoje kořeny? Spirituálně?* Ano. Ano. Kreslím je i, kreslím hodně třeba na sklo a na dřevo a takže hodně používám i ty lidové motivy. *Spojila bys to nějak s tím punkem?* Je to furt ta kreativita prostě.	Do you perceive this as your roots? Do you perceive it spiritually? *Yes, yes. I draw [these motives], I draw them a lot on glass and wood, I use the vernacular motives a lot.* How would you connect this spirituality with punk? *Again, it's about the creativity.*
43	Miroslav	Vsetínsko	já si myslím že k té přírodě by se vždycky měl chovat ten respekt, mně vždycky se líbili ti Indiáni, tahle optika jejich mi vyhovuje, samozřejmě to je jejich, nedá se to s našimi evropskými jakoby viděním světa ale přijde mi jako... že oni to brali tak nějak přirozeně. Nevím jak to vysvětlit [...] myslím že si zachovali tu... že děkovali za to jídlo, a tak že to jako... si myslím že to je taková přirozená pokora, i úcta k těm zvířatům jako když zabili to zvíře pro svoji potravu, tak se omluvili.	*I think that some respect should always be had toward nature, I always liked the native Americans, this lens of theirs, it fits me. Of course it's theirs, it can't really be [connected] with our European worldview really, but I feel like... they understood it quite naturally. I don't know how to explain it [...] I think they kept this... they would thank for food and... I think it's some sort of natural humility, a respect toward the animals, like when they'd kill the animal to eat it, they apologized.*
44	Miroslav	Vsetínsko	Tak jako... pohani no. My jsme byli vždycky takoví... asi taky pohani [...] To pohanství je pro mě bližší než nějaký ty náboženské... S tím by se člověk i jako ztotožnil nebo s tou	*Well, pagans, yeah. [Us punks] we've always been sort of.. pagans, I guess. [...] Paganism is closer to me than some religious... It's something one could relate to more, or relate it*

			spiritualitou nějakou než... ty ezo a tady ty blbosti.	*to spirituality, more than... the eso stuff and these stupid things.*
45	Karel	Vsetínsko	Když byla... taková módní vlna buddhismu, tak to tady... speciálně myslím že v Jablůnce tam jako kluci... hodně k tomu inklinovali k buddhismu, 3-4 lidi určitě na tom ujeli, že jezdili i na ty jejich srazy ... [....] jezdil na ty Ašrámy, jako... něco tam budovat... Ten buddhismus se tady projevil, když tady nad tím přemýšlím.	*When there was... like, the trend of buddhism, well it, here... especially I think in Jablůnka, the guys... were really leaning toward that, 3-4 people definitely went for it, they would go to their gatherings [...] [one guy] would go to their Ashrams, like... to build something there... Buddhism was definitely here, now that I'm thinking about it.*
	Maria		anebo místo které mám moc ráda je tady nad Francovou Lhotou a je tam horský hotel Antarik co mají buddhisti, a... tam jako je asi prostor pro 100 lidí a meditace ve velkém, takže ta energie jako když tam přijdeš tak je to úplně nádherné. Mají tam svojí restauračku s kavárnou, já to mám kousek, procházka tak 3 hodinky, dám si tam kafčo, projdu se se psem, a je to super.	*Or also one place I really like is here above Francova Lhota, a hotel called Antarik, owned by Buddhists. It's a space for like a hundred people, they do meditations in big groups, so the energy ... like you come there and it's absolutely gorgeous. They have their own restaurant and café, it's not so far from my place; a three hour walk, I take the dog, get have a coffee there, it's great.*

Appendix 2: Song lyrics provided by the informants, with small commentaries.

2a. Miroslav's lyrics (Vsetín).

Když paprsek oslní oči

Vykolejí tě dětský smích

Za ptačího skřeku procitneš

Uprostřed snu

Každý máme úskalí

Každodenní skuhrání

(ref) Stojí za to žít

Radovat se z malých věcí

Vykašli se na pinožení

Mysli raději na povyražení

Opona se zatáhla za úplného přítmí

Stínohra oslňuje tahy po šachovnici

Pěšáci sehrávají role podle pravidel

Spílající masa hází hrách o stěnu

(ref) Budou jednat o nás – bez nás

Jednají takhle vždycky bez nás

Zpětnou vazbu od nich nečekej

K čertu se starými křivdami.

translation:

When the sunbeam illuminates the eyes

You get derailed/disturbed by a child's laughter

You wake up to the sound of birds

In the middle of a dream

We all have moutains to climb

Everyday whimpers

(ref) Living is worth it

So is joy from the small things

Stop needlessly struggling

Rather go and consider having some fun

The curtain fell in complete darkness

The moves across the chessboard are illuminated by the shadowplay

The pawns play their roles by the rules

*The masses' complaints are futile*

(ref) They will make deals about us - without us,

They always make decisions without us,

Don't expect feedback from them,

To hell with old grievances.

Commentary:

These lyrics were provided by Miroslav, who placed a lot of importance on the relationships humans do, do not, and should have with nature. He also mentioned that he got eventually tired from writing lyrics about how he's feeling bad, so he decided to write lyrics with the message of (in his words) "Fuck it, live your life". These lyrics were provided by him when asked if he ever wrote anything that he perceived spiritually.

This text epitomizes some of the Vsetín characteristics that were apparent throughout this study; namely the pronounced presence of nature which is found through natural elements in the lyrics (the sun, the birds singing, the "mountains to climb"); and the rejection of punk as a vehicle for political change: the "deals about us - without us" are an explicit reference to the Munich treaty where politicians agreed to sacrifice the Czechoslovak nation to appease Hitler's demands. In this song's context, the lyrics prompt the listener to quit the rat race because he or she will not be recognized for her or his efforts, rather, the listener should focus on being happy. This is a great example of the Rožnov influence on a conception of existential resistance through a lifestyle with alternative rules and norms, rather than the attempt to enact political change.

2b. Viktor's lyrics (Vsetínsko).
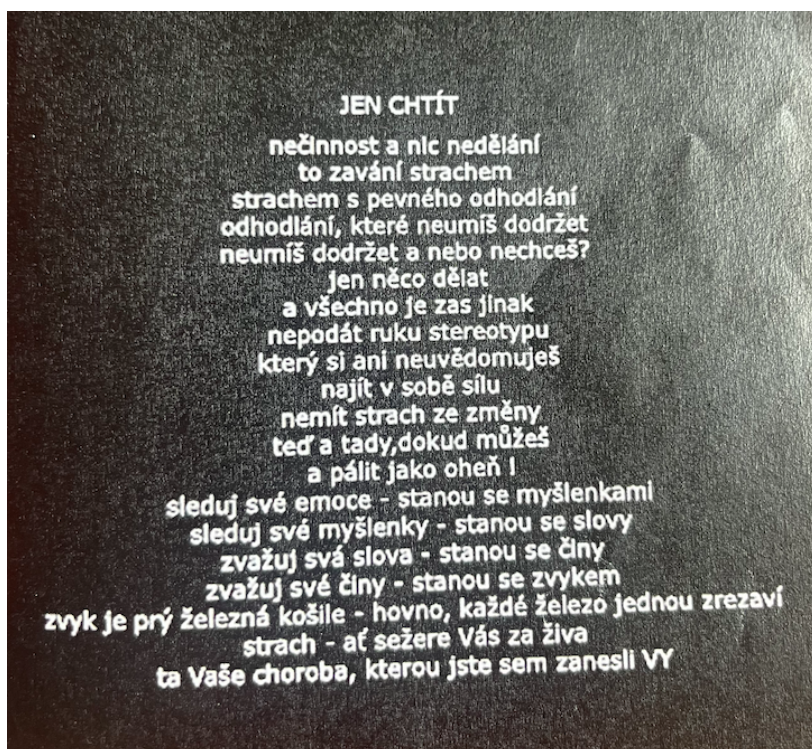
translation:

<div align="center">

Just to want

Not doing anything

That smells like fear

Fear from unwavering determination

Determination that you cannot sustain

Cannot, or will not?

Just do something

And everything is different

Don't shake hands with a stereotype

A stereotype you don't even see/realize

Find the strength inside of yourself

Don't be scared of change

Here and now, for as long as you can

Burn like fire!

Watch your emotions - they become thoughts

Think about your thoughts - they become actions

*Think about your actions - they become habits*

They say a habit is an iron shirt - lies. All iron rusts away

</div>

But fear will eat you alive

Let it, it's your sickness, that YOU brought here.

Commentary:

These were provided by Viktor, they are lyrics from his band, photographed in the leaflet with the lyrics that they provided with their vinyl album editions. He did not make any commentary as to the lyrics' transcendence, so they should not be understood as such. This particular song goes to show the importance of not becoming a passive person in DIY punk, remaining active and engaged. It also underlines that remaining in this state requires some amount of determination.
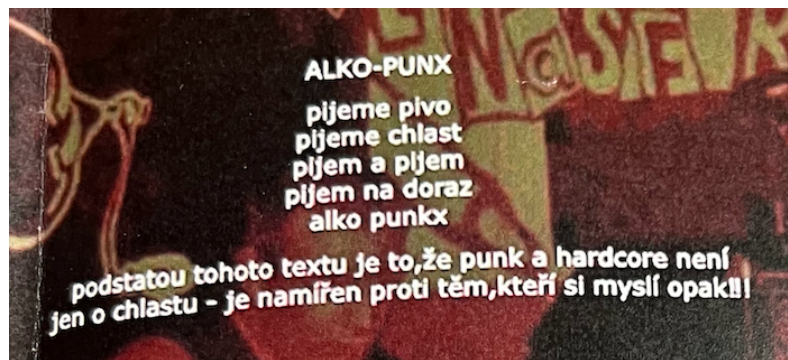
translation:

Alco-punx

We drink beer

We drink booze
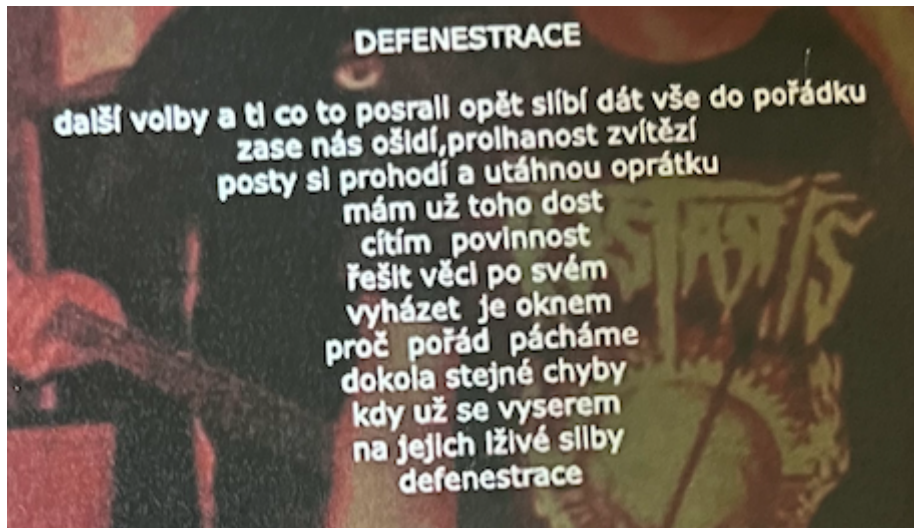
We drink and we drink

We drink until we can't

Alco-punx

"these lyrics are meant to make the point that hardcore punk is not all about booze. It is meant for everyone who thinks the contrary"

Commentary:

This illustrates tellingly the point brought up by Maria about the scene becoming a toxic place for some people, due to the influence of alcohol.

translation:

<div align="center">

Defenestration

Another election, and those who made a mess are promising again to put everything back

together

They will make fools out of us again, lies will win

They will switch places between each other and tighten the noose,

I'm fed up with it

I feel a responsibility

To deal with it my way

To throw them out the window

Why do we keep on

Repeating the same mistakes

When will we stop indulging

Their false promises

Defenestration

</div>

Commentary:

This text also echoes the Rožnov disillusionment with modern politics. The lyrics are alluding to several known elements of Czech history: defenestrations (Czechia has had a few and they happened in instances of political upheaval), and the line "lies will win" refer to the Czech motto, "Truth and Love will trump Lies and Hate", implying that it has been tainted. These lyrics should likely not be understood as a political project in pursuit of change by employing

the Czech means of defenestration. Instead, it should be understood in light of the style allowing one to use screams for a cathartic way of making peace with the fact that there are things one can't change, as appeared more typical in Vsetínsko's punk.
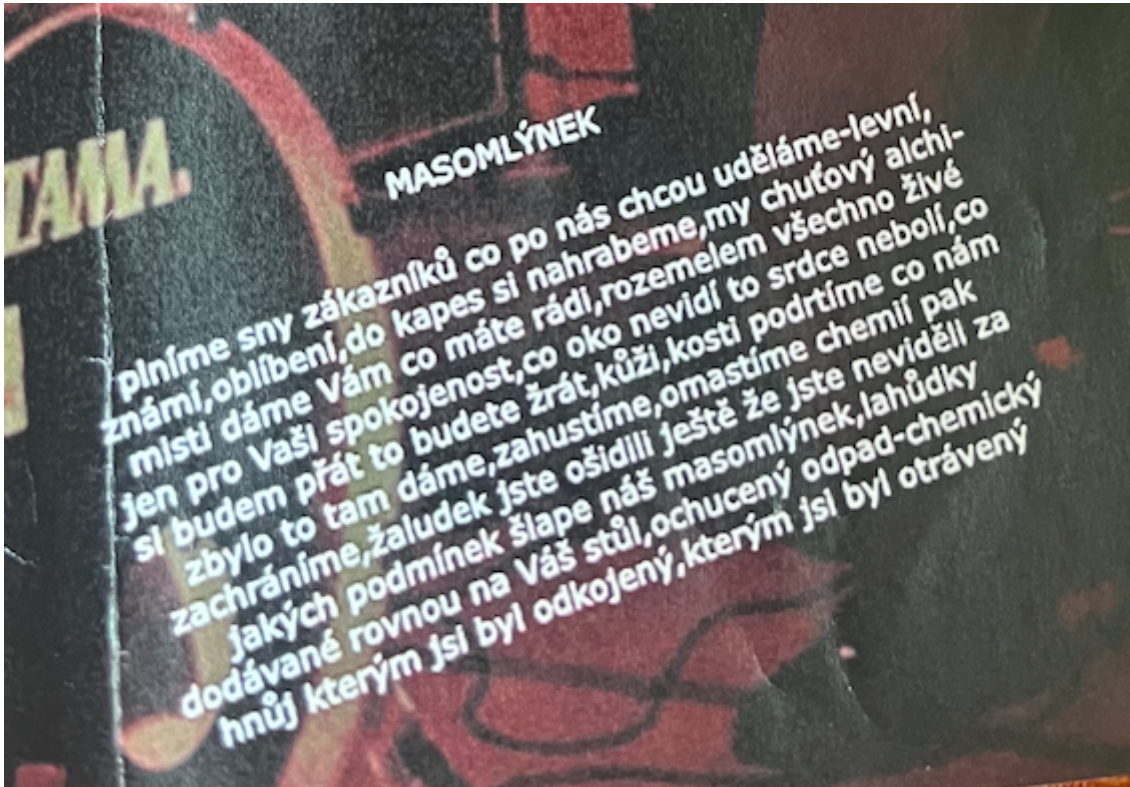
translation:

Meat Mincer

We make our clients' dreams come true, they want it cheap - we can do that,

famous, favourite, we'll fill our pockets,

alchemists of taste we'll give you what you like, we'll mince everything that's alive,

just for Your enjoyment, what the eye cannot see won't hurt the heart,

what we want you to eat, you will eat, skin, bones, we'll grind everything that's left

we'll put it there, condensate, add some chemical grease, then save it,

you lied to your stomach, thankfully you didn't see under which conditions the mincer is working,

delicious stuff, delivered right to your table, flavored trash,

chemical dung, it nurtured you, it poisoned you.

Commentary:

While it would be incorrect to assume that animal rights and GMO/organic foods are an exclusively Vsetín cause (this is not the case, it is known of and criticized in punk at large), it should be noted that the importance of this issue, and its articulation, is particular here. Informants here were more likely to have animals and therefore had a closer relationship with them, but it is also the attention given to materials that transpires through these lyrics. In other instances, the importance given to materials was epitomized by the way punks on this scene approached the DIY construction of their own homes.

BEZE JMÉNA

před ní neunikneš
před ní se neschováš
ať je to dnes či zítra
vždycky vyjde najevo

před ní neunikneš před ní se neschováš
ať je to dnes či zítra vždycky vyjde najevo
může být krutá nebo radostná s tím nikdo nic nenadělá
ona totiž vždycky vyjde najevo

NO NAME

you can´t escape before it
you can´t hide before it
if it´s today or tomorrow
it always go out

you can´t escape before it you can´t hide before it
if it´s today or tomorrow it always go out
it can be cruel or gladly nobody can do anything
anyway it go out

Commentary:

This song was about the truth. Even though the informant himself made it clear that the Truth, discussions of Good and Evil were not spiritually based on this scene. They were simply located in the secular realm of ethics.

VÍME, ŽE...
...Je mnoho způsobů, jak se dá žít, je mnoho cest, kterými se dá jit
a my jsme si našli tu svou, víme že nechceme svoje životy dát tak lehce do cizích rukou
a taky víme, že ne každému můžeme věřit
proto chceme a budeme si bránit to málo co máme - nástroje jsou naše zbraně
to co děláme, jak hrajeme jde z nás, nechceme se po nikom opičit,
nechceme se do nikoho srát, ale taky nechceme aby se sral někdo do nás
a tak to chceme dělat tak dlouho jak jen to bude možné!
WE KNOW THAT...
...There´s many of ways how to live, there´s a many ways to go
and we´ve found the one, we know we don´t want to give our lives in hands of strangers
and we know we can´t trust to everyone, so we want to safe the little what we have
- the tools are our weapons
when we do, like we play, it goes from ourselves, we don´t want to ape noone
we don´t want to be a pain in noone ass, so don´t be a pain in ours
so we want to do it as long as it´s possible

Commentary:

Note how "our tools [musical instruments] are our weapons" echoes Rožnov's "The Mic is our Bomb" slogan. This particular piece is a testament to the importance of creativity in Vsetínsko, and creating music that comes from within, which was a direct result of the lack of translocal models to reproduce and vernacularize.

ZDROJ
Tak si přivstaň ať to vidíš, tak nechoď spát ať to cítíš
tak si přivstaň ať ho vidíš, tak nechoď spát ať ho cítíš
THE SOURCE
So get up to see it, so don´t go to sleep to feel it
So get up to see him, so don´t go to sleep to feel him

Commentary:

Viktor explained that this song specifically was about the sun. In his words: "not everyone realizes how such a normal thing as the sun… it's the source of all life on Earth! People think it's self-evident [...] I was smoking a joint on a tree, eating cherries and my thinking goes there, and I realize that such an obvious thing - the sun, right? And yet without it, I wouldn't even be there… [the guys from the band] didn't see that though, I had to explain the lyrics to them."

2c. Viktor's fanzine.

MALIGNANT TUMOUR -
Vrah 01

SHEEVA YOGA features most of the SOCIAL DEFORMITY line up {active around the mid of 90's} playing crazy mix of power violence, jazz and few other styles thrown in. Split 7" w/NOT and another one w/STERBEHILFE out {both on Hyenyzm}, split 7" w/MORE BAD NEWS planned. If you like SPAZZ, MEXICAN POWER AUTHORITY or THIRD WORLD PLANT, you will like SHEEVA YOGA {Viki Wojtanovský, Poste Restante, 720 00 Ostrava 20, sheevayoga@popstar.com}.

There are few clubs for HC/punk/grind gigs in Ostrava, but they keep closing and opening again all the time, so there's no point in mentioning their names.

Not so far away from Ostrava is the city of Bohumín — w/great hardcore history back during the first half of 90's {HEARTLINE, CUL DE SAC, NOISE ATTACK, I.N.D....}, today there's only **HIBAKUSHA** — heavy grinding crust w/several tapes, full CD on Impregnate Rec. and split 7" w/ DEPRESY MOUSE out soon in cooperation of more labels incl. **Killing Art Rec.** – label of their drummer. This band is active already since mid of 90's, but playing only few gigs here and there {Marek Letocha, kpt. Jaroše 772, 735 14 Orlová, hiba@email.cz}.

Commentary:

This short article about the Ostravan scene epitomizes the struggle to keep an independent scene with autonomous spaces alive.