1. Introduction: electronic music, globalization, and the Italian periphery

The relation between globalization and local music is a spicy question in today’s popular music studies, as well as in wider contemporary cultural theory. Arjun Appadurai, for example, discussing the “modernity at large”, brings to light the example of the ability of Filipinos to reproduce American melodic songs in a better way than Americans do (Appadurai, 1996, p. 48). From a more musical point of view, the ethnomusicologist Steven Feld pointed out how the effects of globalization on world music have been viewed by scholars with a contradictory opposition between anxiety about the commodification of original cultures and celebration of the positive hybridization of the same cultures (Feld, 2000).

If we consider world music or older popular genres such as Motown, Appadurai recalls, it is relatively clear which is the “original” culture. From this point of view, the question appears to concern how the effects of globalization influence original musical cultures. I feel, however, that the local-global debate should take a step forward and that the case of electronic music is particularly apt for this purpose.

The question at this point is how to conceive the relationship between local and global in a musical field - electronic music – in which this relationship is much less clear than it is in original and locally-rooted music. And, more specifically, how to rethink the local-global relationship in analyzing musical forms which do not present an explicit characterization of their locality through direct aesthetic features, as happens with traditional or ethnic instrumentations or with the use of a specific language. More generally, it is necessary to examine the global-local dialectic of these musical forms, probably the first product of the accelerated processes in transnational flows of technology, media and popular culture - as far as musical instruments, musical styles, and ways of listening are concerned – and particularly of what is happening in popular electronic music.

Although Italy can boast about its original contributions to “highbrow” electronic music history with artists such as Russolo, Berio Maderna and Nono, it does not appear to have made the same contribution to popular electronic music. The apparently poor presence of Italian popular electronic music in today’s global music flow is partly due to the weakness of the Italian music industry, but it clearly needs to be rethought with further historical reconstruction and a deeper consideration of...
example of the label Irma Records. Then we will consider the rave-based hardcore techno “scene” at the end of the 90s in Bologna, the musical output of the techno tribe Teknomobilisquad, and the sampling practice of the experimental techno label Sonic Belligeranza.

We will show that the dialectic between local and global in electronic music is of particular interest in understanding how a musical periphery can not only rearticulate global genres in a local context, but also – more profoundly – how this periphery is able to rearticulate the different practices of musical thought in meeting global flows of culture and music. Specifically, we will show how “dissimulation” of their local origins and practices of both “exoticism” and “citationism” are used in response to niche global music markets. Finally, we will consider these practices in the light of the concepts of “deterritorialization” and “reterritorialization” introduced by James Lull (1995) and others in order to explain the relationship between culture, media and globalization.

2. “Dissimulated” Italo-Disco, House music and the “exoticism” of local identity

Italian Disco and House represent the most important Italian contribution to popular electronic music. In fact, during the 80s, various specific definitions were coined to define this kind of music, such as “Spaghetti Disco”, “Italo-House” and “Riviera Beat” (Pacoda, 1999).
Disco music seems to have landed in Italy at the end of the 70s, when a singer of the balera – a typical dancing place in the Riviera Romagnola – asked the Bolognese producer Mauro Malavasi to remix an old song from the 60s, following “those new rhythms which were trendy in the USA” (Mazzi, 2002). In fact, the history of Italian Disco and House is connected to the experience of a few disco producers of the 70s. In those years, some Italian producers gained global success with disco tracks based on funk arrangements and on early attempts at producing sample-based music. Some producers, such as Mauro Malavasi and Celso Valli, were creating disco music under many pseudonyms, such as Change, Macho or B.B. and Q band for the international market. These people had mostly had traditional training in music and had often studied at music conservatories. In the mid-70s, they went to New York, where they learnt the “new groove” in the temples of disco music, such as the Paradise Garage and Studio 54. Then, they came back in Bologna where they produced basic song patterns, played by local musicians. At the end of the process, they went to New York once more, looking for black American singers and modern studios in which to do the final mix.

In a 1993 article, Ross Harley noted how the work of these Italian disco bands, such as Change and Black Box, reflected the coming of what Foucault defined as a “culture where discourse would circulate without any need for an author” (Harley, 1993, p. 217). Indeed, these producers were not the authors in conventional music terms. Their names did not appear on the covers, and their musical projects were always under pseudonyms, which they continuously changed. These albums did not have references to these artists and producers, excluding minor references inside the album. Normally, on the covers there was only the name and the photo of the singer, who was certainly not the main contributor to a track. Sometimes, for example in the case of Change’s albums, the cubist-style covers of the LPs were abstract, showing only geometrical figures on a white background with no images.

Their productive routine was also challenging the classic ways of producing popular music. These producers were making the music in Italy, and then going to New York to add the voice and do the final mix. They used mainly black American vocalists such as Luther Vandross (who was launched by Malavasi and later became a superstar in black music), Diva Gray and Fonzi Thornton. This music was an Italian product, but it was also a global product in which titles, speech, distribution and sales were international. As Mauro Malavasi, one of the protagonists of these productions, says about their musical practice, the production was a mixture of Italian and global resources.
Harley also notes that these Italian producers were very good at catching the right grooves and reproducing them. Malavasi’s Change “carefully mimicked the sound of the hyper disco band Chic with expert precision” (Harley, 1993, p. 215). In any case, Change represents a piece of dance music history, as shown by the fact that the single “Paradise” became one of the top 50 hits played at the Warehouse club in Chicago, the place where house music was born at the beginning of the ’80s (Brewster and Broughton, 1999, p. 453). Therefore, their production was a mixture of many factors: the traditional Italian training at music schools; the opportunity offered by the presence in Bologna of good local musicians and of a recording studio for Italian popular music; the connection of these Italian producers with the New York producer Jacques Fred Petrus and their experience of new clubs such as the Paradise Garage in NY; the ability to mix the Italian sense of melody and the soul attitude of black American singers. Indeed, the success of these productions has been explained as the result of combining Italian melody with American musicality, a formula as well suited to listening as to dancing. Concerning the musical form, Italo-disco brought Italian melody again to the fore in combination with the soul feeling of the black singers (Montana, 1990).

Another generation of Italian producers was at the centre of other popular international successes in house music at the end of the 90s. The band Black Box, founded by the DJ Daniele Davoli, the computer whiz Mirko Simoni and the classical clarinettist Valerio Semplici achieved global success in 1988 with the track “Ride on time”. This track, based on a sample of the voice of the American singer Loletta Holloway reached number one in the UK singles hit parade. Black Box’s “Ride on time” was also more melodic than other contemporary productions. The journalist Simon Reynolds narrates the success of this track thus:

“At the end of the summer of ’89, big raves were dominated by an absurd sound defined “Italo-house” – voices of disco divas and oscillating piano vibrations – born on the beaches of Rimini and Riccione” (Reynolds 1998, it. trans. 2000, p. 92)
Many of these Italian productions were based on the implicit strategy of “dissimulation” of local identity. The names of the projects were always Anglophone, as were the titles of the tracks. The singers were mostly black Americans, which was essential in giving the track – as Malavasi pointed out – “that soul attitude, that anger, that spirituality”.

But what was going on in Italy in the 70s in the dance music world? The main place for dance culture in Italy was the Riviera Adriatica, the coast 100 kilometres from Bologna. This was also where, in 1974, House took on a specific form in Italy, with the disco club Baia degli Angeli, three years before the Paradise Garage opened in New York. There also developed a specific sub-genre of House music, represented by the Italian djs Daniele Baldelli and Mozart under the name of Cosmic Afro, an old style which has been rediscovered in the last few years by the British musical press as well (Oldfield, 2002).

In that period on the Riviera, small distributors of dance mixes started their own activity in order to furnish local djs. It was from one of these distributors that the most popular Italian electronic music label of today was born in 1989, Irma Records. Irma was founded in Bologna by Umberto Damiani and Massimo Benini as a small label, producing dance mixes for the djs of the Riviera. They followed the popularity of the disco clubs which were exploding in those years, best represented by famous disco clubs such as the Cocoricò in Riccione and the Echos in Misano Adriatico. Irma Records annually produces more than half a million copies of its releases and now works mainly with foreign music markets.

For Irma, the strategy of “exoticism” seems to be a winning choice, especially in countries where Italian style represents a general cultural attraction, such as in Japan. Irma also has a web site especially for the Japanese market and many of their compilations use an Italian or Mediterranean identity to characterize the product. Explaining this connection to Japanese distribution, an Irma executive jokingly says:

“Recently the Japanese market has also become relevant … in fact, we jokingly say that the real artistic director of Irma is no longer Umberto, but the head of Japanese distribution, that when he tells us what to do, we do it… it’s a joke, obviously, but the Japanese market has become so important for us that now when we make records, we think: will the Japanese like it? (Interview with Pierfrancesco Pacoda)

For example, Irma’s compilations Future Sound of Italy (1999) and Italian Dance Classics (1997) are titles that refer to their Italian identity. The language of presentation of the CDs appears to be that of an international product, as one can understand from the
3. Hardcore Techno, nomad tribes and high culture sampling

Hardcore techno is probably the fastest and most abrasive form of dance music. It started in Britain’s Second Summer of Love in 1988 and became successful during the 90s in the illegal rave scene, first in the UK and then in continental Europe.

As Simon Reynolds also narrates in Ecstasy Generation, the city of Bologna was a centre for the hardcore techno style during the mid-90s. Indeed, at the beginning of the decade, many UK techno tribes had to move away from Britain due to police repression of the illegal rave scene. But, as James Lull notes, “culture never dies, even in conditions of orchestrated repression” (Lull, 1995, p. 152). Therefore, it was a process of forced deterritorialization which marked the coming of the hardcore techno rave style to Bologna and it can be seen as what we can define as the “rave diaspora” from the UK. So, British tribes established their base in a small town near Bologna, Santarcangelo, where for example, one famous tribe, the Mutoid Waste Company has existed since 1990 (Reynolds, 1998, p. 196). These tribes found a good cultural environment in Bologna, represented by the tradition of squats and the anarchist political tendencies of that period.

Indeed, when Spiral Tribe moved away from the UK, they in some way exported a subculture and sowed the seeds of rave culture in the region. As a result, in 1996 a hardcore techno scene began to develop in Bologna, with indigenous tribes such as Teknomobilisquad and Olstad (originally from Turin). In that period, Bologna also held some Technivals, European events which involve many European techno tribes. The local tribes organised illegal parties on the outskirts of Bologna in the period 1996-1999, until here too police repression became stronger and these tribes had to move or definitively stop organizing fully illegal raves.

But the process of development of the local rave scene did not stop. In 1998, a rave parade was organized in the city for the first time, following similar experiences in Berlin and Zurich. The latest (9th) edition in 2005 brought together nearly 100,000 young people. While today fully illegal rave parties are no longer possible, raves in a similar style are organized weekly in the centri sociali, and especially at Livello 57.

Belonging to a “strong” subculture, the hardcore techno production of the Bologna Tribe Teknomobilisquad does not need to make its local identity explicit. They do not need to dissimulate their own Italian identity, nor do they use their Italian identity to give their production a dimension CDs’ covers and booklets, which are all in English. It could be argued that in these cases, Italian identity is not used as a naturalistic reference to the music and to the production, but rather as a conscious tool to stimulate exoticism and curiosity in foreign markets.
of exoticism and curiosity. In this sense, it can be argued that in the hardcore techno scene characterised by a strong subcultural capital (Thomthon, 1995), exoticism is not a useful strategy, because of the high cultural competence required to join the techno scene. For the same reason, dissimulation also appears to be of little use because it is a field of restricted cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 53), in which the audience often coincides with the producers, since they know each other directly. This aspect is reflected in the fact that this kind of music is made by people - and for people - who are part of a European network in which local identity represents only an element of a wider belonging to a nomadic youth movement.

While the dj mixes produced by Teknomobilquad (TMS) are aesthetically identical to other European productions, it can also be observed that the form of their music is different from that of other European tribes, such as French and Dutch ones. In particular, Italian hard-core music has more melody, because, having a different attitude to its European cousins, it also samples melodic punk patters of chords. Moreover, the music at the parties is different, more Mediterranean, as the musician Lou Chano of TMS tells us:

“The Italian style was contaminated by the punk experience and the vibra from southern Italy, since the Teknomobilquad musicians came from there. The Dutch said that it wasn’t a heavy style like theirs, it was happier, there was melody, punk riffs, not just bass rhythms. Also a bit funky and disco” (Interview with Lou Chano).

The dominance of a melodic attitude in hardcore techno is very interesting because it indicates a clear continuity with the Italian Disco and House tradition. It seems that in electronic music as well, Italian musical identity is characterized by the national melodic tradition also represented by popular artists such as Domenico Modugno or Lucio Battisti.

Another tribe from Bologna, Sonic Belligeranza, makes more extreme experimental techno, but with a more cultural attitude. For example, a Sonic Belligeranza track on the 2001 French compilation Par tous le trous necessaires on the electronic music label Cavage can help us to understand another way of presenting and representing the Italian cultural specificity of these kinds of music. Indeed, Dj Balli created a speed techno track Mangia, mangia, mangia? based on samples from Pierpaolo Pasolini’s film Le Cento Giornate di Sodoma, a very provocative Italian movie from the 60s. Further Sonic Belligeranza productions that sample traditional Italian jingles, such as the public television’s Intervallo, explicitly recall a cultural politic of “Italo-exploitation” as a recontextualization of the “black exploitation” (or “blaxploitation”) strategy in American cultural
production. This appears to be a different strategy to make the Italian identity of the local roots of electronic music explicit, which we can define as the strategy of “citationism”. It seems to be a way of consciously making a local identity explicit in a music scene characterized by high-subcultural capital.

4. Rethinking the role of the local: practices of representation, deterritorialization and reterritorialization

We have looked at some of the historical developments of Italian electronic music and especially that from Bologna, which is an important centre for electronic music in Italy. But the question now is why Bologna, more than other cities, has interacted so deeply with international music production. And how to explain the role of the local-global dialectic in generating the musical identity representation in the field of electronic music.

As regards the role of Bologna, we can conceive the role of the local as a question of serendipity. Speaking of this, the social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz, analyzing the role of the city in world cultural production, says that it is not only the quantitative factor represented by the population density. In a world characterized by extreme cultural complexity, the city is important because “it always also offers new occasions of serendipity; things can be found when they are not looked for, because they stay around us” (1992, p. 263). The quality that enables some cities to emerge in international cultural production resides “in the easy, or even insistent, availability of cultural interfaces” (ibidem).

Moreover, focusing on music and particularly on the role of the local in an international cultural flow, we have to focus on what Stahl described - criticizing the concept of subculture – as “the insistence, the scene’s social persistence, a demand and desire that cultural life in the city be made meaningful in a different way” (Stahl, 2003, p. 63). Partially bypassing the distinction between musical genres, the understanding of local music’s role in a global world may be considered as the history and attitude of a place. And so also the concept of habitus proposed by Pierre Boudieu (1979) could be used to make sense of a local musical scene habitus, in so doing taking into consideration how a specific place creates a musical “agency” in the global world as the result of a creative adaptation to a structural system of opportunities, ideologies and causalities.

We have seen that the Italian disco and house production, which has achieved international success, has been a product of the traditional dance culture in Emilia Romagna, that of the balere; of the presence of Italian popular music studios and musicians in the city; of the technical training in the highly conservative Italian music conservatories such as the case of Mauro Malavasi; of the rock scene that has existed in the city since the end of the 70s (Rubini and Tinti, 2003).

We have also seen that, while in early 90s disco
music a practice of “dissimulation” characterized the construction of the local national identity, the affirmation of Italo-House at the end of the decade led to a practice of “exoticism” in the international dissemination of Italian music.

Hardcore techno developed in the city starting from a UK nomadic tribe who came to the region because of the presence of a theatre festival: they found a cultural and social *humus* in the politically-oriented sites of the *centri sociali* in which to develop their cultural practices; at the same time, a strong tradition of literary production created the context for rearranging the anti-cultural tendency of techno through the more conscious sampling activity of new musicians.

In the case of these strong subcultural fields, “dissimulation” and “exoticism” do not represent active strategies. After a process of deterritorialization, such music also experimented with a further process of reterritorialization (Lull, 1995). This further reterritorialization enabled Italian techno tribes to redefine their own specificity through direct interaction with other foreign tribes. Therefore, Italian tribes met other tribes and, in so doing, built their own identity directly, presenting their own Mediterranean style, which characterizes the way they animate the techno parties they organize.

Following figure 1, we can affirm that in electronic music the different degree of deterritorialization and reterritorialization is related to practices of constructing a locally-rooted identity. Disco and House music are more marked by a deterritorialized condition and more filtered by the musical media, and, in so doing, in these fields the trend is to use active practices of hiding or showing the local identity of the music (through both strategic dissimulation or exoticism). In reterritorialized hardcore techno, the influence of a more direct and less media-driven interaction contributes to enabling other kinds of
practices. These practices can involve an adaptation of the style of their subculture as well as a more cultural strategy represented by the citation of specific Italian cultural references.

Endnotes

1. The futurist painter Luigi Russolo was probably the first noise musician in history as well as a proto-theorist of the new music of the XX century with “The Art of Noises” (1916). The city of Milan was one of the three cradles of electronic music, together with Paris and Koln, in the 50s and 60s and figures such as Luciano Berio, Bruna Maderna and Luigi Nono are well-established fathers of electronic music.

2. A good indicator of the weakness of Italian electronic music production is the low presence of Italian acts in the AGM Guide to Electronic music, which contains more than 1,200 biographies and more than 5,000 album reviews (Bogdanov et al., 2001). In this guide, only four Italian acts are considered (one is Berio) and no more than 10 Italian albums are cited (among which are two Irma compilations to be considered later).

3. The ethnographic research was conducted into electronic music production in the city of Bologna, one of the Italian centres of electronic music. Part of the research is presented in Magaudda (2002); I have also collected material and interpretations of the drum’n’bass, experimental ambient and electroacoustic music scenes, but lack of space here prevents us from examining these other interesting cases.
4. Others who first used these concepts are Appadurai (1990), Featherstone (1995), and Morley and Robins (1995). For a wider discussion of these concepts, see Tomlinson (1999).

5. It is of interest that one of the main figures of 70s Euro-disco was the Italian composer Giorgio Moroder, who moved to Munich to work with the producer Pete Bellote. He produced some of the most popular Euro-disco hits such as “I Feel Love” by Donna Summer in 1977. Giorgio Moroder made his debut in 1969 with the single “Looky, Looky” and became famous with Euro-disco and the production of the Munich studio Musicland. In the 80s, he turned to film music, composing the soundtracks to Alan Parker’s Midnight Express (1979), Paul Schrader’s American Gigolo (1980) and Cat People (1983), and winning an Oscar for Flashdance (1983). Following that, he produced the British rock band Sigue Sigue Sputnik.

6. The singer was identified as Marzio, a ballroom singer on the Italian Riviera (Rimini). Marzio only sang on the first Macho album, and went on to record a solo LP called “Smoke on the volcano” (1980, EMI). According to sources, he died in the first half of 2001.

7. The attitude of Italian disco producers marked a change in popular music production, especially concerning the aura of originality and the authenticity of the artists and music. It was probably the very first attempt to move from the idea of an authentic artist to that of technicians, more like today’s DJs than the rock musicians of the 70s.

8. Former lead and background vocalist on Change’s 1980 and 1981 albums, B. B. & Q.’s album in 1981 and Peter Jacques’ band’s 1980 album, Luther Ronzoni Vandross, died on July 1st, 2005 in Edison, NJ. He was 54. He ranked as one of the most successful R&B singers of the 80s and broke through to even wider commercial success in 1989 with “The Best of Luther Vandross”, which included the song “Here and Now,” his first Grammy winning hit.

9. It is worth noticing that the popular USA dj Jeff Mills put a theme by Change on the 2004 compilation of his top 25 classic dance tracks. Moreover, it is important to know that when Malavasi, as well as the other producer Celso Valli, stopped making disco music, they became very popular music producers for some of the most famous Italian artists such as Lucio Dalla, Gianni Morandi and Andrea Bocelli (Mauro Malavasi) and Vasco Rossi, Eros Ramazzotti and Laura Pausini (Celso Valli).

10. Mauro Malavasi and Jacques Petrus had been producing their own music for almost two years under
the company name of “Goody Music Production”.

11. The success of this record was marred by controversy when it was revealed that the vocals had been sampled from Loletta Holloway’s “Love Sensation,” a disco song written and produced by Dan Hartman and released in 1980. The group had hired French model Katrin Quniol to pose as their singer. Quniol could not speak English and had trouble lip-synching the song on music shows. Black Box later pointed out that Holloway got an expensive fur coat out of the compensation money they had to pay her (see [http://www.songfacts.com/detail.lasso?id=3712 - access July 2005]).

12. “Ride on Time” sold more than three million copies, also reaching number 16 in the USA hit parade. Moreover, it was also the unofficial soundtrack of the American televising of the Superbowl (cfr. Sada, 1995, p. 49). One of the producers, Daniele Davoli, was also inserted, together with the Italian Joe t. Vannelli and Claudio Coccoluto, in the list of the 100 top world djs in 1997 by the British dance magazine “Dj Magazine”. (Pacoda, 1999, p. 79).

13. After an initial period of dance remix production, Irma developed its own production in the genres of acid jazz, lounge and cocktail music, as well as in other fields such as hip hop. In 2000, Irma’s sales reached 500,000 copies and more than 90% of its production goes outside Italy. Indeed, Irma’s production, especially electronic, is clearly aimed at the foreign market, and some years ago the label opened two offices in London and New York. Irma also has a few sub-labels, one of which, the Will, only publishes for the American market. Moreover, it is worth noting that one of Irma’s Italian djs, Don Carlos, has been resident DJ at the cult dance club Ministry of Sound in London.

14. For example, the title of this compilation imitates the titles of other international electronic compilations such as Future Sounds of New York (1995, Emotive), Future Sounds of United Kingdom (1997, Open) and Future Sounds of Paris (1997, Ultra); in turn, these compilations echoed the name of one of the most famous UK electronic bands Future Sounds Of London (debut in 1989).

15. It is interesting to note that the Mutoid Waste Company arrived in Santarcangelo because this little town holds one of the most important alternative theatre festivals in Italy. It was there in 1990 that they presented an exhibition of cars transformed into military tanks and other postindustrial iron sculptures ([www.santarcangelofestival.com](http://www.santarcangelofestival.com)).

16. Trying to make a connection of this kind of attitude
with the local cultural scene explicit, it is useful to note that the “highbrow” strategy of representing the Italian roots in electronic music through the citation strategy is clearly connected with the literary experience of its leader Dj Balli. He is also a writer who published a book in 1998, Anche tu astronauta (Balli, 1998), a presentation as part of an international project Association of Autonomous Astronauts (AAA). In this respect, it is also notable that Bologna is one of the Italian cities where books and reading are a highly developed cultural aspect (Santoro and Sassatelli, 2002), as statistics about book selling in 2004 have shown, referring to Bologna as the city where more books per person are sold in Italy. It is also important to add that the relationship between music production and literature in Bologna presents many connections, mostly represented by musicians and singers who are also writers, such as Emidio Clementi (Clementi, 2001), singer of the dissolved rock band Massimo Volume and the new, partly electronic-based band, El Muniria.

Selected Bibliography


Featherstone, M., 1995, Undoing culture, London


Selected Discography

Full discography of Change, the most important Italo-disco project of Mauro Malavasi:


-1983, This Is Your Time, RFC-Atlantic, singles: “Got To Get Up”, “This Is Your Time”, “Don’t Wait Another Night”, “Magical Night”, LP.


-1984, Greatest Hits, Five, LP.

-1985, Greatest Hits, Renaissance, LP.


-1998, The Very Best Of Change, Rhino-Atlantic, CD.

-2003, The Best Of Change, Warner Music, 2CD.


Others:

- AAVV, 1997, Italian dance classics – ultimate Collection
- House, Irma Records - CD

- AAVV, 1999, Future Sounds of Italy, Irma Records - CD
- El Muniria, 2004, Stanza 218, Homesleep – CD.

- Black Box, 1990, Dreamland, Carrere / Airplay Records, LP/CD.


- Macho, 1978, I’m A Man, Goody Music/Prelude - LP.

- Macho, 1980, Roll, Goody Music - LP.

- Marzio, 1980, Smoke on the volcano, Emi – LP.


  – CD (track 19 is “The end” by Malavasi’s band Change)

- Sonic Belligeranza, 2001, Mangia, mangia, mangia – in AAVV, Par tous le trous necessaries, Cavage - CD

- Technomobilsquad, 1999-2004 – various white labels.
