

Naming Accumulation and Naming Invention: Strategies to Resist Existence

BEATRICE MADIOT

University of Picardy Jules Verne, France, CRP-CPO (EA 7273 Amiens UPJV)

Within the framework of the theory of social representations, the use and functions of the naming in 3,764 messages of a mailing list dedicated to Creative Music are analysed in order to show that this group crystallises its existence by adopting strategies aiming at escaping from all forms of denomination. Paradoxically, this operation is carried out by means of excess of denominations. This surplus mainly takes two enumerative paths that can be combined within the same statement. In the former, authors multiply the denominations of musical genres, while in the latter, they add extra-musical and extra-aesthetic qualifiers to the generic term 'music'. The former procedure allows the authors to blur the consensual markers by cumulatively using the official and institutional names and classification of musical genres. The excessive mobilisation of discursive registers other than aesthetic ones allows them to reveal the organisation of the musical world and to reject its constraining and counter-productive aspects in terms of creation and innovation. Thus, the dismissal of the profusion of naming, and of the classification associated with it, can crystallise a social existence, or at least the claim to a social existence, through a manifest and deliberate situating on the margins of the social system.

Keywords: naming, social representation, identity representation, music, mailing list

"There is indeed a magic of names. It is part of our job as social scientists, and as citizens, to know how it works and when it works" (Hughes, 1952, p. 144).

As a particular category of knowledge, social representations enable to understand and account for particular phenomena of daily life and collective life. This category of knowledge, like other similar categories (scientific, professional, etc.), is based on general mechanisms such as classification, categorisation, labelling, naming and specific reasoning modalities (personification, primacy of conclusion, etc.).

This article focuses on one of these mechanisms, i.e. naming. This social baptism, according to Kripke (1982), lays the ground for the existence of an object, a group or an activity. "Knowing the name is to a certain extent knowing one thing and recognising the name of one thing is recognising the thing; ultimately, being able to name serves as argument or proof within the same social connivance" (Rouquette, 1996, p. 169). Conversely, "an unclassified and unnamed thing is alien, non-existent, and threatening at the same time " (Moscovici, 2000, p. 42). In this sense, naming is closely related to classification (Levy-Strauss, 1962). Indeed, it enables "to organise the environment into significant units and system of understanding" (Elejabarrieta, 1996, p. 144) of the world according to social logics, "almost always determined by power relations" (Becker, 2009, p. 237). Naming, thus, primarily concerns the mechanisms of identification and social differentiation at work in collective life. This also means that naming is simultaneously a container and a content, i.e. a vase according to Strauss's (1992) metaphor. Thus, naming refers, amongst other things, to the constitution of social representations both from the point of view of the process of objectivation, centred on its content, and from the point of view of anchoring, focusing on the intervention of the social, of the inter-group relations. The psycho-sociological work on naming has classically focused on the content of an object intimately linked to the social processes at work, while situating them in spatial, temporal and symbolic contexts. The nominal conflict between Greece and the Republic of Northern Macedonia (Kalampalikis, 2002) is particularly enlightening from this point of view in that naming is closely linked to identity representations that draw on collective memory, history,

the anchoring and the objectivation of old and new significations (Kalampalikis, 2007). Philogène's research (1999) shows that groups attempt to change their identity representation by changing their name. She studied "how and why the naming *African-American* transfigured the social representation of Black Americans and their links with the Whites" (Moscovici, 2008, p. 62). In these two cases, a naming both as container and content of an identity representation is imposed by a group in a particular socio-historical situation in the context of asymmetrical and conflicting intergroup relations. This phenomenon is also to be found in the naming of professional activities. New names or and changes of names "may well be an indicator not only of a search for identity, but also of a certain social dissatisfaction" (Latreille, 1980, p. 55), which might in part be accounted for because the group has not reached the social status and/or the clientele to which it aspires. However, the sociology of professions (Rannou, 2003) underlines that the sector of artistic activities (125,647 employees in France in 2015¹) is characterised by an excess of naming (1,600 different activity names). According to this author, this profusion is explained, "to a large extent, by artistic professions' resistance to any attempt at classification" (Rannou, 2003, p. 86-87), and by the fact that "artistic expression cannot be content with a restrictive framework" (p. 89). Another reason for this overabundance is, according to Servier (1991), the willingness to take a political stance in order to "question, for example, the outdated and stifling elitism/mass dichotomy, the obsolete popular/learned opposition, to put forward alternatives" (Servier, 1991, p. 177).

Thus, studying the links between an artistic activity and the naming is of interest from the point of view of social representations insofar as "the multiplication of designations is a sample of the infinite variety of possible points of view on any given phenomenon, a variety which is a characteristic of human kind and which intensifies when the phenomenon is of, appertains to, and reveals the human kind" (Rouquette, 1994, p. 159).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

By focusing on how actors in a particular artistic world delineate their art, this article aims to show that a group's resistance to being named and to naming themselves can be an identity-based positioning. From the point of view of the anchoring process, this positioning would be a means of differentiating oneself from groups denominated, "which have an official existence

¹ <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2388973#tableau-figure1> consulted on 15 November 2019

and conform to a pattern, so that they may be identified without risking confusing them with others" (Moscovici, 1988, p. 302).

The analysis of the content of identity representation, by means of the different forms of denomination (objectivation), differentiated into official names or inventions, will show how a group defines itself by circumscribing a container, whose content shuns any usual, shared classification. It thus enables this group to distinguish itself from its rivals. By other means (cumulative enumeration for example), this group specifies its identity by a content without a referenced container, as Sevrier (1991) points out in the case of rock'n'roll. "Innovative music, sideways music, tangent music, oblique music, new music, etc.: so many names attempting to identify despite the refusal of categories" (p. 175). The analysis of nominative forms and the way they are used will evidence, on the one hand, how they keep away from classification, in other words, from any restrictive framework, and, on the other hand, how they emphasise the political role of art.

At the heart of this identity positioning are the intergroup relations and the power issues inherent to them, defining what is art, creation and being an artist by questioning any official definition, organisation and hierarchy within the artistic world (anchoring). To do this, forms of resistance will be studied through messages posted on a mailing list. Having access to such material, pre-existent to the time research, is a wonderful opportunity. This is a natural occurring discourse, produced via this communication medium, is deployed in a collective space dedicated to an object. Thus, it allows to scrutinize how a group, quite visible only to insiders, reflects on its practices, choices, tastes, how it delimits its boundaries and develops its own conception of the musical and social world through, amongst other things, naming. A mailing list is a set of electronic addresses, identified or not by pseudonyms, to which is assigned a specific email address. Access to this asynchronous communication mode is subject to prior knowledge of the existence of the mailing list and registration via a website where the themes of the list are displayed and where previous messages may or not be archived. "Messages are only received by persons who have completed a voluntary registration process that commits them at least to being recipients of all the messages posted on the list; they may also themselves send messages to the list, which will therefore be distributed to all subscribers. (...) This results in a de facto boundary between the inside of the list, defined by subscribers, and the outside world that does not have access to the messages" (Akrich & Meadel, 2005, p. 2).

MATERIAL AND ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

The Fennec mailing list for "Creative Music" was selected in this study. Created on 8 August 1997, this cultural association brings together people who "wish to contribute to the diffusion within the Francophone community of music that open new paths"². This mailing list shows a milieu with its record companies (Potlatch, created in 1998), its venues (Instants Chavirés, opening in February 1991, Jazz à Luz Festival d'Altitude created in 1991), its fanzines (Octopus, created in 1994, Peace Warriors in 1994 and Bruits Blancs in 2000). Animated by musicians and other protagonists - most of whom initially belonged to the world of European improvised music, which in turn stems from free-jazz and more broadly jazz - these actors are part of a tradition of resistance to naming. For instance, Duke Ellington, Miles Davis and Charlie Parker refused to be labelled as jazzmen (Fabiani, 1986), just like some of their contemporaries who defined their music (Anquetil, 2002) as "improvised music, avant-garde jazz, contemporary music" (p. 127), as "unclassifiable" (p.99), as "free motley" (p.170), as "Gascony jazz, company of trans-artistic loitering creation" (p.162). This trend is summarized for European improvised music as follows: "They are from here. They consider themselves jazz musicians, but what they play, they insist, is not jazz. When they have the opportunity, they frequent the same places, and share the same stages where jazzmen or free jazzmen perform, but they situate themselves elsewhere. (...) They prefer naming their music free music: free, liberated, libertarian... Sometimes they refuse labels and classifications. Sometimes they talk about "new music", "improvised music", "open music", "European improvisation", etc. Music, you name it! " (Marmande, 8 December 1977).

The founders of Fennec for the "Creative Music" mailing list fully comply with this tradition of resistance to naming. They characterized creative music as follows: "This music is alive, and it is sometimes difficult to categorise it, to classify it, to choose record display boxes where it'll be sold. Anyway, there are musicians out there, off the beaten track. These musicians refuse to go round and round in circles, they explore, they recycle, they experiment, they try out things... and sometimes, they even innovate! Whether you call them free-jazz, post-jazz, downtown music, trash-jazz, low-fi, noise, electronica, free improvisation, *musique concrète*, new music, "creative music". Plenty of music is at the vanguard of musical creativity today. Whatever the term, this music talks to us, one way or another. This music questions the world beyond questions of belonging, genres or currents (all questions that are also very present and unavoidable in our lives as music lovers). One can read in this statement the 3 three strategies as described by Rannou (2003) and Servier (1991) concerning the question of denominations

² Home page of the Fennec mailing list for "Creative Music" <http://fennec.ouvaton.org/>

in the artistic professions: resistance to any attempt at classification, refusal of any constraining framework, and political stance. This makes it particularly interesting to study the forms and functions of naming for this group. This is why 3,734 messages from Fennec's mailing list for "Creative Music" were analysed. Half of them were sent between 8 August 1997, the date of the inaugural message, and 3 February 1999; the other half between 3 February 1999 and 3 June 2001. 209 individuals sent messages without using pseudonyms, with a few exceptions. Overall, they know each other personally and meet at concert venues, in festivals, for record releases or at fanzines. About 155 subscribers did not send more than 5 messages, whereas 10 posted half of them (1,880). Among these 10 authors, you can find the 3 founders of the list, 2 specialized journalists, 3 musicians, 1 specialized record producer and 1 concert organiser.

To analyse this corpus, the text analysis software Prospero (Chateauraynaud, 2003) was used. Initially created to study public debates on intact, non-lemmatized material, Prospero, thanks to its analysis tools, enables the researcher to create analysis categories directly related to the specificities of the material examined. These criteria are particularly important when the aim is to identify inventions or "hacking" of naming aimed at differentiation (Madiot & Dargentas, 2010) for they refer to inherently unique uses. Thus, I designed a category named "types of music". It includes all the musical genres socially labelled and mentioned in the messages. Moreover, "a musical genre exists and develops for at least four reasons. First, because a number of individuals - the primary receptors - develop a strong taste and attachment to it. Second, these very first receptors, tapping into the emotions they have experienced, seek to share it with others. Third, they actualize their fondness and passion in a number of social activities. Fourth, they endeavour to define and distinguish genres. To account for how a musical genre is constituted is thus a complex process whereby, on the one hand, one can recognise the power of things over people, and on the other hand, how these people become its particular mediators." (Hein, 2002, p. 1).

Thus 365 different names/genres have been listed and gathered in 5 categories which include the divisions of the musical world from the perspectives of organisation and lay/common perception (Table 1). In fact, there is a first category which brings together naming that refer to socially recognised musical styles (jazz, rock, classical music...); another one references the classical organisation of this social field (learned music vs. pop music... or world music). The third category is defined along the institutional naming (e.g. "jazz and improvised music" or "contemporary music"), the fourth follows the naming of the Fennec list itself ("Creative music", "Music that opens new paths") The last category gathers general naming (live performance music, creative music, improvised music). All these categories were used

2,999 times in 1,001 messages (26.97% of all messages) by 141 of the 209 senders (67.46% of them).

Other categories have been elaborated to reflect the authors' playful terminology invention. If one category includes all the synonyms of the term music³ used by the authors, others include adjectives that refer to discursive universes that go beyond the mere aesthetic register, such as "Strange", "New-Creative", "Subversive-Revolutionary" and "Alternative". The analysis of the concomitant use of the predicate "Music" along with an adjective, other than musical, makes it possible to grasp the forms and functions of naming in the discourse, also from the identity-building point of view.

EXCESS AND INVENTION OF NAMING

The first angle of the analysis of the material focuses on whether musical naming is used or not. To achieve this task, the corpus of messages mobilising at least one musical naming is compared with the corpus with no musical naming. In order to understand the various processes implemented by the authors regarding naming, this paper evidences how naming referring to the usual divisions of the musical world are used in order to refuse the name container in order to evade socially pre-established classifications. In the second part, the adjectives associated with the terms "Music" are analysed in order to highlight how the refusal of naming is materialised by the use of socially unestablished qualifications and to emphasise the innovative nature of the group from an aesthetic point of view. It thus endows the group with the aim of taking a radical political stance and it posits its aesthetics as an alternative to other types of music.

1.Excess in naming music style

From a formal point of view, the 10 most prolific authors are present in both naming and non-naming corpora. However, on the one hand, they write messages that are generally longer when they use musical naming than when they do not: 948 pages for the 1,001 messages of the first corpus (i.e. barely one page on average per message) vs. 804 for the 2,733 mails of the second corpus (i.e. barely one third of a page on average per message). On the other hand, their recipients are not the same. Indeed, the mails of the naming-less corpus are all exclusively addressed to subscribers of the Fennec list while those of the naming corpus are not only

³ It includes music, but also zic, zizique, zicmu...

addressed to the members of the list but also to a much wider public, e.g. to announce concert scheduling and CD releases in a standardized way.

Depending on the recipient, the function of naming varies. In messages intended for an audience that reaches outside the Fennec list, musical naming gives aesthetic and stylistic references to the target audiences, to entice them to go to concerts or purchase promoted records.

"Tuesday 2 LOWELL Stéphane DOREMUS (guitar, vocals) Pascal LELONG (bass) Hrvoje GOLUZA (drums). Drawing on both the energy inherited from punk and the posed ambiences of what is today known as postrock, Lowell, rather than making a choice, succeeds in bridging the gap between them" (Message 2791 of 25 October 1999).

On the other hand, in those addressed exclusively to the Fennec list, the naming allows, for some of the subscribers, to introduce themselves to the other participants, on occasion of the first messages posted,

*"Hello, my name is [First Name Last Name] and I'm new on the list. I teach at uni, I can't play any instruments (to my great displeasure, most often). I live in Oise, I am 25, I love jazz of course, but also contemporary music, opera, and French Chanson. I won't make a list of my musical tastes, that'd be too much of a bore. I'll just wait and see what's being said within these virtual walls. So long, G*****" (Message 3126, 15 May 2000).*

and for some other subscribers, to specify, or even to reframe, aesthetically, the content of an earlier message. For example, one of the big names on the list, in reaction to several previous messages, specifies what, in his view, distinguishes free jazz from free improvisation.

"Free jazz is different, firstly it was created at a specific time (60s) in reaction to the wishy-washy conformism of jazz, and also in connection with the struggles of Black Americans. (...) In contrast to the great "discontinuity" of free improv, free jazz often presents a kind of rhythmic regularity (even in the case of polyrhythms without a marked tempo), or even a kind of melodic harmonic regularity in chaos". (Message 2208 of 13 April 1999).

The analysis of the distribution of types of naming, according to the different distinctions structuring this field, makes it possible to refine this initial observation. The names of musical genres (2,433 occurrences of denomination or 81% of the total) are the most mobilised. In comparison, the items belonging to the other categories are far less mobilised, like the traditional discriminations (Table 1, 79 occurrences, 2.63% of the total),

Does this mean that "we" have a method that allows us to learn to listen to "grand music" (I love that expression!) (Message 2629 of 2 September, 1999)

During my childhood, I was immersed in the mellow tunes of French variety (the Sardous, Hallidasy, Dalidas, and the likes) (Message 1841 of 2 February, 1999)

Violinist Jean-François Vrod has a background in traditional music (hence, probably, this ample and generous sound of his; he also plays the tenor violin) (Message 722 of 11 March 1998)

or like the institutionalized one (Table 1, 56 occurrences, 1.87%):

Along with his friends from Lyon, i.e. double bassist Jean-Noël Bériat and drummer Michel Chionchin, François Dumont D'Ayot takes his reeds into unknown lands, reaching the borders of jazz and improvised music (Message 3802, 4 May 2001)

Money-wise, like the difference between what is channelled into Paris Opera and what is channelled into "contemporary music" (i.e. 10 to 1), this is spot on. (Message 1747, 23 January 1999)

Table 1.

Frequencies and percentages of musical genres categories in the corpus

	No. of occurrences	No of messages	No of authors
Naming of musical styles	2426 (80.89%)	841 (84.02%)	125 (88.65%)
Classical naming	79 (2.63%)	64 (6.39%)	39 (27.66%)
Institutional naming	56 (1.87%)	43 (4.30%)	25 (17.73%)
Fennec's naming	89 (2.97%)	79 (7.89%)	27 (19.15%)
General naming	349 (11.64%)	235 (23.48%)	66 (46.81%)
Total	2,999	1,001	141

The same is true for the category that gathers the naming used by Fennec list's founders to define the music discussed, i.e. "Creative Music" (89 occurrences or 2.97%). The latter expression is mainly used by the list's three founders (39 of the 79 emails containing the expression "Creative Music") in messages that define or even justify its use,

I was wondering if the purpose of our discussions on "creative music" here should not be found as I think [name of a subscriber] said) in terms of this perception of present time that generally slips away throughout our existence (i.e. "these meanders are also part of culture"), lost as we are in our daily life in the meanders of the past, groping for the future! (Message 16, 16 September 1997)

As for "music that open up new paths", another formula used on the home page of the Fennec's website, it does not appear under the pen of any of the mailing list's authors. All these results converge towards a systematic under-use of denominations, whichever they are. This under-use can be attributed to the authors' reluctance to use instituted names, as one of the list founders states in the following message,

"But sometimes you have to name things to talk about them... Improvisation can mean a lot of things, can't it? How can we talk about it without falling into approximations? In ALL CASES, the Fennec list for creative music... "Creative music" is of course a labelling / portmanteau / bogus / polemic term but it is intended to be a GENERIC term to encompass all the music that our long ears can listen to..." (Message 1831, of 1 February 1999).

Participants seem to prefer a general terminology, less weighted historically and socially (Table 1,349 occurrences or 11.64%), i.e. without referencing to the list's external or internal naming,

Let us remember that ten years ago the Ministry of Culture called 'musiques actuelles' (present-day musics) what today is called new musics.... (Message 1364, 28 October 1998)

So, if over the last two weeks, the list has been occupied by the "improvised music" lobby, which, as we all know, prevails on the whole surface of the planet and terrorizes the entire musical world... (Message 2158 of 9 April 1999)

A leading figure in 'present-day music' in Quebec, guitarist and composer René Lussier has always endeavoured to make live music, constantly renewed, to be explored and shared (Message 2791, October 25, 1999)

This reluctance in using a name referenced in a classification system goes hand in hand with the mobilisation of several types of naming at the same time (on average 2.98 per message). These are often presented in the same utterance, in the form of an enumeration.

The Boom's music, which is exclusively instrumental, is an astonishing mix of jazz, salsa and postrock (Message 2297, April 24, 1999).

This graphic proximity of musical genres' serves to qualify the music of a group or musician by emphasising that it transcends aesthetic boundaries or synthesizes genres by retaining only some of their features,

His music conjures up the image of a traveller in search of other cultural models closer to "nature" and "gut". It combines -- in the same provocative act -- the brilliance of rock and the melancholy of the blues (Message 3501, 12 December 2000).

Thus, instead of downscaling the field of aesthetic possibilities, these enumerations expand it by excess of naming: it blurs the usual boundaries by toying with socially shared categories and classifications. The accumulation of naming can take an even more radical turn by erasing the spaces between the names of the different musical genres visually and graphically. So that out of several existing genres, one novel name is coined. This writing-off of spaces illustrates, symbolically and categorically, the will to abolish the boundaries between the different types of music,

"They reunite at the end of the 80s for a colourful freejazzartnoise adventure" (Message 2324, 5 March, 1999)

The abolition of intervals between musical genre names in the same statement may be associated with an excess of denominations,

Yesterday evening Aube in Nancy; big moment of minimal electronica intelligence with a postneorock industrial tendency (Message 1076, June 27, 1998)

All these processes definitively upset the usual musical landmarks and names as containers, by redrawing, by writing off the boundaries between groups. In some messages, the authors do not use enumeration but employ the different music classification registers throughout the message. They, then, explicitly refer to the content and to the container of naming. This sort of excess, scattered across the post, which taps into all classifications, serves, amongst other things, to polemicize about the music discussed on the list by denouncing the aesthetic narrowness of the mailing list, as the following message shows:

I've been on the Fennec list for about two weeks now, and I've been sizing up what's going on here. Rather promising on its home page, this list seems to be totally monopolized by the "improvised musics" lobby... and I mean, not just any musics; one talks more about D. Bailey, E. Chabourne and St. Lacy than Fred Frith, Faust, or Cassiber... in short, improvised musics closer to jazz than Rock in Opposition. But the so-called new musics are absent, totally. So, the only "creative" musics (to use the dodgy terminology of the home page) is improvised ones... it's debatable; at least I hope so. To participate in this list, do I have

to own Bailey's extremely rare tapes and to have seen Chabourne 12 times on stage? Thank you, in advance. (Message 134 of 14 October 1997)

one of the list's founders' reply reminds the Fenec's position of aesthetic openness outside the usual naming classifications. To do so, he makes use of classic enumeration process, and sarcasms in brackets,

Paranoid reply: would you blame the members of this list --who were initially few in number, should I jug your memory?-- but whose number is regularly growing (amounting to 25 today), for not having already mentioned new musics (ie. " not the old ones?") current musics ("10 years 20 years 30 years old?") improvisation musics ("without any score?"), improvised music ("without any technical preparation or concept?"), free musics ("are the others in custody?") free jazz, post jazz, jazz core, free rock ... the music engaging in byways (ditching the railway network :) (name here what you like in terms of terminological sensitivity) (Message 143 of 15 October 1997)

Finally, the excess of denominations along the message can also be used to show that naming have a labelling function in the economic and political organisation of the musical world, and that they do not reflect an aesthetic reality,

At the end of the day, it's the retailers who decide the " music genres" and when a piece of music falls between two definitions (for example between Jazz and Contemporary Music at the high-street music stores) there's a clearly a chance that it will end up not being officially distributed anymore or end up in the "New Musics unit" next to the New Age music unit before being eventually heavily discounted! The role of institutions is just as crucial: the term "Musiques actuelles", which could broadly match such festival programmes as Musique Action, Densités or Sons d'Hiver, now corresponds to Rap and Techno in the Regional Directorate of Cultural Affairs, at the Ministry of Culture, etc. So finally, "non-idiomatic improvisation", although not likely to attract the attention of funders, allows us to imagine a great diversity of practices. (Message 424 of 10 January 1998)

Paradoxically, all these overflow strategies make it possible to elude any classification, and through a knock-on effect to shun any categorisation to which a name refers,

"Indeed, it's music that does not belong to any style or any genre for the sake of not being boxed and codified." (Message 335 of 9 December 1997)

By accumulating designations in the same message or statement, the authors emphasise their refusal of any nominative container, but at the same time they assert that there is some place out there –which they embody– where one plays with the instituted classifications. As a result, this discursive process makes these classifications visible and exposes other ways of defining oneself and specifying what is creation, innovation and music. It is therefore a way of

positioning oneself within a social space and vis-à-vis other recognised groups. This strategy of avoiding any naming can take another form: the use of the generic term "Music" to which can be added a vocabulary outside the artistic field.

2. Music and its out-of-the-musical-field qualifications

While 25% of the messages in the naming corpus explicitly refer to musical names, an almost identical proportion (28.57%) contains the generic term "Music". The latter is more often present in messages containing the name of at least one musical naming (corpus with naming) than in messages mentioning none (corpus without naming), (Table 2).

This music sounds like a subtle balance between the tension of improvisation, jazz, rock (Message 2382 of 15 May 1999).

Should we congratulate ourselves, out of narcissist and onanistic pleasure, to have experienced this emergence of "difficult" music, or should we conceive (I'd rather say feel) that some music (such as some cinema genres, arts that often flirt with the "entertainment industry") take the less travelled path, but don't want to be considered as music aimed at an elite, without necessarily wanting to uplift " a certain public, judged unfamiliar with "creative" music, and therefore hostile or at least not very responsive (Message of 15 December 2000).

Table 2.

Presence of the term "Music"

	naming corpus	naming-less corpus	No of occurrences of Music	Total
No of occurrences	1,426	844	2,270	2,270
No of messages	542	525	1,067	3,734
No of authors	107	95	202	209

The analysis of the terms surrounding music shows that two major configurations are at work. The first refers to a use of the generic term "Music" which no qualifying adjective defines,

Their music may not be "indispensable" or "radical", but it has the merit of being original and of releasing enough force to appeal to the viewer (Message 3226, July 6, 2000).

At best, a possessive ("our music", "their music") or demonstrative ("this music") precedes the term "Music". In doing so, the authors refer to the genre that unites them in a kind of social connivance by marking boundaries that circumscribe contents,

I think it's a beautiful and great idea: to go and meet the public and play in the street, that gives people the opportunity to get to know our music, our emotions (Message 793, 8 April 1998).

But it could be good idea people out there get to know us, if only minimally: to make fliers for example, by word of mouth, which at the end of the day remains the best medium, to make sure that our music has the means to be listened to" (Message 3498, 12 December 1998).

This nominal non-specification of music underscores the shared and collectively constructed consensus that brings the list's subscribers together. This allows for the fluidity of communication while preserving, and possibly strengthening, the cohesion of the group while keeping conflict at bay.

The second discursive configuration is to qualify the music that brings the list's subscribers together. The analysis of these qualifiers shows that they mainly refer to 3 registers, again often using a cumulative effect by enumeration:

- novelty, creativity,

What kind of music is it? creative instrumental music with postrock or noisy influences ... (Message 2334 of 7 May 1999)

Since 1985, every Wednesday from 9:30pm., La Nuit des Sauriens has offered an eclectic selection of ambient, industrial, noise, improvised, bizarre, new, independent, electroacoustic musics on the airwaves (90.1 FM) (Message of 23 May 2000).

- difference

John Zorn has really done and continues to do lots for a music, say, different (Message of 22 January 1999)

- and strangeness

For me it is an intriguing music that I am not used to, but that I love (Message of 22 December 1998).

To curious persons, I propose odd music that no one dares to distribute (Message 2159, 9 April 1999)

These three types of characteristics situate "creative music" not in terms of stylistic specificities, and thus not in relation to the boundaries with other music, but in terms of general aesthetics. Indeed, novelty/creativity, difference and strangeness all refer to innovation, the ultimate goal of art. By highlighting these three registers, the authors situate their music at the forefront of creation, artistic and aesthetic research,

About a festival, "Here's a little text explaining things a little more: different, unheard-of, risky, non-academic, non-commercial, non-standard, current, innovative, forward-looking, today's, noisy, neo jazz, postrock, alternative, experimental, free, unmarketable, avant-garde, improvised music", etc. The difficulty to bring this music together under the same name is indeed a sign of their abundant creativity which is based on the singularity of their discourses and practices" (Message 2420 of 9 June 1999).

These processes allow them to define themselves as the only authentic creators. Qualifying music through the prism of innovation enables the authors in the mailing list to locate it within, indeed, the artistic world, but, more globally, within the social world by endowing it with broader socio-political objectives. To do this, they make use of an economic and political vocabulary that posits their music as an activity that questions the organisation of the musical and social world,

Replete as I am today of pop and rock music (there are, however, some innovators in these fields), I am now more inclined to focus on this 'unexpected' music, provided that it has a little to do with reality: nothing more detestable than laboratory music subsidised with millions (Message 3261 of 5 August, 2000).

The aesthetics chosen by the musicians fulfils a social and political mission of contestation that ensures there is no aesthetic compromise,

"He [David S. Ware] is deeply marked by melody, his music echoes the spirit of spiritual, excessive, radical and resistant Black American music" (Message 585 of 5 February 1998).

Welcome to the capitalistic world, managed by trusts and their propaganda media! If I agree with Marie Pierre and Cécile to "stand up" for talking more about creative music, it is not only in the hope of selling records or to be more famous (which would allow me to play more often and have something other than pasta for dinner), but maybe to help my fellow man, to try to revive in them a little bit of his curiosity, their feeling of revolt.... among other things, so that they do not let themselves be completely trapped in a consumer society based on profit (Message 2144 of 9 April 1999).

By means of the extra-musical qualification of the term "Music", subscribers avoid the usual naming processes of their activity. By dismissing any content and any container of musical

genre, they deliberately endow their art as revealing the socio-political organisation. Making this music then becomes an act of political protest. By deliberately placing themselves on the margins of the social and musical systems through the refusal of names and genres, the authors in the list situate their art in the social margins that are essentially unorganised, unclassified, but which expose the organisation of the social world materialised by shared denominations and classifications. In doing so, they construct a representation of themselves by playing with the contents and boundaries of the nominated, instituted bands, which allows to present themselves as the most creative musicians.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of the different musical naming, their usage and also the qualifications attached, or not, to the term music has shown that it does not necessarily mean that by knowing the name, you know a thing, nor that by recognising the name, you recognise the thing (Rouquette, 1996). For some groups, the relationship between named content and container may be more complex. Some refer to shared content by refusing the container. To do so, they adopt a main discursive strategy: excessive naming. To qualify an artistic object, they combine, in the same message, if not in the same statement, names referring to classifications shared and/or qualifiers referring to unusual discursive registers. In doing so, they purposefully blur the ordinary benchmarks of the members of the exogroup. Moreover, they prevent the latter from establishing the classical link between denomination and classification. More broadly, they thwart the process of recognition inherent to naming inasmuch as the community cannot "adopt the same social representation that enables them to appropriate a name" (Moscovici, 2002, p. 43). Indeed, to name oneself and/or to be named is to take one's place in a classification and to enter a system of constraints which is proclaimed as counterproductive when it comes to creating. By labelling aesthetic innovation with a shared classification, one takes away one of its main functions: to question existing classifications and denominations in order to think artistic practice as a political activity which, put it differently, moulds the social world.

Thus, if "it is the act of naming that crystallizes the existence of the group, its idiosyncratic identity" (Moscovici, 1999, p. 87), the refusal to name oneself, to be named, and, thus to be classified, can also crystallize a social existence in opposition to other groups. This form of asserting one's identity deliberately situates the group on the fringes of the social world and illustrates the will to "remain cut-off and separated: 'this is the name we give to what you

name differently, or that you do not name altogether'" (Rouquette, 1994, p. 159), and, we might also add: 'that we refuse to name.'

References

- Akrich M., & Meadel C. (2005). Listes de discussion électroniques et nouveaux collectifs autour des problèmes de santé. Unpublished manuscript, Centre de sociologie de l'innovation, Écoles des mines de Paris, France.
- Anquetil, P. (2002). *Guide annuaire du jazz en France* [Annual Guide of Jazz in France]. Paris: Imra.
- Becker, H. S. (2009). *Comment parler de la société: artistes, écrivains, chercheurs et représentations sociales* [How to talk about society: artists, writers, researchers and social representations]. Paris: La Découverte.
- Chateauraynaud, F. (2003). *Prospéro. Une technologie littéraire pour les sciences humaines* [Prospero: A literary technology for the human sciences]. Paris: CNRS Editions.
- Elejabarrieta F. (1996). Le concept de représentation sociale [The concept of social representations]. In J.-C. Deschamps & J.-L. Beauvois (Eds.), *Des attitudes aux attributions*, (pp. 133-150). Grenoble: PUG.
- Fabiani, J.L. (1986). Carrière improvisées: théories et pratiques de la musique de jazz en France [Improvised career: theories and practices of jazz music in France]. In R. Moulin (Ed.) *Sociologie de l'art* (pp. 231- 245). Paris: La documentation française.
- Hein, F. (2002). Le "stoner rock" en France [The "stoner rock" in France]. *Volume !*, 1(1), 47-60.
- Hughes, E. C. (1996). *Le regard sociologique: essais choisis* [The sociological perspective: selected essays]. Paris: Éd. de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.
- Kalampalikis, N. (2002). Des noms et des représentations [Names and representations]. *Les Cahiers Internationaux de Psychologie Sociale*, 1(53), 21-30.
- Kalampalikis, N. (2007). *Les Grecs et le mythe d'Alexandre: étude psychosociale d'un conflit symbolique à propos de la Macédoine* [The Greeks and the myth of Alexander: a psychosocial study of the symbolic conflict over Macedonia]. Paris: Harmattan.
- Kripke, S. (1982). *La logique des noms propres* [The logic proper names]. Paris: Les éditions de minuit.
- Latreille G. (1980) *La naissance des métiers en France 1950-1975* [The birth of professions in France 1950-1975]. Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme.
- Levy-Strauss, C. (1962). *La pensée sauvage* [The savage mind]. Paris: Plon.

- Madiot B., & Dargentas M. (2010). Pratiquer la triangulation méthodologique avec Alceste et Prospéro: le cas d'une recherche sur la représentation sociale de l'hygiène [Methodological triangulation with Alceste and Prospéro: the case of research on the social representation of hygiene]. In E. Masson & E. Michel-Guillou (Eds.), *Le cabinet de curiosités: les différentes facettes de l'objet en psychologie sociale* (pp. 74-116). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Marmande, F. (1977, December). L'ironie des chemins imprévus [The irony of unexpected paths]. *Le Monde*, Retrieved from https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1977/12/08/1-ironie-des-chemins-imprevus_2857324_1819218.html.
- Moscovici, S. (1988). *La machine à faire des dieux: Sociologie et psychologie* [The god making machine: Sociology and psychology]. Paris: Fayard.
- Moscovici, S. (1999). Noms propres, noms communs et représentations sociales [Proper nouns, common nouns and social representations]. *Psychologie et Société*, 1, 81–104.
- Moscovici, S. (2000) What is in a name? In M. Chaib, B. Orfali (Eds.), *Social representations and communicative processes* (pp. 12-28). Jonkoping: Jonkoping University Press.
- Moscovici, S. (2008). Fiction et réflexion autour d'une métaphore [Fiction and reflection around a metaphor]. In B. Madiot, E. Lage, A. Arruda, (Eds.), *Une approche engagée en psychologie sociale: l'œuvre de Denise Jodelet* (pp. 49-64). Toulouse, France: ERES.
- Philogene, G. (1999). *From Black to African-Americans, A New Social representation*. Westport and London: Praeger.
- Rannou, J. (2003). Les métiers artistiques du spectacle vivant et leurs catégorisations [The artistic professions of the performing arts and their categorizations]. In P.-M. Menger (Ed.), *Les professions et leurs sociologies* (pp 83-100). Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme.
- Rouquette, M.-L. (1994). *Sur la connaissance des masses: essai de psychologie politique* [On the knowledge of the masses: essay in political psychology]. Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble.
- Rouquette, M.L. (1996). Représentations sociales et idéologie [Social representations and ideology]. In J.-C. Deschamps & J.-L. Beauvois (Eds), *Des attitudes aux attributions* (pp. 163 -173). Grenoble: PUG.
- Servier, M.B. (1991). Pertinence et culture rock: les musiques nouvelles [Relevance and rock culture: new music]. In P. Mignon, & A. Hennion (Eds.), *Rock de l'histoire au mythe* (pp. 175-182), Paris: Anthropos.

Strauss, A. L. (1992). *La trame de la négociation: sociologie qualitative et interactionnisme* [The web of negotiation: qualitative sociology and interactionism]. Paris: L'Harmattan.

BÉATRICE MADIOT is an Associate Professor at the University of Picardie Jules Verne France, engages in studies that mobilise the theory of social representations on objects such as artistic genres, as an activity or professional practice. Her work is also oriented towards creative processes. She also makes use of qualitative methodologies.

e-mail: Beatrice.Madiot@u-picardie.fr