The background is a vibrant collage of red and orange patterned paper, possibly a book cover or endpaper, with a black silhouette of a person standing on top. The text is overlaid on this background.

ON THE ROAD

EDITOR:
PAULA GUERRA

TO
THE AMERICAN
UNDERGROUND

ON THE ROAD TO THE AMERICAN UNDERGROUND
PAULA GUERRA
(EDITOR)

First Published July 2015
by Universidade do Porto. Faculdade de Letras
[University of Porto. Faculty of Arts and Humanities]
Porto, Portugal

Coordination of the edition: João Leite
Cover: Armanda Vilar
Design: Tânia Moreira

ISBN 978-989-8648-50-1

Ideas presented in texts are solely the responsibility of the authors, and do not necessarily represent the opinion of the editor.

CONTENTS

About the authors	7
Introduction: On the Road to the American Underground.....	9
Paula Guerra	
Chapter 1: Between psychadelia and artistic transgression: vanguards, proto-punk and musical experimentation.....	13
Paula Guerra	
Chapter 2: Rock in a hard place	31
Gina Arnold	
Chapter 3: Minor Threat & ‘Straight Edge’	49
Ross Haenfler	
Chapter 4: Let’ s take the Ramones! Preliminary data about the impact and influence of the Ramones in Portugal	63
Paula Guerra	
Chapter 5: Hardcore - Multiple levels	79
Pedro Rios	
Chapter 6: ‘We are one voice’ ! A brief history of Portuguese hardcore and straight edge movement: protagonists, core values and DIY ethos	91
Ana Oliveira	
Chapter 7: Bibliographical catalogue.....	116
João Leite and Paula Guerra	

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Ana Oliveira is BA Hons in Sociology from the University of Porto and researcher at DINÂMIA'CET - IUL. With a research trajectory based on the study of youth culture and sociology of culture, currently she is a member of the team of the research project *Keep it simple, make it fast! Prolegomenons and punk scenes, a road to portuguese contemporaneity (1977-2012)* and prepares the beginning of her doctorate in Urban Studies at the ISCTE - IUL with the research project entitled *Do It Together Again: networks, flows and spaces in the building of musical careers in the Portuguese indie scene* (SFRH / BD / 101849/2014).

Gina (Regina) Arnold holds a Ph.D in Modern Thought and Literature from Stanford University and a BA in Communications from U.C. Berkeley. She is a former teaching fellow at Stanford's Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity and her scholarly interests include media studies, journalism, creative non-fiction, and critical race theory. A former music writer for both Rolling Stone and Spin magazines, she is the author of three books on rock music, *Route 666: on the road to Nirvana* (St. Martin's), *Kiss this: punk in the present tense* (St. Martin's) and *Exile in Guyville* (Bloomsbury).

Paula Guerra is a sociologist and PhD in Sociology from the University of Porto. She is a professor in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities and researcher at the Institute of Sociology at the same university. She is also a researcher at the Griffith Centre for Cultural Research in Australia. Coordinates and participates in several national and international research projects on youth

culture and the sociology of art and culture. Recently she published the book *A instável leveza do rock [The unstable lightness of rock]* (Afrontamento) and is the author of articles published in journals such as *Journal of Sociology*, *Critical Arts*, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *Sociologia - Problemas e Práticas*, *Practices* or *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*.

João Leite is a specialist in documental sciences and the director of documentation and information services of Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto, where he develops a pioneer work with recognised excellency by both national and international peers. He is an educator and consultant in the areas of documental resources and implementation of informational structures. He has a vast work concerning documentation and libraries.

Ross Haenfler is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Mississippi. His research specialties include gender, social theory, deviant subcultures, qualitative methods, and social change. In 2009, Ross Haenfler won the College of Liberal Arts Teacher of the Year award. His research focuses on how everyday people engage in social change as members of deviant subcultures and loosely organized social movements. Since most people do not consider themselves “activists,” Ross Haenfler is interested in how they create changes in their own lives that reflect their values and how these individual actions add up to social change. Recently he has begun studying how young subculturists transition to “adulthood” – work, family, and careers. He is the author of *Subcultures: the basics* (Routledge), *Goths, gamers, and grrrls: deviance and youth subcultures* (Oxford) or *Straight edge: hardcore punk, clean living youth, and social change* (Rutgers).

ON THE ROAD TO THE AMERICAN UNDERGROUND

Paula Guerra

Live, travel, adventure, bless, and don't be sorry. There was nowhere to go but everywhere, so just keep on rolling under the stars - Jack Kerouac.

This book is the result of the desire to explore the American underground within their expressions of popular culture, whether by musical level or by literary level, both in terms of lifestyle and subcultures / countercultures. It lies in a deep desire for exploration and knowledge of the universe by reading the iconic book *On the Road* by Jack Kerouac. Over the past few years, we have been particularly concerned about the underground and the underground music scenes. The underground music scenes have since long been associated with strong DIY cultural practices (do-it-yourself). Consequently, maintaining a sociological reflection of registration, although we are open to all other social sciences, we intend to discuss the importance of underground artistic and musical practices in contemporary society, let it be for their volatility, or for its undeniable importance in urban youth culture. Urban musical cultures, in regard to the underground, are still considered illegitimate objects for analysis in connection with the contemporary social theory framing. However, these cultures play a central role in the functioning of the (post) music industry and in the emerging outlook on digital media. We also intend to clarify the musical scenes that cross contemporary cities, giving them rhythms, but also giving them specific forms of cultural identity and historical, social and artistic heritage.

The only truth is music. Happiness consists in realizing it is all a great strange dream. The best teacher is experience and not through someone's distorted point of view - Jack Kerouac.

So, we gathered in this book a series of texts that transport us to a reflection on this American underground and its inspiring potential on new sociological approaches in contemporaneity. Chapter 1, entitled "Between psychedelia and artistic transgression: vanguards, proto-punk and experimentation musical" by Paula Guerra, reflects the importance of the musical universe of American bands (Cramps, Velvet Underground, the Ramones, New York Dolls, Television, among others) from the 70s, in the affirmation of creative freedom, in proto-punk and territories as well as creative underground scenes. Chapter 2, entitled "Rock in a hard place" by Gina Arnold, takes us to a new reading in the 90's underground by transpositioning to a concert of the Ramones from that time and its links with the emerging grunge. Chapter 3, entitled "Minor Threat & 'Straight Edge' ", by Ross Haenfler, explores and develops the experiences and ways of American straight edge hardcore life today, inspired by Minor Threat, transporting us to a reading as necessary as the current US counterculture manifestations. The remaining chapters equate the influence and importance of the American underground in the structuring of tastes, lifestyles and Portuguese music scenes through the Ramones and hardcore. Chapter 4 by Paula Guerra, addresses the representations of the Ramones and their significance next to a wide range of Portuguese punks "Let's take the Ramones! Preliminary data about the impact and influence of the Ramones in Portugal." Chapter 5, by Pedro Rios, deals with the appropriation of American hardcore in musical practices and manifestations in the universe of Portuguese punk in the early 2000s, and is entitled "Hardcore - Multiple levels". Chapter 6, entitled "'We are one voice'! A brief history of English hardcore

and straight edge movement: protagonists, core values and DIY ethos ", by Ana Oliveira, considers some narratives of Portuguese hardcore straight edge participants, showing the influence of its principles and provisions. Finally, the chapter 7, entitled "Bibliographical catalogue" presents a selection of relevant bibliographical references for the social theory on underground.

Boys and girls in America have such a sad time together; sophistication demands that they submit to sex immediately without proper preliminary talk. Not courting talk — real straight talk about souls, for life is holy and every moment is precious (...) because he had no place he could stay in without getting tired of it and because there was nowhere to go but everywhere, keep rolling under the stars... - Jack Kerouac

It cannot be left unsaid that this book stems from the research project Keep It Simple, Make It Fast! (PTDC / CS-SOC / 118830/2010) based at the University of Porto and funded by the Science and Technology Foundation. Something no less important relates to the American underground that also has a concrete translation at the University of Porto's library through an exhibition that take place between 13th July and 13th September 2015. However, this is also an invitation to visit the exhibition and the library's wonderful collection related to this field. There are many acknowledgments to be made in regards of the realization of this book, but in order of keeping this accessible, we highlight our thanks to four of them: to João Emanuel Leite and Isabel Leite by the possibility of realization of dreams; to Gina Arnold and Ross Haenfler, for their generous and genial contribution to the quality of the discussion around the American underground.

The only people for me are the mad ones, the ones who are mad to live, mad to talk, mad to be saved. (...) I just won't sleep," I decided. There were so many other interesting things to do - Jack Kerouac

BETWEEN PSYCHADELIA AND ARTISTIC TRANSGRESSION: VANGUARDS, PROTO-PUNK AND MUSICAL EXPERIMENTATION¹

Paula Guerra

Lou Reed: rock and roll is so genial in its conception that some people would be willing to die for it (...). Music gives a pulse that allows you to dream. It's an entire generation walking to the sound of a Fender bass. It's necessary that people be willing to die for music, that is all. People die no matter what, so why not music? Die for it. Isn't it pretty? To want to die for beauty? (McNeil & McCain, 2006: 45).

The 1960's, from an music aesthetic and expression point of view, were marked by an intense creativity that spread throughout all artistic and cultural mediums. We associate this era with a revolutionary mark, be in cultural, moral or social terms, with the importance of figures such as Rimbaud, north American black blues, rock pioneers, beat generation, Henry Miller, Malraux, Baudelaire, Marcuse, Indian gurus, Marx, Trotsky, Mao Tse Tung... (Paire, 1992: 75-77). In the USA, rock acquired an institutionalization close to that of the traditional star system, with the role of the English pop movement, in particular that of the Beatles, one of the most remarkable in this respect. It will not, then, be out of place to consider that rock music throughout the

¹ This text was first published in Portuguese with the following reference: Guerra, P., 2010. *A instável leveza do rock. Gênese, dinâmica e consolidação do rock alternativo em Portugal. The unstable lightness of rock. Genesis, dynamics and consolidation of alternative rock in Portugal (1980-2010)*. Faculty of Arts of University of Porto, Porto. Ph.D Thesis. Available in: <http://repositorio-aberto.up.pt/handle/10216/56304?mode=full>.

60's and 70's established its roots in the everyday life of individuals, leading us to agree with Simon Firth when he states that "rock is the folk music of our times, but not from a sociological point of view. Whereas folk describes the pre-capitalistic modes of production, rock is without shadow of doubt, the echo of mass production, mass consumption, and a product in itself of consumption. The rock-folk argument does not refer to the way in which music is made, but to the way in which it works: rock is used to express or reflect upon a value of life; rock is used by its listeners as folk music – articulating common values, social problems and shared commentary. The argument, in other words, is over subcultures, beyond their music-making; it is about how music represents its listeners" (Firth, 1981: 159).

In the 1960's, alongside the period of prosperity that followed it, things had started to change. People believed in the equality of rights, independently of race, class or gender. If until the 70s one could not talk of youth cultures, in the United Kingdom, from then on out, young people started to question the morals and values of British society, creating in the process their own 'little countries' – and it was then that multiple youth subcultures were born (Biddle, 2008): teddy boys, hippies, mods.

From its beginning that rock culture has been associated with excess (celebrated in the famous statement "sex, drugs and rock'n'roll"). With the birth of rock'n'roll as a core of the youth culture of the 60's (Kleijer & Tillekens, 2000: 2), the sounds present in 'beat' replace the rhythms of jazz and, with it, the lyrics also change, birthing a more emotionally open youth. It is here that excess and hedonism, alongside guilt and shame negation, take its form in phenomenons such as the "Summer of Love" of 1968, which can be seen in Jefferson Airplane's songs as the shape through which, all over the world, the youth rebellion attacked

traditional values and cultures, using pop music as its manifesto. The ideology of domestic life is of pivotal importance for this pop music revolution: based on a perceived separation between the public and private spheres of life, it associates traditional gender roles to it, assigning mostly feminine roles to the private sphere, and masculine roles to the public domain (Kleijer & Tillekens, 2002: 2). In this context, sexuality is a taboo, reserved to silence. In the 50's, pop music aims to break that silence with rock'n'roll, giving in to the sexual implications of romance.

It is also in this context that leisure takes an increasingly more relevant role in youth cultures, giving that, being constituted as a rule, it spreads new rules for fields such as politics, work, school and family. Facing these changes, there is a blurring of the frontiers between legitimized sexuality and taboo, at the same time that notions of indecency and guilt lose their universal meaning, and irony starts making its way to pop music discourse. James Dean is the prototype of this new social functioning, the anti-hero of the beat generation which Elvis figured. The joined expression of feelings such as love and hate is now done in a 'cool' manner (Kleijer & Tillekens, 2000: 5). There is the construction of a new romantic love symbolic code, through which physical, emotional and financial values are expressed. This new code of beat music expresses, then, the notion of relationships as moments of exploration of new forms of communication, namely those related to pop music, from its creation, through dance, to the listening of it. Pop music is then a way to question the previous rationality through the expansion of conventions as to what is considered romantic love – as Richard Merton says, taking the case of the Stones (In Kleijer & Tillekens, 2000: 6), mentioning how the band breaks three taboos: sexual exploration, mental illness and the experience of eroticism in itself. As a communicative vessel,

music has in words its stronger element, not only because it conveys meaning, but because they reveal themselves (Kleijer & Tillekens, 2000: 6). Pop music has transformed the main fields of the communicative space, strengthening physical and mental identities through the valuing of the voice. Through this premises, the meaning of clothes is then made much more flexible, noting first and foremost the forbidden sexuality and demonstrating the role of the body as a source of pleasure. In this context of change, pop music established a more open, more direct and simultaneously more complex market of communication.

In terms of musical and artistic production, the time between 1964 and 1969 is noted by Peterson and Berger as being a moment of renewed growth (1975). It is a period which brought innovation and was marked by a transition on all levels - still touched by The Beatles heritage, and by the psychedelia of the time, in 1967, the second generation market of rock innovators was characterized by a plurality of lyrical content. However, and simultaneously, it started to show a tendency for the refocusing of the scope of musical artists, as "despite the number of competing companies in the pop music market having remained high, compared with the time between the 1963 and 1969, the "eight-firm concentration ratio" raised by 14% and the 'four firm ratio' by 6%. During that time, the total album sales doubled, reaching the 1.6 billion dollars. For the first time, disc sales surpassed the raw income of all other entertainment forms" (Peterson & Berger, 1975: 163)

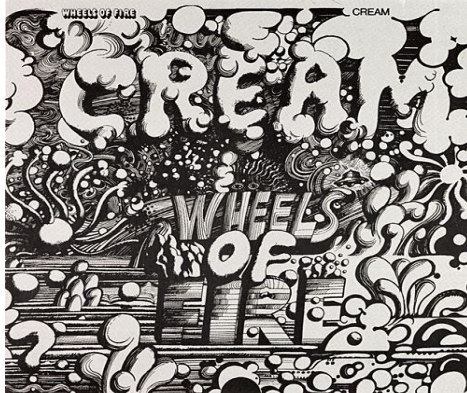
Re-concentration is then the market barrier between 1970 and 1973, and the processes and strategies which led it here can be seen through an analysis of the structure of leading companies in 1973. The four major companies, Columbia, Warner Brothers, Capitol and Motown, led the market of singles in its whole, while

different conglomerates, Warner Communications and CBS, led 15% of the market each. Columbia successfully used a dual strategy of acquiring established artists contracts and buying from reputed companies. By that time, concerts and shows such as those of Alice Cooper, with increasingly bizarre displays, seemed to shock its publics and critics than the less extreme displays of rock'n'roll groups (Peterson & Berger, 1975). Events such as Monterey Pop Festival in 1967 or Woodstock Festival in 1969 demonstrated the possibility to organize big and lucrative shows. Starting in the 70s, arena concerts became commonplace, being used to promote new albums, and producing major symbolic and economic income for the industry.

In the second half of the 60s, underground counterculture developed a critical and creative stance facing rock'n'roll as an institutionalized element of pop. From an artistic and stylistic point of view, there was an idea of progress associated with rock, in which musical, lyrical and emotional complexity entwined in order to convey evolution. The basis of progressive rock had been set, setting it apart from simple fun and transforming it into an art of rock (Bono, 2008). Defending progressive rock as a mark of experimentalism, complexity, innovation, eclecticism, its executants considered themselves a true counterculture, capable of proceeding through music experimentation and fighting the established star system. Notably, groups such as Cream, Jimi Hendrix Experience, Pink Floyd and Soft Machine. The remarkable psychedelic experiences brought by the consumption of LSD and its importance in the innovation and stylistic experimentation of these times should be noted: "The bands made their music in concerts through the use of long improvising sessions. Cream is a most pertinent example. Live, they improvisation stood out, thanks to the experimental virtuosity of its members. The core of its live

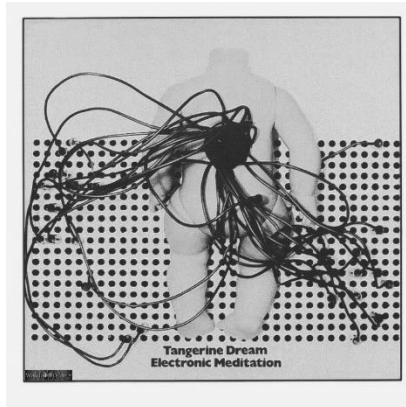
material was blues, which combined rock and jazz elements. They were initially conceived as blues trio, but as the group developed its music, they took in many different musical styles, reaching truly original ideas (Bono, 2008: 42).

Figure 1: Artwork of Cream, Wheels of Fire, 1968.



Source: <http://www.allmusic.com/cg/amg.dll?p=amg&sql=10:wifwxqe5ldde> under license CC-BY-NC-ND 2.0

Figure 2: Artwork of Tangerine Dream, Electronic Meditation, 1970.



Source: <http://psychedelicobscurities.blogspot.com/2007/05/tangerine-dream-electronic-meditation.html> under license CC-BY-NC-ND 2.0

The late 60s in Western Germany were a period of crucial change, where numerous protests throughout the country, mobilizing mostly young people, provided a particular social context. In the music scene, krautrock would forever change the face of western rock, taking it beyond any known limits: “krautrock² is related to German experimental rock of the 60s and 70s” (Stubbs, 2009: 4). Investigators tend to associate with the birth of krautrock the presence of American and English soldiers in Germany led to the constant presence of many different sounds, both drawing from Anglo-American rock, pop, soul, jazz and R&B. In truth, “many musicians, such as Edgar Froese from Tangerine Dream, seen as krautrock pioneers, learned their trade while playing covers” (Stubbs, 2009: 6). We can consider the relationship between krautrock and rock as contradictory: if, on one side, Can are the consequence of incursions to American rock, and the song Autobahn by Kraftwerk was a direct inspiration of the Beach Boys (Stubbs, 2009: 7), there was, on the other side, a strong refusal and transgression facing American and English conventional rock – “krautrock is a cultural reaction” (Stubbs, 2009: 17). Krautrock took on a wide array of sounds: Stockhausen’s free jazz; Dada and Fluxus; German romanticism of Mothers of Invention, as well as others.

Krautrock (also called *komische musik*) and a vanguard German music style which was born in the end of 60s decade. It was destined to go beyond the USA psychedelic rock, giving focus to electronic and modern instruments and hypnotic manipulation. The krautrock movement is filled with bands such as Popol Vuh,

² Fernando Magalhães explained the arrival of krautrock as follows: “And thus, mixing elements of psychedelic rock of the late 60s and jazz improvisation, as well as electronic experimentation, the krautrock genre was born. In it, groups such as Can, Neu!, Faust or Tangerine Dream released their creative freedom and absolute technical discipline. It was in this atmosphere that Kraftwerk were born” (Magalhães, 2003).

Amon Düül, Faust, Neu!, Ash Ra Temple, Agitation Free, Guru Guru, Can, etc. Each region developed its own particular sound, interpreting krautrock differently. The Berlin scene fell under the astral themes, with synthesizers and electronic experimentation (Ash Ra Temple, Agitation Free, Mythos, The Cosmic Jokers, Kluster). In Munich, the scene had a strong oriental influence, drawing from psychedelic rock and folk rock (Popol Vuh, Amon Düül, Gila, Guru Guru, Witthuser & Westrupp). The underground scenes of Cologne and Dusseldorf focused on political rock and electronica (Floh De Cologne, La Dusseldorf, Neu!, Can). The point was to subvert pop music conventions, and we can surely state how they served as an influence for bands such as Cabaret Voltaire, Brian Eno, Nurse With Wound, PIl, DAF, Einstürzende Neubauten, among others.

We can consider bands such as the Stooges, the New York Dolls, the Ramones, Television, Richard Heli & the Voidoids, Johnny Thunders & the Heartbreakers, and the Velvet Underground, to name a few, as the forefathers of American punk. The Stooges were formed on stage in the late 60s. Their energy and counter-conventionalism were thoroughly transmitted by Iggy Pop and the Stooges, making the band a pioneer in artistic, aesthetic and musical transgression. Danny Fields³ says in this respect: "The Stooges were superb. 'I wanna be your dog' became a fetish song for a new generation. (...) the song has an hypnotic riff which is repeated again and again..., and the words are simply brilliant. I think when the Pistols started, all they knew how to play was a bit of this song" (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002: 45). Legs McNeil⁴ also notes how the "history of punk started with Iggy Pop.

³ Ex-Manager of the Stooges and of the Ramones.

⁴ A journalist of *Punk Magazine* and author of *Please Kill Me*. Legs McNeil took the role of journalist of the New York underground clubs, such as CBGB. He invented the term "punk" in 1975, calling his review *Punk Magazine*. McNeil was at the centre of the punk

He was authentic. That is the problem of rock and roll. There aren't many truly maniac authentic types" (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002: 49). Lester Bangs is also tantamount in this: "the music of the Stooges is just this. It walks through a colourless chaos to gradually make up a unique and personal style, emerging from north-American tradition" (Bangs, 1996:45)⁵. Iggy Pop was the heir of beat composition, showing a bit of reticence as for the American dream as a reality, and noting the freedom inducing energy which music brought, as well as its capacity for personal and social statement. The concerts were surprising and marked by Iggy's performance on stage, who screamed, twisted his body, got dirty, and through himself to the crowd, as well as cutting his own body with shards of glass

*So messed up
I want you here
In my room
I want you here
Now we're gonna be
Face-to-face
And I'll lay right down
In my favourite place
And now I wanna
Be your dog
Now I wanna
Be your dog
Now I wanna
Be your dog
Well c'mon
Now I'm ready
To close my eyes
And now I'm ready*

movement, interviewing people such as Lou Reed or Iggy Pop. His recognition as narrator of the punk movement came with the edition of *Please Kill Me* (a collection of oral statements, which he edited alongside Gillian McCain).

⁵ It is the same Lester Bangs who considers that "to facilitate the liberation of physical mass, it is necessary that we start in the eye of the storm, the centre of all mess and chaos, and Iggy Stooges himself (Bangs, 1996:33). He continues: "Thus, you can now see where I am getting at, trying to show how the Stooges are vital, besides being good musicians (...) It takes a lot of courage to be that mad" (Bangs, 1996:36).

*To close my mind
 And now I'm ready
 To feel your hand
 And lose my heart
 On the burning sands.*

The Stooges, I Wanna Be Your Dog, 1969.

Lester Bangs description of Iggy is crucial in this respect: “More than anyone in that apparently endless parade of professionally alienated rockers, Iggy was truly isolated, and that manifested in extreme despair. He is the most intense performer I have ever seen, and that intensity comes from a sort of murderous impulse. In the past, it also made him one of the most dangerous performers alive: the third row dives, cutting and rolling on glass on stage, verbally and sometimes physically offending the crowd. When Iggy sang “I’m losing all my feelings/ And I’m running out of friends” in ‘I need somebody’, by *Raw Power*, he was briefly describing, as usual, the problems of alienation and anomy. There is no solution but death, and that is the reason for everything else” (Bangs, 2005: 106). Iggy and the Stooges had no specific qualification in the music area, and took on more of a rock lifestyle than technical skills, which led them to be seen as a sort of a gang, with a self and hetero representation of “four losers against the world” (Kent, 2006: 284).

Andy Warhol’s Factory and Velvet Underground⁶. The Factory was the first artistically conglomerating experience, and common

⁶ Velvet Underground were an American art rock band marked by a strong do-it-yourself (DIY) strategy and by their experimentalism. The band, formed in 1964, integrated Lou Reed (vocals and guitar player), Sterling Morrison (guitar player), John Cale (bass player and vocalist) and Maureen Tucker (drums). Taken under the wing and subsidized by plastic artist Andy Warhol, who brought Nico into the band, and made the classic banana cover of their debut record, they released *The Velvet Underground and Nico* in 1966. They explored the somber life of the streets of New York, the poor life of the youth, and were the first to openly explore drugs in lyrical terms. They were submerged in German expressionism, French existentialism, celebrating drug use, sexual choice, and claiming a new way to experience hedonism (Cfr. <http://www.dyingdays.net/>).

denominator, of a long felt search for multidisciplinary, by both the audience and the public. According to Lee Childers⁷, “all who were in Factory became super stars at some point, and some actually were it” (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002: 21). Candy Darling refers to Andy Warhol as a man who could “turn anyone into a star” (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002: 26). The band started with the relation between its members and the Syracuse University in the 60s in New York. They were one of the first bands to explore obscure themes in their lyrics, such as drugs (overdoses, not the fun acid trips of the Beatles), prostitution, problems, disease and death. John Cale mentions that “the first time that Lou played me ‘Heroin’ it changed me. The words and the music were too devastatingly sexy. More and more, Lou’s songs corresponded perfectly with my idea of music. His songs had a scent of scandal, a trace of debauchery. He identified thoroughly with the characters he represented. It was in the *Actor in Studio* methodology put into song” (McNeil & McCain, 2006: 17). Their roots in German expressionism and French existentialism, proved to be crucial to a point where Velvet put themselves aside any clear aesthetic of the hippie and beat movements of the time: “The Velvet Underground took on the form of a music convention between Lou Reed, a poet made song lyricist with a deliciously decadent voice, and John Cale, the monotone violist of La Monte Young’s Theatre of Eternal Music” (Ross, 2009: 505).

They inspired multiple bands and were recognized as the core of the punk movement, as the words of Steve Severin⁸ show: “We wanted all of those who heard the Velvet Underground to make a group of their own...I did it” (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002: 30).

⁷ Ex-manager of the Stooges and the Heartbreakers. Currently a photographer and writer.

⁸ Bass player of Siouxsie and the Banshees.

As they walked through the United States, the Velvet Underground raised a number of bands which drew from their performance, such as MC5 or the Stooges. Later, they took on the role of producers for records such as Modern Lovers, Patti Smith, the Stooges, with John Cale being directly related to punk's expansion.

Figure 3: Iggy Pop, 1973.



Source: <http://www.untidymusic.com/wordpress/tag/iggy-pop/6> under license CC-BY-NC-ND 2.0

New York Dolls⁹ and the origin of punk. Giving voice to one of the actors of the scene at the time, we can say with Todd

⁹ The New York Dolls (1971-1977) are a glam rock and proto punk band formed in 1971 in the city of New York. Its original members were: David Johansen (vocals); Johnny Thunders (guitar); Rick Rivetts (guitar); Arthur "Killer" Kane (bass); Billy Murcia (drums); Brian Delaney (drums); Steve Conti (guitar); Brian Koonin (keyboard). It grew to fame in its first England tour when the band visited Malcom McLaren's shop, garnishing his attention immediately. Despite not having too much recognition during their short existence, over the years the bands has reached a cult-like following, noting their

Rundgren that “most people think that punk was born with the Sex Pistols. They surely defined it in the popular conscience, but they were heavily influenced by the New York Dolls, and were not ashamed to admit it” (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002: 50), or even, as the famous Legs McNeil¹⁰ put it “the New York Dolls came and went back to three minute songs. That is what punk is about, going back to the song. The song on the radio that is – roughly speaking it was chorus, verse, chorus verse” (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002:51). The New York Dolls signalled a difference in attitude, appearing in high heels, feminine clothes, exhaling eccentricity, musically inexperienced, harbingers of punk – they had a message that anyone could do what they wanted. That is the reason that Malcom McLaren took an interest in the group the first time he saw them in New York, feeling the punk seed in their sound and attitude. They were the face of the 70s rebellion, incorporating all the excesses of rock and roll. In all aspects, except for the clothes, the New York Dolls gave Malcom McLaren the shape of what would be the Sex Pistols. The Dolls were the first musical project to derogate music industry and its managers, electing live shows as the prime time of celebration and excess. Kent says, to this respect, the following: “in truth, we are talking of an extremely vital music, filled with a magic and essence which the band exhaled, which albums could not capture in the slightest way” (Kent, 2006: 220).

*Twenty, twenty, twenty, four hours to go
I wanna be sedated
Nothing to do, nowhere to go, oh
I wanna be sedated
Just get me to the airport, put me on a plane*

importance in the formation of punk rock. In 2004 they resumed their activity, and were in the 2007 edition of Heineken Paredes de Coura festival.

¹⁰ Journalist of Punk Magazine and author of Please Kill Me.

Hurry, hurry, hurry before I go insane
I can't control my fingers, I can't control my brain
Oh no, oh, oh, oh, oh
Twenty, twenty, twenty, four hours to go
I wanna be sedated
Nothing to do, nowhere to go, oh
I wanna be sedated
Just put me in a wheelchair and get me on a plane
Hurry, hurry, hurry before I go insane
I can't control my fingers, I can't control my brain
Oh no, oh, oh, oh, oh
Twenty, twenty, twenty, four hours to go
I wanna be sedated
Nothing to do, nowhere to go, oh
I wanna be sedated
Just put me in a wheelchair, get me to the show
Hurry, hurry, hurry before I go loco
I can't control my fingers, I can't control my toes
Oh no, oh, oh, oh, oh/ (4x)
Ba-ba-baba, baba-ba-baba I wanna be sedated.
 The Ramones, I wanna be sedated, 1978

Ramones¹¹: Hey! Ho! Let's Go! Hey! Ho! Let's Go! Hey! Ho! Let's Go! Hey! Ho! Let's Go!... The war cry of the Ramones, present in the famous song from their first album *Blitzkrieg Bop* and copiously played in every concert. It would be wrong to think that punk rock, as visually represented by torn up jeans, was the sole work of the Sex Pistols. Already 1974, a band of teenagers was playing in the famous club CBGB (Country Bluegrass and Blues), coming from Manhattan, and would define in these first few concerts a visual and musical attitude that would come to be known as punk rock. The first record of the band, entitled *Ramones*, released the punk movement in England, which would be made famous by bands such as the Sex Pistols, the Clash, the Damned, etc. They were pioneers of the do it yourself aesthetic.

¹¹ The Ramones (1974-1996) arrived in New York, and are seen as pioneers of punk rock. The band was composed of Joey Ramone (vocals), Dee Dee Ramone (bass), Johnny (guitar) e Tommy Ramone (drums). After their birth, the band started playing regular gigs at CBGB, integrating an underground scene composed of bands such as: Blondie, Television, The Cramps, Talking Heads, The Voidoids and The Patti Smith Group.

In the words of Joey Ramone: “We wanted to save rock and roll, keep it fun and interesting and all that. (...) Elvis Presley was punk, Jim Morrison was punk. There was a lot of people who were punk and had no weird hairdo or anything like it. It has more to do with being rebellious (McNeil & McCain, 2006: 380). Still in respect to their first album, Joey Ramones direct account is crucial: “We made the album in one week and spent six thousand and four hundred dollars – everyone was amazed. In that time, people didn’t much care for money – there was a lot of it lying around. (...) Money wasn’t short yet – some albums costed about half a million dollars to be made and took some two or three years to be recorded, as was the case with Fleetwood Mac and others. Doing an album in a week and producing it with six thousand and four hundred dollars was an unheard of, let alone an album that would change the world. It kind of started punk and all that scene – and it set us on our career” (McNeil & McCain, 2006: 403).

The Ramones came from a *praxis* of austerity, lived by a group of teenagers who sought to supplant the boredom and frustration with guitars and hate (Ramone & Koffman, 2002: 8). We can then say that the New York scene gathered cultured and well-informed young people (Richard Hell and Howard Devoto), and youth delinquents (Sid Vicious, Steve Jones, Dee Dee Ramone): “all learned the most important lesson of the movement: not to care for anything. And if ‘do it yourself’ was the punk motto, then Dee Dee Ramone could be its spokesperson (...). But it was exactly that which happened: a man destined to become a failure, ended up being the model of a generation” (Ramone & Kofman, 2004: 8-9). The Ramones changed rock, “without keywords, with no theories, without problems. The main point was never the theory itself. What they wanted was to play fast music, without solos, with lyrics which spoke of everyday life. It was a simple sort of

music, but which told more than any libertarian manifesto. How many bands started after someone listened to 'Blitzkrieg Bop'? How many teenagers in the 70s did not think: 'if these guys can record an LP, then so can I!?' (Ramone & Kofman, 2004: 19).

Figure 4: The Cramps, 16 August, Festival Heineken Paredes de Coura, 2006.



Source: MUSICULT_2005 | 2009

CBGB, a stage for punk in New York. In 1975, the scene associated with CBGB in New York, in which bands inspired by MC5, the Velvet Underground, the Stooges or the New York Dolls emerged, marked the urban underground and musical/stylistic creation supported by the Do It Yourself ethics and the simplicity, which opposed hippie rock of the American West Coast. Bands such as Television, the Ramones, The Cramps and The Patti Smith Group started to reside in CBGB and in the proximity of clubs in Max Kansas City. CBGB was a musical club located in the Manhattan neighbourhood of New York. In 1973, Hilly Kristal, the

owner of CBGB opened the place to punk audience, as well as to concerts of emerging bands which played in that style. Colegrave and Sullivan consider this club to be crucial in the statement of punk, noting that “centred on the CBGB club, the scene exploded thanks to groups such as Queen Elizabeth by Wayne County, Television by Richard Hell and Tom Verlaine, Patti Smith, the Dead Boys and the Ramones, all coming from this place. Already living, but not yet baptized, punk was born. The name came soon after, when illustrator John Holmstrom and journalist Legs McNeil launched *Punk Magazine*, a fanzine dedicated to the genre – and the name stuck” (2002: 19).

Figure 5: The Cramps, 16 August, Festival Heineken Paredes de Coura, 2006.



Source: MUSICULT_2005 | 2009

References

BANGS, Lester (2005) – *Reações psicóticas*. S. Paulo: Conrad Editora do Brasil.

- BIDDLE, Rodney (2008) - *How It All Began - a cultural revolution* [em linha] Disponível em: <http://www.gpwu.ac.jp/~biddle/youth.htm>. [Consult. 12 Mar. 2009].
- BONO, Julián Ruesga; CAMBIASSO, Norberto (2008) – *Más allá del rock*. Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música.
- COLEGRAVE, Stephen; SULLIVAN, Chris (2002) – *Punk. Hors limites*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- FRITH, Simon (1981) - 'The magic that can set you free': the ideology of folk and the myth of the rock community. *Popular Music* [em linha]. Volume 1. doi: 10.1017/S0261143004000145. 159 - 168. Disponível em: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/853249>. [Consult. 9 de Out. 2007].
- KENT, Nick (1995) – *The dark stuff: selected writings on rock music 1972-1995*. Nova Iorque/Londres: Da Capo Press.
- KENT, Nick (2006) – *The dark stuff. L'envers du rock*. Paris: Naïve.
- KLEIJER, Henk & TILLENKENS, Ger (2000) – Passion, pop and self-control: the body politics of pop music. *Soundscape* [em linha]. Volume 3. ISSN 1567-7745. 1 - 12. Disponível em http://www.icce.rug.nl/~soundscape/VOLUME03/Passion_pop_selfcontrol.shtml. [Consult. 12 Mar.2008].
- MAGALHÃES, Fernando (2003) - No "tour" da pop electrónica. *Y. Suplemento do Jornal Público* [em linha]. (01 Ago. 2003). Disponível em: <http://www.publico.clix.pt/>. [Consult. 02 Abr. 2007].
- PARAIRE, Philipp (1992) – *50 Anos de música rock*. Lisboa: Pergaminho.
- PETERSON, Richard A.; BERGER, David G. (1975) - Cycles in symbol production: the case of popular music author. *American Sociological Review*. Volume 40. N.º 2.
- RAMONE, Dee Dee ; KOFMAN, Veronica (2002) – *Mort aux Ramones!* Vauvert: Éditions Au Diable Vauvert.
- REYNOLDS, Simon (2006) - *Rip it up and start again: post punk 1978-1984*. London: Faber and Faber.
- REYNOLDS, Simon (2007) – *Bring the noise: 20 years of writing about hip rock and hip hop*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.
- ROSS, Alex (2009) – *O Resto é ruído. À escuta do século XX*. Lisboa: Casa das Letras.
- STUBBS, David (2009) – Introduction. KOTSOPOULOS, Nikolaos (ed.) (2009) - *Krautrock. Cosmic rock and it's legacy*. London: Black Dog Publishing.

ROCK IN A HARD PLACE¹

Gina Arnold

I. Once upon a time, in a galaxy far, far away, there was a beautiful band called the Ramones, and the world for once agreed. The Ramones were perfect; the only perfect entity in existence.

First of all, there were four Ramones, which was the perfect number for a rock 'n' roll band. Then, they were named Johnny, Joey, Tommy, and Dee Dee, which were the perfect names for a rock 'n' roll band. (These weren't their real names, but that was okay, because in rock 'n' roll, you're allowed to be called anything you want.)

Another perfect thing about the Ramones was the way they looked: identical. They were skinny and greasy and longhaired and pale-skinned, and they wore tight black jeans and black leather jackets, and they looked like they didn't give a fuck. All those perfect people who make the rest of us feel inferior had no power over the Ramones: the Ramones were perfect as they were.

But the most perfect thing about the Ramones was their music, which distilled to its very essence the good things about rock 'n' roll. Each song had only three chords, but they were, as Joey once put it, the *right* three chords. Each song had an immensely fast tempo, which made them sound even more exciting. The band played loudly, and exactly in unison – thus coining the term “loud fast rules” – and they sang lyrics that were a poignant cross

¹ Chapter kindly provided by Gina Arnold and originally published in the book *Kiss This: Punk In The Present Tense* (1997). New York: St. Martin's Press.

between goofy and terrible and perfectly apt. They never forgot to put in a tune and a catchy chorus, and every song began with the same four words, “One two three four”, and that was perfect, too.

When they first began, the Ramones played a lot of shows in their hometown of New York City, and everybody who saw them loved them immediately. People from America agreed that they were wonderful and joyous and gave new meaning to the term “genius”; people from England saw them and went home and formed rock bands that sounded just like them. The Ramones were inspirational, because they proved that you didn’t have to be pretty and pretentious and sensitive and overbearing – even particularly musical to be a member of a fucking great rock band.

It was obvious. And because the Ramones were so good, they were allowed to make a record almost right away. After all, given the history of rock – of bands like the Beatles and the Stones and the Monkees and Led Zeppelin – it seemed a foregone conclusion that a band as simple and as affecting as the Ramones would take over the world.

But it didn’t happen that way. For years the Ramones put out records with wonderful songs on them, and they toured the United States and Europe over and over again. But they never made it past what is known as cult status – they never made a record that had a gen-u-ine hit.

They should have, though. Because if “Sheena Is a Punk Rocker” had been a hit in 1977, everything would have been different. For one thing, there would have been no reign of Ronald Reagan, because America wouldn’t have been fixated on *Happy Days* and nostalgic music, because the present would have been so good. Instead of dwelling on a past that never really existed,

they'd have been out forming punk rock bands and dancing merrily to something new.

Yes, picture a world where "Sheena" was a hit – followed, of course, by *Rockaway Beach*, *End of the Century*, *Bonzo Goes to Bitburg*, *Pet Sematary*, and so on. Instead of wearing polyester and spandex, everyone in America would have worn cotton-blended black and white. Instead of fluffing their hair like Farrah Fawcett, they would have left it long and straight. They would have had taste, damn it. They would have had better pictures of themselves in their photo albums. They would have had some self-respect.

Alas, this never happened. The Ramones had a different history – the wrong history as it were – foisted off upon them. Valiantly, they plugged away at things, but enough is enough, and in 1995, they decided to break up. And then a funny thing happened. When the Ramones announced their imminent breakup, certain people wouldn't let them. They literally refused to let it happen. (Can you say "Perfect"?) One by one all the bands that loved and revered and worshiped the Ramones came out in public and said, 'We won't let this happen'. First Pearl Jam, then White Zombie, then Soundgarden. They insisted that the Ramones please tour with them that they extend the date of their demise till all of America had seen them and formed their final opinion. And so, in the summer of 1996, the Ramones finally got to face Middle America: steaming hot fields full of shirtless white boys, the audience that ought to have embraced them all along, if it hadn't had magentacolored spandex pop metal haircut bands pushed off on it instead. And a person had to wonder: Was it too late for American youth to learn to love the Ramones? The country had been given one last chance.

II. Forks in the River Speedway, in Newport, Tennessee, is an hour and a half from Knoxville – although it is only a few miles away from Pigeon Forge, the childhood home of Dolly Parton in the heart of the Great Smoky Mountains. Tourists pack Dollywood on weekends to attend the legendary ‘dinner stampedes’, but the speedway scene is another trip entirely. A couple of weeks ago, Charlie Daniels and 38 Special rocked the Smokies at the Speedway – fifty thousand rednecks on reds peeing on the side of the road – and today, it’s Lollapalooza’s turn to turn Appalachia into Lollapalochia.

Folks around Forks think that Lollapalooza’s going to draw a scary, black-shirted metalloid crowd – after all, Metallica’s fan club is based in nearby Knoxville – but folks are wrong. To those on the East and West Coasts of America, this year’s Lollapalooza lineup – featuring Psychotica, the Screaming Trees, Rancid, the Ramones, Rage Against the Machine, Soundgarden, and Metallica – is considered the most mainstream bill ever, a travesty of commercial, testosterone-driven acts. But as anyone who’s ever spent a Saturday night in Knoxville knows, Lollapalooza is the biggest thing to hit what passes for alternative culture in the Great Smoky Mountains ever.

Of course, in 1996 ‘pop culture’ has become a pretty loose term – thanks mostly to the influence of Lollapalooza itself. Too much has been written about the festival at this point for one to bother to recap its history or its influence; suffice it to say that, along with MTV, it has had a profound effect on pop culture. Now in its sixth year of existence, the festival has been one of the main subversions of metal-pop-country hegemony in America, and this year is the most subverted – some might even say perverted – version yet. Lollapalooza has always provided onlookers with a glimpse of clashing genres. But few stories illustrate the moral dichotomy

inherent in 1996's punk-meets-metalloid lineup better than the afternoon in West Palm Beach when a girl came up to Rancid's Tim Armstrong and begged him to get her backstage. The girl, a typical Floridian babe in scanty clothing, pled her case as eloquently as she could. "Please, Tim, I've got to go there. The drummer from Metallica said he'd do a line on my tits!" Tim, who shaved his Mohawk a few weeks ago but still bears the stigma of ten years spent in hardcore heaven: "Do a line? You mean... he's going to draw a picture on your tits with a Sharpie?"

III. Armstrong's words sound impossibly naïve – unless you consider just how low-key bands have become in the last five years. The tit-waving antics of GNR (Guns 'N' Roses) are over and done with; now it's Metallica who seem old and foggyish for behaving like the stereotypical "rock stars" of old. This, then, is the moral and artistic dichotomy of Lollapalooza 1996 – the same dichotomy that has seemingly kept audiences across the country at bay. On your left, you have Rancid, straight-edge, DIY, indie-label – short for "independent", meaning unaffiliated with a major – punk rock heroes, backed up by their homies the Ramones and, at some dates, by Devo. On your right, the defending champions of humorless heavy metal, Metallica, who come complete with thudding bass line, high-neck guitar solos, cigars, chopper rides, Learjets, backstage babes, and onstage pyrotechnics. They are supported, to a certain extent, by the less flamboyant but equally heavy music of Soundgarden and, at some dates, Rage Against the Machine.

In theory, a tour that melds together these utterly populist elements would create a mighty strong metal indeed. But in practice, the two things have turned out to be more antithetical than *gangsta rap* and industrial rock, than jazz and *eurodisco*,

than mind-wandering indie-crap and shiny girl grunge, than Sinead O'Connor and Courtney Love.

Punk and metal, antithetical? Get outta here! On the surface, the two things seem like the least-daring mixture ever. The Melvins, for example, who are playing the second stage, have been melding Dead Kennedys with Black Sabbath since Kurt Cobain was knee high to a grasshopper. But to audiences in places like Des Moines, Iowa, Rockingham, North Carolina, and Ferris, Texas, the combo has proved to be scarier than a bill with the Butthole Surfers and Ice T. The initial perception was that a Lollapalooza bill featuring Metallica and Soundgarden, both of whom have number-one albums, would be far too popular to put into amphitheaters. But ticket sales for this year's Lollapalooza have been similar to other years', and about half what the tour producers expected.

How come? "I don't have any idea", tour manager Stuart Ross says, shrugging. "There's one theory that says that Metallica audiences are waiting for Metallica to come do their big two-and-a-half-hour production in an arena, and don't want to come and wade through eight hours of alternative music that they may not appreciate and crowds they may not want to hang out in. That's theory one. "Theory two is that the alternative audience has been turned off by the fact that Metallica's on the bill. I don't agree with that, but some people hold that theory. Third is the fact that we raised the ticket price, and this is the point of price resistance.

"Then there's the issue that because we're in fields, and some of our audiences are too young to drive and some of their parents may have been hesitant to take them to a venue they're not familiar with and which they don't already know as a nice, safe environment. 'Lastly, for some reason, it's a big movie summer and it's a slim music summer. I hear that no show except for Kiss

is doing well this summer'. Still, despite the warning signals, the slow sales have taken Lollapalooza by surprise. An early gig in Rockford, Illinois, drew 35,000 people, but elsewhere sales haven't been so hot. Newport, Tennessee, had an attendance of 19,000. The week before the show, New Orleans had only sold 10,000 tickets, although that had risen to 18,500 by showtime. And at Ferris, Texas – fifty miles north of Dallas, normally a huge Metallica market – sales were 17,500.

According to Ross, Lollapalooza is losing about five hundred thousand dollars in potential revenue per gig. The losses are incurred by the expense of running each gig in half-capacity fields: this year Lollapalooza, for example, is traveling with forty trucks, thirty buses, and a crew of three hundred workers at each venue. The idea was that by shoehorning itself into fields instead of playing at already existing fifteen-thousand-seated amphitheaters, the tour would be able to accommodate the many Metallica fans who would flock to see it.

In order to make money on that kind of outlay, however, Lollapalooza would have to sell over twenty-five thousand tickets per venue. But sales have been off projections – way off. The irony is, in terms of sheer entertainment value, this bill is the shit. Critics have charged that by excluding more “alternative” acts (including previous festivals' seemingly token female and rap acts) Lollapalooza has given in to the mainstream by retreating into the safety of an old-fashioned all-male, all-metal extravaganza. In fact, what they've given in to is the concept of sheer entertainment. The T-shirts say 'Summer of Noise', but within that term, you couldn't get a more disparate group – or one more continually appealing to Lollapalooza crowds. There's no ultrahip act on the Matador label this year, no Pavement, no GBV. But there is nonstop great rock.

‘What I like about these acts’, says Mark Weinberg, twenty, guitarist for third-stage band Crumb, “is that they aren’t trendy flash-in-the-pan acts like Bush, they’re not one-hit wonders. They all have really deep roots. And I don’t know, my favorite bands are Sebadoh and Pavement, but for Tennessee, Rage and Metallica and Rancid are so much more appropriate a definition of alternative. Joey Ramone, of all people, agrees: “Everyone I’ve met here so far is pretty cool and kinda like grass-rooted, you know what I mean? Soundgarden, Rancid... It’s a *rock ‘n’ roll show*. Alternative... I don’t know, half those bands, like the Presidents of the United States, I don’t know what the fuck to make of them, you know? ‘But this is a cool bill; it’s kind of a real sobering bill – it’s like bands that are unique and rooted and grounded... They’re real, they’re not bullshit, not living in the hype world... not trendy. I’m happy about being on this bill.’

IV. This bill begins with psychotica, a glammy, Bowie-influenced act led by a former drag queen in a silver body suit, silver Mohawk, and orange eye makeup – a hell of a getup to be wearing in ninety-five-degree heat. He is carried on stage on a giant silver cross. “Hello Hillbillies! We’re Psychotica and our whole mission in life is to piss the Bible Belt off!”

The crowd roars with pleasure, lifting its fists in the devil salute. It’s impossible to read whether this is ironic or not; but it’s easy to imagine that it is done in the same playful spirit that is clearly attending every Kiss concert this summer. Psychotica’s whole trip is to make fun of metal, and it’s clear from the start that people get the joke.

The Screaming Trees make a wonderful counterpoint to Psychotica’s outrageous, New Yorky act. Few bands look more like their audience than the large, lumbering Screaming Trees, and the

noise they make is equally unpretentious, a loud moan of anguish, a lovely, hard wail. They go over well even before they play their 1992 hit "Nearly Lost You." After that, they have the audience in the palm of their hands.

Next up are the kung fu monks of ShaoLin, China, whose display of "nonaggressive" combat tactics – the live-action version of half the video games on the planet – lulls and fascinates the throng. The monks are followed, at around four o'clock, with about six more hours of nonstop killer rock: Rancid, the Ramones, Rage Against the Machine, Soundgarden, and Metallica. (In Los Angeles, Seattle, Phoenix, and San Francisco the Rage slot will be filled by Devo.)

No wonder Lollapalooza had to send the four carnival rides it had hired back after the fourth date. No one has time to ride them without missing some essential act. Even the second stage – actually, a second and third stage, which alternate throughout the day, encompassing some ten different acts – isn't drawing too well (although this tends to vary a lot, depending on the layout of the venue and whether Sponge, a huge draw, is on the bill).

V. Tim Armstrong blows into the tour bus an hour later, still dressed over warmly in skintight zip trousers and leather jacket, and a T-shirt on which he has handwritten the words 'Disorder and Disarry' (*sic*), the misspelled title of one of his own songs. He's just finished worshipping at the altar of the Ramones, whom he watches faithfully every night. ("If it wasn't for the Ramones", he says, "we wouldn't be on this tour.") It's about a million degrees out and humid with it, but, like so many of the fans in the audience, Armstrong claims not to feel it.

Besides, the bus is air-conditioned, so Armstrong takes a pew. There have been so many rock-star moments on this tour”, he giggles. “This morning, we pulled up here around four A.M., and me and some of the others went walking in the field where everyone is camping out, and you wouldn’t believe it: they were blasting Ted Nugent!”. Tim finds this funny, because Rancid was nurtured at punk rock mecca Gilman Street, a place where the Nuge is banned for life. But its members have taken to the stadium with the same aplomb as their hometown friends Green Day. Two years ago, Green Day used nudity and rudity to capture this same constituency; Rancid have been a bit more pragmatic, augmenting their natural energy with a three-piece horn section and a keyboard player.

True, they had to hire a whole extra tour bus to carry that big a band – but the extra space they farmed out, free of charge, to the Ramones’ longsuffering road crew. No wonder Rancid are the darlings of Lollapalooza, both in front of the stage and behind it! No one has a bad word to say about Rancid since the date in Toronto when the band broke out their own blow-up swimming pool, placed it in the center of the backstage area and invited everyone in for a swim; they have created an unlikely camaraderie almost out of whole cloth. ‘But everyone here is so cool”, protests Armstrong: *The Ramones! Psychotica!* Even Metallica, they’ve been so nice to us. Jason from Metallica, he’s traveling in his own bus with his own recording studio in it, and the other day he recorded us with it in his hotel’.

As Armstrong has noted, Jason Newsted travels in an entire bus by himself, reportedly because he wants to get to hang out and be ordinary with the other bands. But Metallica’s Learjet is rumored to have two stewardesses and a humidor full of hundred-dollar cigars. They use it on days off to go special places: to see

Kiss in Charlotte after the Knoxville gig, for example; and to go to Las Vegas, while the other bands are slogging it out between Dallas and Phoenix.

The Ramones, on the other hand, are saving money by traveling by minivan – all except for C.J., who is getting to gigs via his Harley, escorted by a couple of Hell’s Angel friends. Once, C.J. was held up for two hours at the Canadian border, almost making him late for the Toronto gig. “Everyone was all worried, and then he roared up the center of backstage on his Harley just in time and we’re all cheering, ‘Yea, C.J.’, relates Armstrong. “Another total rock ‘n’ roll moment’.

In truth, Rancid is barely breaking even on this tour – every band is taking a cut on its salary at venues where ticket sales are slow, and the cost of the buses and hotels makes it almost impossible for the early bands to turn a profit. But Rancid will profit by being here on record sales and merch. Their T-shirts – which they sell for twelve dollars, half the cost of the other main-stage acts – are selling like crazy.

Rancid’s great popularity here also underscores the irony of this Lollapalooza, which is that, although this is the tour’s least successful year in terms of projected ticket sales, it is its best in terms of value and artistry. The final two acts on the bill, Soundgarden and Metallica, have both scored huge number-one LPs in the last few months; and no one on the bill – from Rancid to Rage Against the Machine to Steve Earle to the Ramones – is less than critically acclaimed.

Kids who come to this show are being nailed to the ground with every act. For seven straight hours, each succeeding act is topped by a band they like better – which is one reason this year’s midway has been scaled down a lot from previous years’ designs. Gone are the peripheral cyberspace displays and sideshows: this

year's unmusical fare consists only of a couple of "freak" displays, the chill room, which is full of political activist literature and couches (and is air-conditioned for comfort), and the eight mist tents, which are so essential in the blistering midwestern heat.

There is also an Airwalk display, complete with skate ramp and skate and BMX bike pros. But in general the vibe here is much more music based than it's been in the past. In New Orleans, for some reason, the ShaoLin monks are replaced for one date by Waylon Jennings, who goes over extremely well. (In Des Moines, he was booed until James Hetfield came on stage and bawled out the audience.)

In Dallas, however, Rage are off the bill, replaced by country rebel rocker Steve Earle, who is bottled by the rowdies up front. "Rage would have sold at least five thousand more tickets", a promoter says bitterly as he watches.

Meanwhile, the big joke backstage – and probably in front of the stage as well – has to do with Metallica's new look: neat jeans and muscle shirts, clipped facial hair, makeup, and piercings. Despite the fact that one of Metallica's guitar techs has a case full of pro-gun, pro-redneck, antiliberal, antigay bumper stickers, several of the band members look like nothing so much as a typical gay man, circa 1978. The band's motto this summer is *We Don't Give a Shit*, which is plastered across their special laminates. Also, after the third or fourth song, singer James Hetfield habitually announces to the crowd that Metallica doesn't give a shit.

We don't give a shit! he yells. *But what does he mean?* I say wonderingly after hearing it for the fourth time.

He means that they don't give a shit that everyone thinks they're queer now, a singer for one of the other bands on the bill butts in. Huge titters all around. Judging by the number of stripper types around the band, Metallica are not, in fact, gay. Not yet,

anyway. But one can't help but wonder if their 'real' constituency – all the ones who aren't here, that is – are indeed staying away merely because they are disappointed by Metallica's new look – particularly Kirk Hammett's chin stud. Maybe that, more than price resistance or fear of palooza, is what's keeping them away.

Poor ticket sales notwithstanding, Metallica are not about to fade away. *Load* was number one for three weeks. But if this Lollapalooza has taught the record business one thing, it is that punk rock has more of an ability to assimilate with the mainstream than anyone ever thought... more ability than metal. Joey Ramone: "There's a much healthier attitude in music right now than some years. Everything's a lot better now... and I feel like rock 'n' roll's better because of the Ramones. I mean I don't want to sound all full of myself, but I know how things were before, back in the dark ages, and now everything's opened up. Everything's open for business now."

VI. At six o'clock every Lollapalooza morning, a little village is erected in the dust. It's a village that includes three stages, three sound booths, an entrance, an exit, a bunch of food stands, toilets, showers, and miles and miles and miles of fence, not to mention several large inflatables – a gorilla, an elephant, and a clown – which are unleashed and inflated each day by one Chris Althoff, Lollapalooza's gorilla wrangler. At seven o'clock, he kills the beasts by unzipping a flap on their legs. *If you ever see a wild gorilla*, he jokes, *"you can subdue them by finding the zippers on their calves.*

Wiley Dailey is the tour plumber. He erects and maintains the eight mist tents, as well as the hoses at the front of the house that hose down the sweating crowd. Then there's catering. Caterers, who are contracted separately in each city, feed three meals to the army of workers. Alas, the quality of the meals differs from place

to place, and tends to be the one thing that people on tour remember about a gig. The food can make or break the backstage atmosphere, and thus, the entire show. These are just a few of the hundreds of specialized workers who are needed to make Lollapalooza happen – and besides them, there are the seven main-stage bands, ten indie-stage bands, and their separate crews and management. It's an incredible thing to see in action – this mobile village, this lumbering circus – but one wonders if it's worth it. Do kids need to see seventeen bands in one day, to come out to a field in the blistering heat and bond with their own kind?

Ross, who has been involved with Lollapalooza since its inception, thinks so. There's a lot of great music here.

The problem is that the press, for whatever reason, takes Lollapalooza from rock concert status to lifestyle status, and assumes that we have an agenda and criticizes us for our wavering from that agenda. The fact is, we don't have an agenda. We produce the best rock show we can. We try to give people a lot of things to do. They can see a wide variety of music, they can get political information, they can shop the little stands that are out there, and at the end of the day they can say, 'I had a good time, I was treated well, it was safe, I'll come back next year.' That's really our agenda.

That being said, there is a sense, here in 1996, that Lollapalooza has lost its constituency; that by combining punk and metal, Lollapalooza has allowed the H.O.R.D.E. tour – which stands for Horizons of Roll Developing Everywhere – with its raft of sixties impersonators (the faux Janis, the faux Stones, and this year the faux Jimi) to take over the zeitgeist. On the Coasts, Lollapalooza is oft-criticized for providing just as fake an 'alternative'. But in New Orleans, the *Times-Picayune* still covered it as if it were novel and weird, sending a reporter into the crowd to make snide remarks about piercings and bizarre clothes. And in Texas, the local paper of Ferris called its arrival an influx of a nest of Satan worshipers.

Ross: A reporter asked me about the Satan worship this morning and I said, 'It's true. What we do is, as soon as the kids walk through the gate, we have people who take them aside and implore them to give up all Judeo-Christian values.'

Articles like those are why it's in places like Ferris and Newport that one is better able to see the necessity of Lollapalooza. To kids who live among people who think that rock is the devil's music, the opportunity to see bands like the Ramones is still really special. Respect is due to the fans of New Orleans, who moshed to Waylon Jennings as well as to the Ramones; to the fans in Ferris, Texas, who came out at 11 A.M. in hundred-plus-degree heat and sang every word of *Psychotherapy* and *Sheena is...*; to the fans in Newport, Tennessee, who camped out all night playing Nugent and were immediately confronted with *Psychotica* – and clapped.

Even the artists are having their eyes opened by some bands. "I was with some friends", says Joey Ramone, "and we were watching Soundgarden and Rancid and Metallica, and they kept saying, 'Oh! I didn't know Soundgarden were like that.' Seeing 'em live kinda turned them onto it."

Singer Patrick Briggs, leader of *Psychotica*, is also no stranger to the sense of having his eyes opened by Lollapalooza. Briggs is going on his third year as a Lollapalooza performer. In 1994, he was on the third stage doing spoken word. Last year, he emceed the second stage in drag. ('Next year', he jokes, 'I'll own it'.) Briggs's experience in the pit – he calls it his 'field research' – with the kids is, he says now, what led him to form *Psychotica*. 'When I went out that first year, I realized that contrary to what I had been told on the East Coast and in New York – that the Midwest was very close-minded and stuff – I came to find that wasn't true at all... that we were really making rash judgments about the Midwest, that we had no idea what we were talking about'.

‘You know’, he continues, ‘these kids pay forty dollars to come and be entertained, and if you provide them with that, then they’re pleased. It’s a very simple arrangement, really. I mean, the kids this year may not be as obviously creepy-looking as other years, but they want the same thing. Even a staunch Metallica fan just wants to be entertained’. Briggs’s words are an important reminder of what’s good about Lollapalooza: whether you’re a Smashing Pumpkins fan watching Jesus Lizard for the first time, or a friend of Joey Ramone being unwillingly confronted by Soundgarden, it is a festival best attended in a nonjudgmental frame of mind. Questions about what constitutes ‘alternative’ have been moot for many years, but now that Metallica is sporting eye makeup and facial piercings and the Ramones are considered part of the Monsters of Rock, they are less than relevant, they are positively retarded. There are no monsters anymore – only people, hardworking people, undisguised, undistinguished, playing their workmanlike songs, doing a job, and doing it well.

VII. One night in Ferris, Texas, just as Soundgarden takes the stage, Tim from Rancid decides to take a bike ride through the fields of goldenrod and bluebonnets that surround the venue. The song *Outshined* is filling the sky all around us, and, as we look back at the arena, glowing in the distance, Tim is silent for a sec. *You know what? Once in 1986, when I worked at La Vals pizza, James Hetfield came in with some friends and ordered a pizza from me, he says reflectively. And the next night, I saw him at the Berkeley Square, and he yelled out, ‘Hey pizza boy!’ ‘Pizza boy’: that’s an insult, right?* Tim pauses. The light from the sky has suddenly become achingly beautiful, and sonically, Soundgarden is peaking. ‘Back then’, he goes on, ‘I wasn’t even in Op Ivy; I never thought I’d ever go to a concert like this, much less be onstage

and be like... popular'. Tim ducks his head shyly, a characteristic gesture. 'You know, in a way I feel like this sort of my revenge. Revenge of Pizza Boy!' he laughs. Then he stands up on his little bike's haunches and screeches off into the dust, back into the arena, and the belly of the beast.

CHAPTER 3

MINOR THREAT & 'STRAIGHT EDGE'¹

Ross Haenfler

*I'm a person just like you.
But I've got better things to do.
Than sit around and fuck my head.
Hang out with the living dead.
Snort white shit up my nose.
Pass out at the shows.
I don't even think about speed.
That's something I just don't need.
I've got the straight edge.
I'm a person just like you.
But I've got better things to do.
Than sit around and smoke dope.
'Cause I know I can cope.
Laugh at the thought of eating 'ludes.
Laugh at the thought of sniffing glue.
Always gonna keep in touch.
Never want to use a crutch.
I've got the straight edge.
I've got the straight edge.
I've got the straight edge.
I've got the straight edge.*

Minor Threat, Straight Edge, 1981

From Punk Rock to Straight Edge – Origins, context, and initial significance of 'Straight Edge'

No one could have predicted that Minor Threat's 46-second song, published in 1981, would spawn a worldwide movement of clean-living youth that still resonates over thirty years later. In fact, the idea that *not* smoking, drinking, doing drugs, and having casual sex would appeal to youth must have seemed preposterous

¹ Chapter originally published by Ross Haenfler in the book: "Straight Edge – Minor Threat." In *Rebel Music: Resistance Through Hip Hop and Punk*, Priya Parmar, Anthony J. Nocella II, Scott Robertson, and Martha Diaz, eds, 2015, Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishers.

following the hedonistic hippie and disco scenes of the '60 and '70s. The Counterculture encouraged experimentation of all kinds and bands such as the Velvet Underground made even heroin seem at once dangerous and sexy. Yet this song, born amidst a hardcore revolution, continues to inspire tens of thousands of people across the world, despite little promotion and almost no airplay. 'Straight edge' shows the powerful potential of music beyond moving people to dance to actually *moving* people to action.

Written in the context of a punk rock culture often saturated with drugs, the song reflected some punks' unease with the self-destructive 'no-future' attitude prevalent in the scene at the time. Minor Threat's Ian MacKaye, Jeff Nelson, Brian Baker, and Lyle Preslar grew up in the Washington, D.C., punk scene. They loved the countercultural spirit, the passionate music, the DIY ethic, and the question-everything mentality of punk, but did not appreciate the scene's more nihilistic tendencies. In part, 'Straight Edge' was a reaction to hard drug use that made the '77 punks' glue-sniffing seem quaint. In 1972 New York Dolls drummer Billy Murcia, drowned in the course of a drug overdose, began what would become a string of drug-related deaths of musicians connected to punk rock. The Sex Pistol's Sid Vicious died of a heroin overdose in 1979 and the Germs' Darby Crash followed suit a year later in an OD/suicide. Keith Morris of seminal hardcore band Black Flag and Mike Ness of Social Distortion were among many punk rockers who experimented with heroin and other drugs. While punk purported to be something different from the standard folk and stadium rock fare, in the drug department it offered up more of the same. Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, and Jim Morrison were only a few of the rising rock stars to have their lives cut short by drugs not long before punk's debut. Yet despite their disdain of hippies

and mainstream pop music, punks largely supplanted sex, drugs, and rock 'n roll with sex, drugs, and *punk* rock 'n roll. In a sense, straight edge became a counterculture within a counterculture, a way for punks to truly distinguish themselves. After all, if drinking and drug use are the norm, then *not* using becomes the new rebellion, the punkest way to be punk.

In 'Straight Edge', Ian MacKaye did not intend to generate a drug-free philosophy that would resonate with so many people over the course of thirty years; he intended, primarily, to challenge fellow punks and others in his local context that didn't accept his abstinence (Azerrad, 2001). He felt as if everyone in his high school was drinking and smoking pot, making *him* the outsider, and in that regard his fellow punks were no better. The young MacKaye explained in the 1984 Documentary *Another State of Mind*, 'When I became a punk my main fight was against the people that were around me, the kids, my friends that I saw and said 'God, I don't want to be like these people. I didn't feel like I fit in at all with them''. Still, what began as a song gradually became a movement as youth across the US adopted the straight edge lifestyle and identity, and bands such as Reno's 7 Seconds, Boston's SSD, and Los Angeles' Uniform Choice began promoting clean living in their lyrics. Eventually, youth began forming *straight edge bands* (e.g. Youth of Today) in which all members foreswore drugs and alcohol and took an active stance against intoxication. Since its beginnings in the 1980s, youth around the world, from Sweden to Argentina and South Africa to Indonesia, have taken up the straight edge identity. While 'Straight Edge' provided the name and the general spirit of the growing movement, another Minor Threat song, 1983's *Out of Step*, furnished its foundation: "(I) Don't Smoke, I don't drink, I don't fuck, At least I can fucking think." Straight edgers abstain, completely, from drinking alcohol,

using tobacco products, taking recreational drugs, and, in many cases, pursuing "casual" sex. They frame their choice as a lifetime commitment and most suggest that one sip of beer, one drag off a cigarette forfeits any claim to the identity. Most "straight edgers" have, at one time or another, displayed the movement's universal symbol, an X, scrawled in black magic marker on their hands or tattooed on their bodies. Straight edge clothing sports slogans such as "One Life Drug Free," "Poison Free," and "True 'Till Death," enabling straight edgers to literally wear their politics on their sleeves. While straight edge traces its roots to hardcore music, today you can find adherents in hip hop, metal, indie, and other scenes. Some dress like old-school punks, some like hardcore kids, some adopt emo, skater, and hipster fashions, and others blend in with their more mainstream peers.

In the remainder of the chapter, I discuss how "Straight Edge" and the movement it inspired challenge drug and alcohol culture, how such resistance is symbolic of a larger cultural resistance, and how straight edge exemplifies a lifestyle movement encouraging adherents to take action in their daily lives.

Resisting drug culture ... and more

First and foremost, straight edge, both the song and the movement, challenge the taken-for-granted role of intoxicating substances in many cultures. Alcohol is part of virtually every social event, from dinner parties and barbecues to baseball games and weddings. We learn that alcohol is useful for celebrating and mourning, getting to know people and getting laid. This is particularly true for youth, perhaps especially on college campuses. While not all college students drink, and many drink responsibly, getting wasted has long been woven into the fabric of college life, so much so that many colleges and universities

consider “binge drinking” one of the most significant problems on campus. In such contexts, drinking becomes just ‘what you do’, without a lot of thought put into why.

For generations of young people, drugs were subversive, a symbolic and sensual separation from their elders’ staid, conformist, even oppressive ideas. The Beats and the hippies believed certain drugs could expand consciousness, providing insights and experiences otherwise unreachable. So when MacKaye sings “I’ve got better things to do / Than sit around and fuck my head / Hang out with the living dead” he is reframing intoxication as a stupid waste of time, something that *fucks* you up rather than *lifts* you up. The “living dead” are *less* in tune with the world, zombies under a spell. Given the pressure many young people feel to drink, smoke, or use drugs to fit in, to be “cool,” in challenging substance use “Straight Edge” upends one of the central tenets of youth, suggesting the popularity game itself is laughable. This basic idea – that doing something just because everyone else is doing it is absurd – underlies much of straight edge politics.

While straight edgers criticize the personal costs of drug, tobacco, and alcohol abuse, they also typically allow that individual users are caught in a larger, exploitative system. Alcohol and tobacco companies spend big money to hook young people on their products. For decades, the cigarette industry suppressed or denied smoking’s negative health effects. They designed Joe Camel, the Marlboro Man, and more recently, flavored cigarettes to lure in younger smokers, hoping they get addicted young and become lifetime customers. Ruling in favor of the Justice Department’s RICO suit against tobacco companies, U.S. District Court Judge Gladys Kessler described how they actively sought younger people as “replacement smokers” to fill in for those who

quit or died off. Kessler wrote, “[the] Defendants have marketed and sold their lethal product with zeal, with deception, with a single-minded focus on their financial success, and without regard for the human tragedy or social costs that success exacted” (<http://www.justice.gov/civil/cases/tobacco2/amended%20opinion.pdf>). While the straight edge movement encourages individuals to take personal responsibility for their own sobriety, many adherents also acknowledge the deck is stacked against young people, that alcohol and drug culture is bigger than individual choices.

Additionally, while “Straight Edge” focuses on drug use, even from its inception the straight edge movement, like punk, encouraged critical thinking on a broader scale. Refusing drugs was symbolic, for many, of a greater resistance to “conventional” society and youth culture (Haenfler, 2004a). As MacKaye described seeing the Cramps play at his first punk rock show, “Every given was really challenged at this gig. At that moment I realized here was a community that was politically confrontational, that was theologically confrontational, that was artistically confrontational, that was sexually confrontational, physically confrontational, musically confrontational” (Azzera, 2001: 122). Gradually, many straight edgers, like their punk brethren, molded and refined their general oppositional consciousness into opposing violence, sexism, corporate power, environmental destruction and so on. For example, many straight edge kids adopt vegetarian or vegan lifestyles, viewing their personal choices as a collective challenge to animal cruelty. They report that being drug-free gives them a “clear mind” with which to better see society’s illusions, oppressions, and injustices (Haenfler, 2006). A clear mind, they claim, increases their ability to control their circumstances and make countercultural choices.

Pursuing a clear mind – pop culture, drugs, alcohol and cultural hegemony

'Straight Edge' bluntly suggests that sobriety, i.e. being straight, provides one an edge, an advantage over everyone else: "I've got the straight edge." MacKaye explained, "It's not saying I'm better. It's saying I got my head straight, I've got my shit together, and that's why I've got the advantage on you" (*Another State of Mind*). Contrary to the hippies, straight edgers pursue self-actualization via a Prof Paula *clear* mind rather than mind-altering substances. The lines 'Always gonna keep in touch / Never want to use a crutch' suggest that people use drugs and alcohol as escapist tools to avoid problems and, perhaps, as a *shortcut* to enlightenment. Clean living, straight edgers argue, requires being in touch with one's emotions, facing one's problems head on. As MacKaye says, "I always knew life was precious and that I wanted to be present for every moment'. But the spirit of straight edge, as MacKaye intimates, was about more than pot, booze, and sex. It was about being an individual in a society that manufactures conformity, a society drunk not only on liquor but also *Survivor* and *Spongebob Squarepants*, professional wrestling and porn.

The fast, abrasive music exemplified by 'Straight Edge', the manic delivery, and the frenetic dancing at shows issued a sonic and embodied challenge to pop musical conventions. As a *hardcore* song, "Straight Edge' offered, like the larger punk scene, a DIY alternative to the stadium rock fare popular at the time. But what does such a challenge ultimately accomplish? Academics and subculturists alike have long debated the role of pop culture in our lives – is it harmless entertainment, a simple escape from our workaday lives? Or does it lull us into passivity, numbing us to social injustices while turning us into insatiable consumers?

Sociologists and philosophers Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (2002(1944)) theorized a *culture industry* that mass produces relatively standardized cultural goods – TV shows, movies, magazines, music - for mass consumption, in a sense stupefying people and making them easier to manipulate. Content after a long work day to settle in for a beer and an episode of *Law and Order*, the average person then a) fails to see the larger oppressive systems in which she/he exists and participates; b) falls prey to misinformation, stereotypes, consumerism, and propaganda; or c) pays attention to the world's problems but, presented with few solutions or ways to get involved, feels powerless to do anything about them and so disengages. Addicted, in a way, not only to soda and potato chips but also to mental junk food, too many of us take capitalism for granted and find politics a bore. Which is exactly what those with power and privilege count on, exercising a form of soft power in which people argue the merits of the latest reality TV show contestants in lieu of demanding fairness and justice. For critical theorists such as Adorno and Horkheimer, pop music, and pop culture in general, were just another means of pacifying the masses; even education, politics, and religion fall victim to the entertainment imperative as open political discourse gives way to 'amusing ourselves to death' (Postman, 2005). Alcohol, tobacco, and drugs are marketed as youth 'rebellion', despite being integral to most mainstream social gatherings. Following this logic, alcohol might be just another component of *mass culture*, part of a homogenized set of experiences promoted via the media for the sake of profiting from the highest number of consumers. If *American Idol* and *America's Next Top Model* can grip the nation's consciousness, imagine what mind-altering substances can do? While later scholarship challenges the portrayal of people as passive media consumers and uncritical cultural dopes (e.g. Jenkins, 1992, 2006), straight

edge offers an actionable statement of defiance to perceived cultural hegemony.

But does a clear mind *really* give adherents an “edge?” Is straight edgers’ cultural challenge significant and meaningful, or is straight edge just another social scene that reproduces the same tired social patterns in an X’d up form? Clearly straight edgers display a certain degree of arrogance in thinking a clear mind automatically gives one an edge over others, and it’s not as if people who smoke and drink are automatically politically disengaged. Scholars of youth culture have long debated the significance of *youth resistance*. British researchers associated with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (also known as the Birmingham School) viewed youth subcultures such as skinheads and punks as working class youth engaged in symbolic resistance against their subordinate social position (e.g. Hebdige, 1979; Hall and Jefferson, 1976). Such youth resisted upper class *hegemony*, the monopoly on privilege and power, via their spectacular styles and rituals. However, according to the Birmingham School, their resistance was ultimately illusory, resolving none of the underlying inequalities and injustices. A spiky leather jacket, bondage gear, and a mohawk may startle conventional onlookers, and even upend fashion conventions, but do little to reduce social inequality. (In fact, being a punk may *reinforce* one’s subordinate position.) Likewise, not drinking and using may be personally beneficial, but straight edge’s emphasis on self-control and abstinence reflects values found in mainstream religious circles.

From the outset, some punks did not take kindly to straight edgers, finding them boring and conservative at best, arrogant and self-righteous at worst (O’Hara, 2001). “Bent edge” groups heckled Minor Threat at shows. After all, the very idea of a set of *rules* ran counter punk’s “no rules!” ethos, though MacKaye

insisted in "Out of Step" that "this is no set of rules," suggesting that he was merely screaming about his personal choices in response to the flack he took for being straight. Still, while the overwhelming majority of adherents condemn violence, the judgmental, holier-than-thou straight edge 'tough guy' became the most visible face of straight edge in some scenes, as well as in the mainstream media. A minority of straight edgers has enforced its credo with violence, forming straight edge "crews" and picking fights. Such hypermasculine behavior marginalizes women, painting a contradictory portrait of a supposedly anti-sexist, "positive" subculture (Haenfler, 2004b). Perhaps the counter-hegemonic potential of music scenes, and songs like "Straight Edge," is rather limited. How we judge the impact of music depends in part upon how we conceptualize social change.

Straight edge as a Lifestyle Movement

What does 'Straight Edge' teach us about pursuing social change? Popular images of social change tend towards the dramatic: *social movements*—such as civil rights— or *revolutions*—such as the Arab uprisings—accomplish "real" change, while subcultures related to music scenes are simply temporary playgrounds for adolescents. Straight edge challenges such assumptions in several ways, illustrating a different sort of politics, a politics focused less on activist organizations engaging in public protest against the government and more on informally connected individuals making (relatively) private, personal choices directed at culture norms. In this sense, straight edge is a *lifestyle movement*, a "loosely bound [collectivity] in which participants advocate lifestyle change as a primary means to social change" (Haenfler *et al.*, 2012: 14). Voluntary simplicity, slow food, virginity pledge, locovore, and fair trade movements are other prominent examples. In the tradition

of feminists, anarchists, environmentalists, and others, straight edge illustrates that the *personal is political*, breaking down the dichotomy between personal and social transformation. What distinguishes this sort of politics from simple lifestyle choices is its outward focus and the recognition that one's personal decisions, taken in concert with likeminded others, add up to a collective challenge. In other words, adopting a vegan lifestyle solely for personal health is different from understanding such a diet as a political act in defiance of corporate agribusiness and animal cruelty.

'Advertising' one's lifestyle politics, whether through evangelism or simply leading by example, opens up possibilities for others to take similar action. Many straight edgers, especially younger ones, openly display their affiliation, certainly to show their "subcultural capital", but also as a statement against alcohol and drug culture (Thornton, 1995; Haenfler 2004a, 2006). They sew Xs on their school bags, paste stickers on their cars, wear them on their clothes, and tattoo Xs on their bodies (Atkinson 2003; Wood 2006). The very act of recording 'Straight Edge' and making the song public demonstrates an intention to challenge social convention. Anyone, presumably, can abstain from drugs, tobacco, and alcohol; on some level, being drug-free is simply a lifestyle choice. However, the act of making that choice public, of leading by example, of creating possibilities for others, transforms straight edge from just another personal choice into a cultural challenge. Critics may charge straight edge kids with being 'preachy' – and sometimes they are. But surely alcohol and tobacco ads, or 'ladies night' and other promotions so common we take them for granted, constitute 'preaching' on a much larger scale.

For some straight edgers, the identity's meaning begins and ends with abstinence. When straight edge resistance stops at exchanging bar culture for hardcore shows, then perhaps straight edge is little more than a social club (although carving out a cultural space for youth who don't drink, but also don't fit in, to feel accepted, be creative, and have fun is no trivial accomplishment). When people's efforts begin and end with tweaks to their diet and consumption, they may lose sight of the big picture and bask in self-satisfaction. However, as I have shown, many straight edgers connect their clean living commitment and identity to other issues, seeing such concerns as a logical progression from having a "clear mind." Some even join their edge identity to radical activism, feminism, anarchism, queer politics, anti-fascism, global democracy protests, and so on (see Kuhn, 2010). Many straight edgers have taken punk's DIY ethic and straight edge's clean living as a call to accomplish bigger goals, to live outside the box, to go against the grain, and to engage the world more fully. The point is that not all efforts at change take place in the streets or the halls of Congress. Lifestyle movements help shift the cultural discourse, can change dominant relationships, and encourage people to take action in their daily lives. They also serve as a bridge to more traditional political participation and protest politics. 'Straight Edge' is about resisting dominant expectations and taking some measure of responsibility for creating alternatives - DIY applies not just to making music, but also to generating social change.

References

Adorno, Theodor and Max Horkheimer. 2002 (1944). *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Atkinson, Michael. 2003. "The Civilizing of Resistance: Straightedge Tattooing." *Deviant Behavior* 24:197-220.
- Azzerad, Michael. 2001. *Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground 1981-1991*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.
- Haenfler, Ross. 2004a. "Rethinking Subcultural Resistance: Core Values of the Straight Edge Movement." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 33 (1): 406-436.
- Haenfler, Ross. 2004b. "Manhood in Contradiction: The Two Faces of Straight Edge." *Men and Masculinities* 7: 77-99.
- Haenfler, Ross. 2006. *Straight Edge: Clean-Living Youth, Hardcore Punk, and Social Change*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Haenfler, Ross, Brett Johnson and Ellis Jones. 2012. "Lifestyle Movements: Exploring The Intersection of Lifestyle and Social Movements." *Social Movement Studies* 11, 1:1-20.
- Hall, Stuart, and Tony Jefferson, eds. 1976. *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Jenkins, Henry. 1992. *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, Henry. 2006. *Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kuhn, Gabriel. 2010. *Sober Living for the Revolution: Hardcore Punk, Straight Edge, and Radical Politics*. Oakland, CA: PM Press.
- O'Hara, Craig. 2001. *The Philosophy of Punk: More Than Noise*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Thornton, Sarah. 1995. *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Wood, Robert T. 2006. *Straightedge: Complexity and Contradictions of a Subculture*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

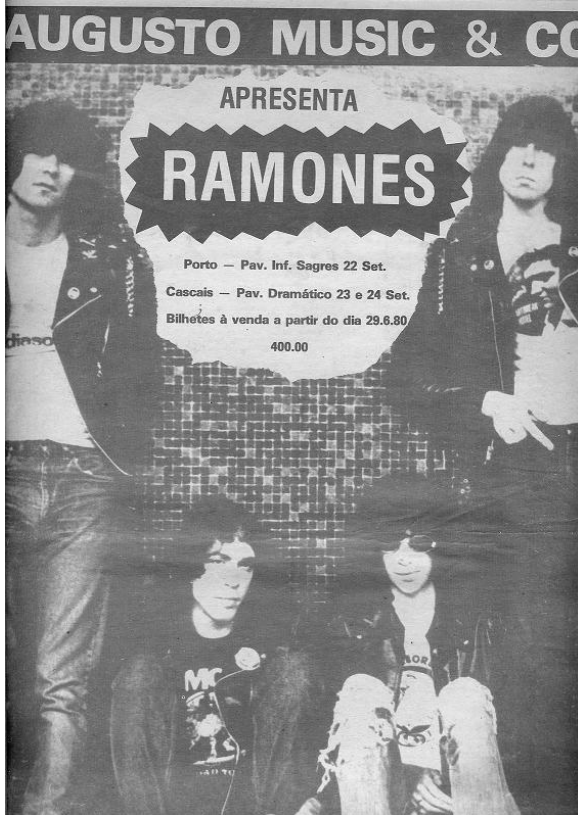
LET'S TAKE THE RAMONES! PRELIMINARY DATA ABOUT THE IMPACT AND INFLUENCE OF THE RAMONES IN PORTUGAL

Paula Guerra

The impact and influence of the Ramones have, over time, come to inspire various researchers. However, most of these studies focus on the Anglo-Saxon outlook about the band and about punk. We believe, therefore that it is important to understand the cultural and economic impact of the Ramones globally, in order to show the influence of Anglo-Saxon culture in other countries, starting from music. So in this chapter, we aim to understand the representations of the Ramones in Portugal; assessing the legacy of the band in the Portuguese society and the punk scene, particularly in terms of its influence in the formation of bands; define the role of Ramones in the dissemination of ethics Do It Yourself (DIY) in the punk community in Portugal; and explore the importance of Ramones in the construction of what is mainstream and underground music.

In 1974 they were already playing at CBGB (Country Bluegrass and Blues) about Manhattan songs like Judy Is a Punk. And it was through these first concerts the band a musical and visual attitude that would become known as punk rock (Mcneil & McCain, 2006). Originally, the band had Joey Ramone on drums, Dee Dee Ramone on bass, Johnny Ramone on guitar and Tommy Ramone as manager. They quickly took the formation that we remember today, with Joey in voice and Tommy on drums. They have been together 21 years, until August 6, 1995, when they gave their last concert, 2263^o of their career. Later, they came to occasionally meet for some benefit concerts, but never resumed tours.

Figure 1: Poster of the Ramones' first concert in Portugal, 1980



Source: <http://arlindopinto.com/planetadoscatos/tag/ramones>

They won their first fans in concerts at CBGB, having managed to sign by Sire Records and record their first album, *Ramones*, in 1976. For some, this is considered the album that opens up punk rock, influencing the emergence of the punk movement in England with bands like Sex Pistols, the Clash and the Damned. Only in 1990 the Ramones were to abandon Sire Records, signing the Radiactive Records, where they recorded their last album,

Mondo Bizarro (1992), *Acid Eaters* (1993) and *Adios Amigos!* (1995) (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002).

For some, the Ramones are also considered pioneers of Do It Yourself (DIY). After all, when they started, they could barely play but still managed to record an album, which would surely have encouraged many young people to start a musical career. Incidentally, in the book *Punk. Hors limits* (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002), Joe Strummer, lead singer of The Clash, reveals that Sid Vicious (Sex Pistols) and Paul Simonon (The Clash) learned to play with the first album of Ramones.

The data presented here is based on the analysis of 100 semi-directive interviews with key players of the Portuguese punk scene¹. Of the total interviews, we consider only 38 individuals throughout the interview spoken about the Ramones. It should be noted that this sample consists of respondents from different social classes, geographical origins, professions, ages and gender, and that includes many polysemous speeches of various players, selected based on their involvement in punk over time or in their presence during the appearance of it. As it is classic in punk analyses, most of the individuals surveyed are male (about 85%), aged 19 to 56 years, covering various stages of punk in Portugal and ensuring the representativeness of transitions experienced in this regard. Half the people living in Lisbon, and the remaining

¹ This study was made possible with funding by FEDER through the COMPETE Operational Program from the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), led by the Institute of Sociology of the University of Porto (IS-UP), and developed in partnership with the Griffith Center for Cultural Research (GCCR) and Lleida University (UdL). The following institutions also participated: Faculty of Economics of the University of Porto (FEP), Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Porto (FPCEUP), Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (FEUC), Center for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra (CES), and the Lisbon Municipal Libraries (BLX). In addition to the author of this article, belong to the project team: Ana Raposo, Andy Bennett, Augusto Santos Silva, Carles Feixa, Hugo Ferro, João Queirós, Luís Fernandes, Manuel Loff, Paula Abreu, Paula Guerra (coord.), Pedro Quintela, Rui Telmo Gomes and Tânia Moreira. For more information, see: www.punk.pt/en/

divided unevenly between Porto, other regions of Portugal, and foreign countries. This mirrors the centralization trends that are apparent in the socio-economic constitution of the country, with a surrounding capital centralism as well as a spread of punk throughout the country, with over 20% of individuals living in areas such as Coimbra, Viana do Castelo, or Setúbal, small nuclei formation punk. Their academic background is diverse, with a notable percentage of subjects with at least secondary education, and almost 40% have at least one degree. In socio-professional terms, the majority holds semi-qualified or qualified salaried positions.

Table 1: Sociographic characterization of respondents' data

Gender	%
Female	15,79
Male	84,21
Age	%
17-22	10,53
23-28	5,26
29-34	13,16
35-40	23,68
41-46	21,05
47-52	23,68
53-58	2,63
Academic Degree	%
3rd cycle of basic education	15,8
High school	31,6
Incomplete Bachelor	13,2
Bachelor	28,9
Master's Degree or Higher	10,5
Residence	%
Big Lisbon	50,00
Big Porto	18,42
Other localization in Portugal	21,05
Other localizations outside Portugal	10,53

In the Portuguese context, it is clear that the Ramones decisively marked punk reality, both in the impact it had on own understanding of social actors about what is punk, as in its decisive and lasting influence on their paths within this subculture. This influence can be noticed in their reading as "Punk creators" often placed side by side with Sex Pistols, in this aspect related to the foundation of this movement. Similarly, they are identified as one of the bands that in many cases served as a gateway for individuals to punk scene. Indeed, for many of these actors, the contact with the records and the band concerts served as a time not only of Punk exploitation but also of creating its privileged relationship with the music².

Ramones is one thing, is the basis of bases, they're the parents of punk to me. And I don't even care for American punk, the one I care for most is the British. But Ramones and Dead Kennedys are, for me, really unavoidable references. Alice, 33 years old, Degree, Tax Inspector, Coimbra.

My first identification with punk and my first passion came up with the Ramones concert here in Portugal in Cascais in 1980, it was from then on. Daniel, 43 years old, High School, inventory control, Lisbon.

They are a band that should be mentioned more than [Sexi] Pistols and few argue ... unlike ... but the Ramones the is that they are, more or less, the precursors [punk]. Valentino, 45years old, 3rd cycle of basic education, translator, Brighton (England).

An equally deserving of attention factor is the way in which individuals had contact with the music of the Ramones. While we can identify in our sample a much more immediate contact, without doubt tributar by the presence of individuals in more recent times of punk in Portugal, is it also obvious that this band was subject to a cult figuration. It was common for those who had

² Throughout the chapter we shall use excerpts from the interviews as a means to illustrate certain points. All interviewees are designated under fictitious names, and the interview excerpts used here conform to the requirements of the Deontological Code of the Portuguese Sociology Association.

the opportunity to leave the country (the respondents themselves or their family members), bring the band records that passed from hand to hand, circulating as a metonym for the punk. Therefore, in Portugal, its metamorphosis into cult band accompanied the processes around the world, being transformed into a punk epithet, enjoyment and energy.

A colleague of mine had a cousin who brought the first two albums of the Ramones from the US. A guy begins to hear that, and by then I was rummaging António Sérgio's radio program. You start to figure things out, you begin to discover music. Telmo, 50 years old, High School, account manager in a bank, Porto.

The Ramones were fabulous, in two minutes it was always rising in greatness, it was total madness, the amount of energy that it transmitted! Humberto, 35 years old, Degree, Owner bike shop, Loures.

However and for analytical purposes, it will be interesting to distinguish two discursive aspects about the Ramones. On one hand, the perspectives of respondents on the Ramones as a band, that is, its connection with industry, the aesthetics that transmitted, and the punk message broadcasted as heralds of the young genre. On the other hand, the prospects that show a greater relevance of the band to the respondents, either in the constitution and affirmation of their punk ethics, both in its artistic / musical career in this genre, but also regarding their identification with the band.

Historically, and alongside many of the bands that gave the initial motto to punk internationally shortly after its formation, the Ramones signed a contract with a major label - that is, in the traditional punk vision, they 'were sold'. Associated with this process comes the issue of marketing that, in this particular case of the Ramones, who had a very particular aesthetic, led to commercialization of its aesthetics. Namely, the aspect of the band members was copied by the mainstream, they began to sell T-

shirts with their logos, and the commodifying or commercialize the symbolic artefacts associated with the band. All these issues are marked by some respondents, as is the case with "Nuno" (20 years, incomplete bachelor, warehouse helper in Porto), which gives us a detailed description of these processes that point very tenuous boundaries between underground and mainstream:

I think today, a fashion of leather jackets with peaks, with patches ready, that look more punk that was once that was totally repressed by society is emerging, and I think it's a bit hypocrite of society to be going down a path that was considered completely heinous before and talking a little about the best known bands like Sex Pistols or Ramones or Exploited, all that, I think punk itself lost a lot of that underground image, of the DIY because all bands end up resorting to highly successful companies, resorting to the major publishers, the much larger merchandise distribution companies, rather than them doing things for themselves.

However, this issue of commercialization and the debate about a possible loss of authenticity of bands like the Ramones are put in different perspectives by our respondents. Thus, if for any, as is the case with Nuno, the marketing of Ramones is understood as a 'betrayal' of *ethos* DIY (Do-it-Yourself) and punk philosophy, in others' view what happened was a process of natural evolution, which resulted in a normal and common need of musicians: in order to live music, they needed to join in the majors, and in the process, they became a profitable brand. However, it is curious that these disparate perspectives are easily reconcilable. Thus, the vision of the Ramones as punk "traitors" isn't properly sealed on the band's active role in this process, focusing rather on the role of editorial and phonographic market and its use of bands like these to maximize their profits. In this sense, the Ramones are taken almostly as targets of manipulation by the publishers, and their path towards marketing is seen as a natural and almost inevitable consequence:

Figure 2: Review of the Ramones' concert at Portugal

crítica
de concertos

RAMONES EM CASCAIS

No Cais do Sodré, mesmo na hora de perder o comboio, estávamos os três: a Ana Rock, o Tópé — de veras cioso da sua cadeira espacial que tirava fotografias, a Laica — e eu. Sem grande convicção — que toda a gente cochichava a «merda da véspera» — embarcámos no seguinte. Rumo a Cascais — segunda noite da visita dos falsos manos de Forest Hills.

•

A sala estava bem guardada quando os UHefes chegaram montados no respectivo «cavalo de corrida». Esta foi a terceira vez que vi os UHF em concerto e, relativamente à primeira (na abertura dos Dr. Feelgood em 1979), a evolução é nítida. O grupo revela-se como um dos mais excitantes da cena nacional e pena é que não possa ser ouvido em boas condições sonoras. Desta feita, e p'ra variar, apenas chegou até nós uma transbordante e intrincada amalgama de riffs, pancadões e palavras. No final falámos um pouco com os membros do grupo e ficámos a saber que já têm contrato discográfico. O primeiro single sairá ainda este ano e incluirá a faixa «Cavalo de Corrida» na face A e um tema ainda por escolher na face B. Lá para Fevereiro de 81 surgirá um elepê que irá ser «gravado aos poucos», para pegar na expressão de um UHF.

•

Tardaram um bocado. Mas vieram. Portadores das habituais fardamentas — que fizeram estilo —, as jeans corroidas e os blusões negros, os quatro Ramones dispuseram-se no palco para aquele que viria a constituir-se como o mais speedatamente decibólico (ou vice-



-versa) dos shows que passaram entre nós. Marco, atrás das peles, não se pode dizer que tivesse tido um trabalho brilhante. Teve força de braços e pernas para espancar o instrumento e guardou o ritmo. Ninguém lhe pedia mais. Dee Dee foi a metralha luzidia. O seu baixo Fender amarelo e vermelho desferia fispas que se transmitiam betão adentro e entravam direitinhos pelos pés pondo tudo a vibrar cá no organismo. Joey, no centro, esganando o microfone, pôs-se numa posição próxima do zen Kutsu dachi Karateca e raramente buglou. Aquela alma alta e fininha, espécie de galinha desajeitada, foi a minha completa desilusão pois que a esperava incomparavelmente mais activa. Falta o Johnny «Riff», esgrimista de meia dúzia de acordes que chegaram para «encher», sonoramente falando, um pavilhão e manter presa a maior parte das pessoas que a ele se deslocaram.

•

Os temas sucederam-se em catadupa. Um festival de rock'n'roll non stop tocado na ponta da unha. Mal uma canção pronunciava final, logo Dee Dee sacava dos algarismos — ONETOO-

FEEFOH — e a banda engrenava no seguinte e no seguinte e etc., por aí fora. Evidentemente, não havia flores para ninguém. E a maior parte da malta alinhou. Foi assim que, um concerto que à partida não dava grandes garantias, acabou por resultar numa agradável punição auditiva.

•

Da conversa que tivemos com o Johnny, a Ana vos dará conta. Pela minha parte, apenas quero assinalar a desilusão que me deixou este americano mortalmente conservador com as suas três ordens de preocupações: ganhar uns cobres valentes para daqui a cinco anos largar o grupo e não fazer nenhum; devorar biografias dos seus heróis (Gary Cooper, Mae West...); eleger Reagan para reanimar o fulgor da grande nação americana. Ah meu caro Johnny, bem que podias limpar as mãos à parede!

•

Na volta, a Ana e eu, sentados algures nos Restaurantes, esperámos calmamente. Que o futuro tomasse forma de táxi vago.

NUNO INFANTE
DO CARMO

Figure 3: Interview to Johnny, member of the band Ramones

COMENA RAMONES EM VEZ DE VALIUM 5!

Pois o Johnny lá estava a escovar a sua asquerosa cabeleira, com a ajuda de um ancinho, mergulhado na mais profunda indiferença face à garota fórmula Debbie Harry que o assediava, ocupado como estava em espremer as suas hediondas borbulhas. O atroz DEE-Dee, afundado num cadeirão, treinava a sua vesgúcia no maior dos avacalhamentos. Os outros tinham-se eclipsado. O alvo escolhido foi o Johnny.

M&S — Achas que a reacção do público português difere em relação à de outros públicos?

Joãozinho — Os países são diferentes, mas os putos são sempre os mesmos em todo o lado. O que eles querem é curtidão. Não pretendemos captar outro tipo de público e por isso procuramos dar aos miúdos o que eles querem. A malta jovem é mais flexível. O que interessa é permanecer jovem!

M&S — (engulindo o tédio) Vão gravar mais alguma coisa com o Phil Spector?

Joãozinho — A gravação do «Act of the Century» com o Phil foi uma boa experiência que resultou. Mas não pensamos voltar a ter o nosso produtor no próximo trabalho que estamos a preparar. Isso seria repetitivo e nós não gostamos de nos repetir a nós próprios.

M&S (engulindo desta vez o pismo perante tal descaramento) — Vocês são todos de Nova Iorque, não é? Em que medida é que esse facto afecta a vossa «música»?

Joãozinho — As frustrações dos miúdos que vivem nos subúrbios de grandes cidades são um tema que nós interessa. Ou ainda, qualquer tipo de frustração nos interessa.

M&S — Posso inferir que para além de introduzirem as frustrações alheias nas letras das vossas «composições», também costumam falar das vossas? Sentem-se frustrado em quê?

Joãozinho — Sabes como é, as miúdas, as ambições, o sucesso...

M&S — Conta lá...

Joãozinho — Dantes as coisas eram mais difíceis, to-



pas? Agora tudo se tornou mais fácil quanto as miúdas... A minha ambição seria a de continuar a fazer bons álbuns, bons shows, boa música enfim...

M&S (cilindrada) — Hummmmm???

Joãozinho (sem dar por nada) — O sucesso tem vindo aos poucos, de modo que nos temos vindo a habituar a ele. Não nos tem afectado tanto como só diz.

M&S — Sentem-se próximos ou afins dos Talking Heads, Tom Verlaine, Patti Smith, etc., pelo facto de também serem novaiorquinos?

Joãozinho — Não porque os Ramones estão todos virados para o rock e essa malta que referiste é demasiado branda (too soft) para o nosso gosto. Ouvimos os Clash, os Buzzcocks, os Dickies, Black Sabbath, material mais antigo como é o caso dos Beatles, coisas dos Sex Pistols...

M&S — Gostas do hard-rock?

Joãozinho — Nem por isso. Os Van Halen, por exemplo, são o melhor grupo americano de heavy metal, mas eu não ouço muito a «pesada».

M&S — Que é que fazes quando não estás em

Joãozinho — Leio biografias, Grammi mesmo ler a do Gary Cooper e a de Mae West, recentemente. De vez em quando vou ao cinema.

M&S — Achas que a actuação dos Ramones ao vivo constitui um incitamento à violência? Consideras-te muito agressivo?

J — Não. Os pulos gramam os shows com muita pedaleira e vêm aos concertos para se libertarem da sua agressividade. Pulam, gritam, saltam durante a nossa actuação mas depois ficam calmos e felizes.

M&S — A fórmula é portanto «tornam Ramones em vez de Valium»? Os Ramones são um sedativo?

J (achando graça à ideia e parando por uns segundos de sacudir a cabeça) — Se quiseres. Nós todos saltamos no palco porque gostamos e porque sabemos que o público delira com isso. Nada do que fazemos é estudado.

M&S (pensando para com os seus botões que é por isso que não gosta das manas Ramonas...) — Vocês estariam dispostos a actuar na União Soviética?

J — Não é que não gostássemos de lá tocar mas o regime nunca o permitia.

M&S — Nas próximas elei-

ções presidenciais, em que candidato vais votar?

J — Nós não vamos votar porque os eleitores são obrigados a prestar o dever de júri. Como nós andamos sempre em tournée não temos possibilidades de pertencer ao júri. Mas eu apoio Ronald Reagan porque acho que ele é a melhor solução para a América. Espero que ele ganhe as eleições, até porque é um homem forte e é disso que nós precisamos actualmente. O Carter não infunde respeito aos Russos. Os Americanos precisam de um presidente forte para impedir os Russos de invadirem a América!

M&S (banzada) — O QUE???

Joãozinho) É isso mesmo. Vocês não viram o que aconteceu no Aleanistão?

M&S — Basta! Basta! Olha que não estás a fazer campanha eleitoral, ó meu! Olha, porque é que os Ramones actuaram na festa do Partido Comunista Espanhol?

J — Ai é? Não sabia de nada.

M&S — Sentes-te cansado depois dos concertos? Toms alguma coisa para te estimular?

J — Não me sinto muito cansado. Não tomo nada. Bem... quer dizer... de vez em quando lá dou a minha chimbada da hash... mas não o faço por estar cansado. Olha, temos que ir agora para Lisboa, pois vamos colaborar num programa de rádio, OK?

M&S (engulindo o comentário «Pobres ouvintes! Mal sabem o que os espanta...») — So mais uma coisa: quando tencionas retirar-te?

J (J) Dentro de cinco anos. Definitivamente. Não tenho grandes ambições. Vou ficar de papo para o ar, sem fazer absolutamente nada de nada. Assistir a um concerto dos Ramones é uma experiência desastrosa fascinante. Entrevistar uma Ramoneta (courtesy of NIC) é uma experiência de engolir em seco lancinante.

ANA ROCHA

Source: http://arлиндopinto.com/planetadoscatos/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/ramones_entrevista.jpg

The commercialization and trivialization of punk did not set out from these bands, but it was rather when publishers began to see the market grow. Angela, 47 years old, High School, grocery Chief, Bremen (Germany).

No one will call the Ramones sold for signing with a major publisher, at the time. Because it was a publisher, and they were musicians... John, 27 years old, 3rd cycle of basic education, music Publisher, Porto.

However, their connection with the marketing and a certain institutionalization of punk is not consensual or deterministic: we can find an enduring vision and resilience from the band, transmitted by respondents in their reports about Ramones' musical route - noting how the "essence" of the band remained intact throughout its route. One respondent even welcomed the connection of the band with the industry, seeing it as the way of getting more people to contact with Ramones' music:

In fact, if it wasn't for the industry to pick up punk back then, we would never know now what punk had been. Gerard, 47 years old, Masters Degree, Technical Assistant, Lisbon.

The Ramones played for 20 or 30 years and, with more or less ownership industry, with more or less trivialization, they always managed to capture that energy and that spirit... Norberto, 45 years old, Degree, conservation and restoration, Porto.

As for aesthetics and marketing, the voices are very close. They all show the process that the Ramones were subjected to (note, again that in this process it's considered that the band had a passive, not active, attitude) to have been a little crossed around the musical field and in particularly in punk. Again compared to bands like Sex Pistols or the Rolling Stones, the Ramones are seen as a band, as "Anselmo" defends (20 years old, University attendance, musician / computer engineering student, Lisbon.) To "become more commercial, more salable", and in the process, they also lost a lot of their subcultural charge. That is, the process

of systemic appropriation of Ramones made them a sign capitalism itself, heavily used by the music industry, to the point that it no longer make sense in context or they lost the proper meaning for those who use or have artifacts in which they became. As "Alberto" tells us and in line with what "Nuno" before told us:

The Ramones - do you think that many of the people who walk with t-shirts of the Ramones know who the Ramones are? They don't know, but that's fashion now. Alberto, 46 years old, High School, Programming Hard Club, Porto

However, it is also notable as the aesthetic of the band points out as being markedly "authentic", especially when set in a historical context in which the progressive rock and glam were highly artificial. Indeed, the band's visual is considered as one of the points of major attraction of the band:

In primary school I already listened to Sex Pistols and Ramones and the Clash. What attracted me to that? I don't know, maybe the eye-catching visual. Belmiro, 37 years old, High School, Warehouse Manager, London (England).

You know that the Ramones were immediately appealing by their clothing - leather jacket, t-shirt, jeans and tennis. You clutched glam rock, or clutched progressive rock, and they walked around full of makeup, full of pompous suits, with scenarios, it was completely different... It was superficial, artificial, compared to the real thing. And so there is an immediate appeal: the songs are simple... Álvaro, 56 years old, Degree, musician and composer, Almada.

The issue of music simplicity that "Álvaro" points out is another attraction factor that the band has. Marking the punk aesthetic with a "formula so simple and so good" (Daniela, 34, Degree, Professor, Lisbon), the Ramones were quickly associated with fast and instinctive music played "with three chords and let's go hurry this up" and became a symbol of energy and subcultural power. However, respondents also noticed how making music derives from a mix of styles, which at its junction become much more

"authentic" even if, as we will soon present, they also focused in a nihilistic view on the message that the Ramones wanted to convey:

The Ramones are a recycle rock and roll, they have things that have to do with girls bands, even with the Beatles and even with the speed of the themes; one thing is the Ramones' live record, It's Alive, that have no breaks between songs, just 1,2,3,4 and do it. And it's fun. Geraldo, 47 years old, Masters Degree, Technical Assistant, Lisbon.

It was a spectacular innovation, a brutal creativity. The guys enjoyed more melodic stuff and all that, and suddenly began to hear a guitar with very simple riffs, a continuous beat, and just like that, it developed from there. Roberto, 19 years old, University attendance, Student, Castelo Branco.

I liked that all energy, the lyrics, the vocal nuances, the way they could make those vocal nuances, sometimes half jokingly, fully contesting. Violeta, 35 years old, Degree, Plastic Artist, Musician, Cascais.

We can thus notice a stark contrast in the speeches of our respondents. On one hand, this is a band that is considered strongly resistant to mainstream, in their sound. On the other hand, respondents are not unrelated to the use of Ramones for strictly commercial purposes, led by the mainstream sphere. About this relationship, the Ramones have been seen as a bridge between punk, considered by all respondents as being throughout their existence to the underground, and the mainstream that uses it and manipulates in the same logic of "fashion" and merchandise. Moreover, we can still notice a strong emphasis given by respondents to the notion that the mainstream tries to create the idea that punk as a musical genre, is inserted into the mainstream, when this does not comply to the truth:

People created the idea that punk was commercial and mainstream, but punk itself has always existed, only it was always

an underground thing. Gaspar, 32 years old, University attendance, musician and producer, Lisbon.

Regarding the message conveyed by the Ramones, respondents' perspectives emerge strongly segmented and divided. Some consider that the band had a message that was missing and that was distorting, associating this process to marketing and capitalism that started integrating its subcultural experience.

Maybe the message was lost and the true the meaning of the band or the letters was lost. Anselmo, 20 years old, attended university, musician / computer engineering student, Lisbon.

The vast majority believes that due to the very fast sonority and due to it being strongly guided by *nonsense*, and strongly nihilistic lyrics, the band ran a negative message in the sense which called for the shutdown and nonchalance. Looking for greater detail on this issue, some of those interviewed believe that this negative message can be in itself a punk vehicle; others consider that it's a punk immaterial product; and others even say that the message is empty of any content type. This debate, however, relates strongly to the same debate on the punk ethos - if there really is a cohesive message advocated by punk, or if this is more fragmented, distant, and individually appropriate.

All these bands [including the Ramones] are what might be called the first wave of punk, they're rock and roll bands with a typical rock and roll message: there is no politics, there are no messages, there is no politicized message, there's nothing. Belmiro, 37 years old, High School, Warehouse Manager, London (England).

The Sex Pistols, the Ramones, Exploited, bands that, at the time, I already listen to a bit, but then I started to realize that these bands were not really well that message that punk advocates. Nuno, 20 years old, University attendance, Warehouse Assistant, Porto.

We can talk about the Ramones, who had not exactly an intervention, had hardly a message of revolt, it is not exactly a message against anyone. Punk genre for me is the three chords and the battery always pumping - that's the difference with the

normal rock. Vitorino, 31 years old, High School, Administrative at a hospital, Lisbon.

In what regards the relationship of individuals with band, it is revealed a plurality of perspectives and affinity trajectories with the band. So five respondents profess to actively dislike the Ramones - three of which, by not identifying themselves musically with the style of the band, and two because it is, in their opinion, a band that did not reflect the values that they consider associated with punk. What is immediately noticeable is the lack of a relationship between the most negative views about marketing and "institutionalization" of punk rock of the Ramones and individuals that also have a less positive view of the band - that is, the opinion on the band is, although being informed by punk values and beliefs, less associated with *ethics* than with *aesthetics*, something we can elucidate how even in punk, strongly marked by a sense of movement and values, musical enjoyment has a command function:

They showed me the Ramones and the Sex Pistols and did not like it. (...) As for the Ramones, just like the first albums, especially the first, to me it has a hell lot of charm. Miguel, 37 years old, High School, Music Editor, Lisbon.

The Ramones always maintained that line, but the Ramones was a bubblegum pop band, the guys from the records "Oh, it was punk," no, it was bubblegum pop, that was precisely like wop bands from the 1950s. Mário, 46 years old, High School, Surveyor/musician, Coimbra.

In contrast, the remaining 33 interviewees all show, with varying degrees of affiliation, their admiration and deep relationship with the Ramones. For many of these, the relation encompasses both the band and concerts, as well as a privileged relationship with artifacts that the band produces, so in other words, a deep relation with the record that, in many cases, introduced them to punk, marking their relationship with it.

For me, the punk band that has deeply marked me and that has made me wonder about things the most were the Ramones, no doubt. Eduardo, 19 years old, 3rd cycle of basic education, student, São João da Madeira.

Whoever listens to the Clash, the Damned, or Suicide for the first time or first moments of the Ramones or the Television, I mean ... I continues to touch the lives of people, continues to give them a certain adrenaline (...) In my particular case, there is a before and after seeing the Ramones in Vigo in 1990. It was kind of an education it's alive. Eurico, 42 years old, Degree, Fashion Buyer, Researcher, Coimbra.

That Ramones' record that never came back home, continues, and is the most important album of my life. Humberto, 35 years old, Degree, Owner bike shop, Loures.

I think... as I began to like it, I can't remember, but when I was about 15 years old, maybe 14, I bought my first álbum, and it was the Road to Ruins of the Ramones, and it was from then on that I began to really like punk rock and it continued until today. Mateus, 23 years old, High School, Event organization, Amsterdam (Netherlands).

Another factor worth mentioning is how the sound of the band itself, on said simple formula, eventually shaped how individuals joined punk, strongly incorporating the DIY ethos, that is, implying that anyone could play and that the very process of making music had ceased to be a monopoly of a set of people with specific qualifications. This in turn is visible in the speech "anyone can do it" that transpires in reports such as the following:

I liked the Ramones because they were... in the beginning, I started to like them because it was one of the few bands, when I couldn't play, it was of the few bands that I could do covers. It was funny and they had short songs, they were good. They were catchy. Izidoro, 38 years old, Degree, Administration in telecommunications, Loures

We did covers of Ramones and... We went for what we could do. Camilo, 47 years old, secondary education, translator, Lisbon.

I liked them alone, and with a friend, I mentioned a moment ago, Nuno Bife, we were alone and did the like joked around saying things like "We'll go to my house, play Ramones's records and we will sing and write to see how it looks." Helium, 49 years old, Degree, interior decorator, Coimbra.

The importance of the Ramones extends to the relation and the message of empowerment they conveyed, but as we first verified, it didn't go any further given the lyrical limitations that it had - the songs were not marked by contestatory or revolutionary lyrics, but rather, as it is pointed by an interviewee, by "a series of any love songs without any policy" (Vitorino, 31, Secondary Education, Administrative a hospital, Lisbon). However, this precise factor makes them considerably dear to their listeners, being taken as a "light" band, which focuses on large enjoyment of music rather than the use of music as a vehicle for the transmission of ideologies. Incidentally, as Joey Ramone himself regards in *Please Kill Me* (Mcneil & Mccain, 2006), what the Ramones wanted was to 'save' rock'n'roll; They wanted to keep it fun and funny, that was their motto.

The songs are all fun, any of their records, the musicians are energetic, fun, talented. Mário, 46 years old, secondary education, Surveyor / musician, Coimbra.

The Ramones were fabulous, in two minutes it was always rising in greatness, it was total madness, the amount of energy that it transmitted! Higinio, 52 years old, PhD, University professor, Almada.

Ramones is fun. Martim, 35 years old, secondary education, Transport Seller, Loures.

CHAPTER 5

HARDCORE — MULTIPLE LEVELS¹

Pedro Rios

“You may have the right records, you may have the right clothes, but if it doesn’t come from the heart, it cannot be hardcore.” And so they sang, the legendary band of Portuguese hardcore X-Acto, in their song *We are a single voice*. In 1995, away from media’s spotlight, Lisbon moved: Ritz’s Club Sunday *matinéés* in the nineties were filled with hundreds of people every week, united by the same culture...”

With a foot on that mythical past (perhaps mystified), Portuguese’s hardcore scene continues solid, despite being less populated – and, almost everyone says, with less ‘attitude’. However, 2004 seems to make us believe in a new generation, with new participants: editors, distributors, bands, concert organizers, designers or just fans, many of them under the age of 20. Active fans, inspired by the example of others who brought them into the scene, dedicated on inspiring new entrants, creating a ‘home’ for those entering for the first time. Today, for example, is a day expected by many: Day Of The Dead, Twentyinchburial and All Against The World will play with the north-American band Champion and Canadian band Comeback Kid, at the People’s Worker Center in Campolide, Lisbon. The organization is part of the Nothing To Hide Productions and is the largest event

¹ This text stems from a journalistic report originally published in Y - supplement of the Portuguese newspaper Público - on November 5th, 2004 by Pedro Rios. Cfr. Rios, P. (2004). Hardcore - vários escalões [Hardcore - various levels]. Y. Suplemento do Jornal Público [Supplement of the Journal Público].

organized by the promoter 'do it yourself' (DIY) and perhaps the strongest in the "underground", this year in Portugal.

The fans form a subculture and, claiming 'hardcore' as a social change by individual liberation, a counterculture. However, being a movement increasingly heterogeneous, coexist, sometimes with friction, dozens of musical ramifications: "old school" (the "hardcore" that follows music and the theme of gender roots), "emo" (near the indie rock or "hardcore" that expresses more personal feelings and invites introspection); 'metalcore' which is the cross between typical elements (choruses, lyrics, concepts) with the weight of metal, emerged in the early 90s - other sub-subgenres like 'screamo', 'post-hardcore', 'noisecore', 'mathcore' show boundaries too scattered.

Fans gather at concerts, usually with several bands, many of them inexperienced, that started in Lisbon, in the emerging scene of Porto and, more rarely, elsewhere in the country; always in the same spaces as in the past, and without any major technical conditions. Music is a pretext for the meeting, to release frustrations of the boring urban every day. Many of the bands don't last long, and many even share their members. The 'do it yourself' method is reflected in all the faces of this universe: the meager musical skills, the hundreds of records (on vinyl, prized format in the middle) edited in small independent publishers, in dedication and self-taught spirit, disconnected from the commercial interests, or in the network of informal contacts between people from different geographical points as a way of leading bands all over the world, distributing records, fanzines and "merchandise" - and, most importantly, exchanging ideas and making friends.

Don't smoke, don't drink, don't fuck

Hardcore came to Portugal a decade after it emerged in the US in the early '80s. Los Angeles, Washington DC, New York and other urban centers were watching the birth of a genre that removed the "arty" burden from the American punk. Result: The intensified punk fury, redirected to everyday problems of urban and suburban youth, a more rude style of music. They shared with the punks their despise for technical skill and cherished the DIY spirit, present in the organization of concerts, fanzines and in photocopied 'flyers'.

Between 1980 and 1982, in the first wave of "hardcore", the Minor Threat stood out from the prolific Washington DC scene with their brains set on Dischord Records, the Black Flag and Circle Jerks (Los Angeles) and the Dead Kennedys from San Francisco. This wave has defined the central themes of 'hardcore' that remain today: the Black Flag served as catharsis to the daily frustrations; the Dead Kennedys, led by Jello Biafra, decimated cynical and ironically the moral and the Yankees' political system; and Ian Mackaye, of Minor Threat, shouted 'I've got straight edge', setting the name for what was to be a lifestyle free of drugs and promiscuous sex in order to avoid alienation.

The 'straight-edge' is today a lifestyle followed by many, but it began as a Mackaye's reaction against punk nihilism. In *Out of step*, the Minor Threat summed up the attitude: "don't smoke, don't drink, and don't fuck. At least I can fucking think ". Many supporters marked their hands by painting on Xs', symbols which were used to distinguish the minors in US bars that could not drink. Two hands with 'X' painted on them form the cover of the first EP from the Teen Idles, Mackaye's first band, as a symbol of these attitudes, revolutionary within a punk and hardcore context that was intensely marked by drugs.

In Portugal, 'hardcore' - or what came to be known as such - emerged in the late 80s and early last decade, centered in Lisbon, a city that is still prevalent in the scene. Pedro Mateus, bassist founder of the X-Acto, the biggest band that the Portuguese 'hardcore' can recall. There were several stages. In the beginning, around 1988, it was a more intense kind of thing. Concerts were not only filled with 'hardcore' people – There were metalheads, punks, skinheads, goths. The divisions were less pronounced and, as there were fewer people, people had to walk together. In Lisbon, and around, small communities were born as if they were mushrooms, in the light of neighborhood tradition of American 'hardcore'. "Many bands appeared at the same time, in Sintra's line in 1992: X-Acto, Alkoore, Subcaos ... This phase was cool. We thought there wasn't 'hardcore' anywhere else. We threw parties in garages in Sintra's line. We called it the Sintra's Line of Hardcore. Three times a year we held a concert there. Suddenly we started to know people from Linda-a-Velha, from Margem Sul, people from Lisbon that were doing the same thing at the same time!" He explained.

Peter points the years 1995-1998 as the 'phase of the 'straight-edge' and of a more positive and active construction'. 'Straight-edge' philosophy, coupled with vegetarianism or veganism (denial of consumption of any product derived from animals or that involves their exploitation), occupied and occupies an important role in a good amount of Portuguese bands. The X-Acto always defined themselves as 'straight-edge', and that led to the influence of dozens of young people to be like them – many of them for a short period of time and because of fashion, others with strong convictions. New Winds, Pointing Finger and Day Of The Dead, the biggest names in current Portuguese 'hardcore' abroad, address animal liberation and the need to be lucid in the

world. The almost naïve American 'straight-edge' of the early 80's is today the means of a broader struggle. "These are ideas in which I believe in, it's an alternative and rational way of living. It's about saying 'no' to the machine that capitalism has in order to condition our lives through substances that are not necessary to live free and happy," sums up Ricardo, vocalist of Day Of The Dead.

The golden years of the Ritz. The second half of the 90s is remembered with nostalgia by those who lived it and is even quoted by younger people. Joaquim, now lead singer of The Vicious 5 and former member of the Liberation, Renewal and O Gafanhoto, lived close to the 'golden years'. 'When the straight-edge began appearing in Lisbon it was a big thing. I remember concerts at Ritz with 500, 600 people. And everyone was singing lyrics from X-Acto, fully aware of what was happening and at the same time, all 'drunk' in ecstasy', he says. 'There was so much shit happening [during concerts]. Everyone started laughing and suddenly they were all dancing. At one point it was about who looked more stupid. People were drunk from fun. From the moment people were seriously aggressive, with the 'new school' and the 'metal', all the fun was thrown away'. He adds. Paulo Segadães, known as 'Sega', drummer of the Vicious 5 and former member of X-Acto also recalls: 'Going to concerts on Sundays, we felt like we belonged. We knew most people. On Monday, we were already thinking about the following week's concert. Music is part of people's lives and sometimes it's the reason to make life go on', claims Paulo.

After the end of X-Acto in 2000, at a time coincident with the closing of the Ritz, the 'scene' and the spirit vanished. 'The last concert at the Ritz had a lot of people - 600 people for a concert of 'hardcore' is too much. The Ritz closed and we ran out of

location. There was a time when every Sunday there was a concert. It was always organized so there were several bands playing, one from Margem Sul, another from Lisbon, one from Sintra's line and one from Cascais and a new band. That brought people from various locations that were there for the same thing'. Says Sega. Joaquim adds: 'Not only that. The Portuguese punk rock and 'hardcore' have always been lazy. There wasn't an editing and distribution structure strong enough to support a market of at least 600 people in Lisbon'. Diogo Narciso from Pointing Finger, a band from Faro that emerged at that time, concludes. 'We went from 500 to 100 in a few months. The scene, after all, was built on feet of clay. There were half a dozen people doing things and there were 500 that consumed at the weekends. It couldn't last long!'

The post-X-Acto disorientation, followed by the multiplication of small scenes, all of them said hardcore, but sometimes incompatible. 'After a hiatus, came the apathy. When there is boredom, people turn themselves against each other. Subdivisions and useless bickering was created. Some of us, me included, detached from it because it was never our thing to aggressively defend 'hardcore' and 'straight-edge''. Said Joaquim Albergaria. 'There were so many pressure groups that when we got to the concert, no one was dancing. People were afraid to express themselves. We even played in concerts that became painful because we didn't have any 'feedback''. Recalls Pedro and Sega.

'Sociologically, it is studied that the best defense a minority can have is to attack. The culture of 'we and others' was created. From the moment that others failed to recognize the 'hardcore' scene [with the decline], this theory turned inward and began to stress the differences. Niches were created and the niches turned against each other'. With the subculture divided, it was inevitable the

shrinkage of audiences. Sega adds: 'There were the 'straight-edge', vegetarians, vegans, and whatever else... This was the cause of death. The concerts went from 600 people to 200 and then to 50. And 50 apathetic people!'

Despite the decline, here and there the scene gave some signs of life. Even without a room with the conditions the Ritz provided and the aura of the mid-90s lost, new bands appeared, like the Time X from Sacavém and the Pointing Finger. A short 'hardcore / punk' scene of Kasa Enkantada was born, an occupied house in Praça de Espanha in Lisbon, which would be demolished in 2003 by the city of Lisbon. 'From 15 to 15 days there was a concert in Kasa, in a garage that supported about 100 people and everything started all over again', recalls Diogo, from the Pointing Finger. Other supplementary sites hosted concerts, such as associations in Campo Grande, in Campolide, in Estrela or parish councils and IPJ centers. However, the absence of a regular area is still a problem today. 'More frequently is there less room and they all have minimum conditions. None of them are equipped with a good PA and people who organize concerts often feel immense difficulties in arranging one', said Bruno Coelho, of the Nothing To Hide Productions. The People's Worker Center in Campolide is one of the few spaces where they make this kind of concerts regularly.

The new generation. As the 'old school' hardcore arrived years late to Portugal, so did the fusions with metal, emo or derivatives genres such as screamo or metalcore that only recently came by. Bands like the Renewal or the always active Twentyinchburial, Blacksunrise and Morethanathousand are only the most visible part of a recent trend. "There was a boom in terms of styles. Countless emo / screamo / metalcore bands appeared, genres that almost did not exist in the Portuguese scene," notes André

Oliveira, one of the founders of I Owe You Nothing Records in 2001.

Interestingly, while the scene was going through a not so good phase, we witnessed the creation of new structures, and that is what is on the origin of the movement that "hardcore" was going through. Recent publishers I Owe You Nothing (releasers of *What Went Wrong*, *Lockdown*, *For The Glory*) and *Best Times* (*Day Of The Dead*, *Fight For Change*, *Time X*) dedicated themselves exclusively to gender. The *Raging Planet* publishes "hardcore" and metal in a healthy coexistence of styles, including the well-publicized last records of *Twentyinchburial* and *More Than A Thousand*.

‘There has been an evolution. If in the 90s only a few records were edited in Portugal, today there’s releases every month. Production studios proliferated, the quality of the editions improved, more specialized publishers emerged. It’s complicated to attest this evolution in terms of quality, but it’s easy to see that the ‘punk / hardcore’ no longer has the levels of rejection by the media that it had years ago. This is a good indicator’, says Pedro Vindeirinho responsible for *Rastilho*, publisher and distributor since 1999 and punk / hardcore merchandise distributor since 1996 (distributors like *Rastilho* and *Ataque Sonoro* are fundamental in a market that lives out of mail orders and not out of shops).

Diogo, a member of *Pointing Finger*, thinks that ‘things have never been so well in terms of structures’. Thanks to the network of informal contacts and to the typical solidarity of "hardcore", his band, like the *X-Acto*, *Day Of The Dead*, *Team X*, *New Winds* and others, have done tours around the world and have their work edited in several countries – a reality that always escapes when it comes to the internationalization of Portuguese music. Even so, he

also acknowledges that 'now things are kind of bitter'. 'If I had just begun to go to concerts now, I would be thrilled. If it was all new, I would have said that 2004 was the year of 'hardcore'.

It's almost unanimous that hardcore grows. But not everyone is happy with the direction it takes. 'I do not think the doldrums can be transfigured with the simple passing of the years. The spirit of the past was lost. In the present time, dispensable ornaments are given too much importance. The essence of the 90s is no longer felt at these concerts; it's hard to explain, but the chemistry between people, the will that moved them in organizing concerts, in making the releases, to live 100 percent the DIY spirit, has faded'. Laments Vindeirinho. Among the problems of this scene, the head of Rastilho quotes 'the progressive erosion' and 'daily acculturation' that removed the political character out of hardcore – 'the bickering between the bands, narrow-minded people who are in the middle with irascible attitudes; and the venom, the Puritans who preach the Quran punk / hardcore'.

Miguel Gomes, known in the midst as Xibanga, is 34 years old and is a rare case of perseverance. He runs the bar Boca do inferno in Bairro Alto, Lisbon, the only bar centered in this music genre (and related), and the promoter Xuxa Jurássica, who has brought bands like H2O, Hatebreed and the traveling festival Deconstruction Tour to Portugal. How he organizes concerts less "underground" and more expensive, is often criticized. He counters: 'People stay for two or three years, they out find that there is no chicks in 'hardcore', so they go to 'techno'. In these last 14 years, I've seen hundreds of these situations. And then they say 'Are you still there?' I answer, 'I'm here because this is my life'. He critic today's generation', concerned about the American visual and with little attitude and recalls the 'natural charisma' of X-Acto 'to attract people'. 'After they left, a gap stayed', he

laments. To Xibanga, what he does is also DIY and hardcore. '[Hardcore] is to continue to believe and fight for the things we always believed in'.

A second home. Porto has always been off the scene, an incomprehensible fact for a city with a legendary punk name, the Renegados de Boliqueime. But the scenario is changing. The All Against The World, formed in 2001, are the strongest name of an embryonic stage and have already managed to play abroad. '[At first] There was a band, the July Thirteen. There was no scene yet. They played with other bands, with other styles of music, and the audience was what available', says guitarist João Ramos. The All Against The World, together with July Thirteen, streamlined concerts and groups started emerging - No Forgiveness, Outrage (crossover punk and metal), Voidshape (nu-metal with emocore tics) and the melodic July Thirteen, No Age Limit and Not My Fault. 'I do not like dividing things. I'm not one to say that they are not hardcore', he explains. Porto seems – and setting up the necessary demographic and cultural distances - to live what Lisbon lived in the early 90s.

'Lisbon's problem is that the subgenres are more marked. In Porto that doesn't happen because there are not enough bands', he says. As an example of how the union is the right path, João speaks at the festival "Animal and Human Liberation" held on May 1st in Lisbon. 'Those 500 people were there [the 'golden years'] because it was a concert with different things like Symbiosis (crust) or Banshee (ska). Everyone was there for the same cause and it had a great atmosphere. It's stupid for people to separate'.

He also recalls the tour of All Against The World in Spain. 'They gave us food, a place to stay. The connection was the hardcore'. Enthusiasm is notorious. In addition to the band, João and his friends organize trips to concerts in Lisbon (like today in

Campolide) to 'bring people together' and prepare an editor for early 2005. 'Every person engaged in 'hardcore' had to create a home to outsiders. That's how it works. 'Hardcore' was the house we created to live our own way. We were born in this system, according to these rules, but within it we were able to create our home'.

The idea of 'home' is dear to André of I Owe You Nothing Records: 'I see the 'hardcore' scene like a second home where we meet, we live, we met new people, and especially had fun'. For Bráulio Amado, self-taught designer [see box], 'hardcore' is 'an alternative way, created and constructed by ordinary people for ordinary people. A controlled space that was made by us without monetary interests and where we can contribute and participate - do it yourself'.

Ricardo, a member of Day Of The Dead puts the emphasis on individual freedom: 'What I learned in 'hardcore' serves me as a pillar in life. It has to do with living in an alternative way. To live my life a little more instead of living according to what is socially acceptable'.

CHAPTER 6

'WE ARE ONE VOICE'¹! A BRIEF HISTORY OF PORTUGUESE HARDCORE AND STRAIGHT EDGE MOVEMENT: PROTAGONISTS, CORE VALUES AND DIY ETHOS²

Ana Oliveira

Hardcore and straight edge are specific subcultures within the punk movement with special relevance in Portugal in the 90s and 2000s. In this article we propose to describe how this scene appeared in Portugal, who are its main protagonists, which are the core values of this subculture and how important is the do it yourself ethos to the development of hardcore and straight edge scene and to its members. The analysis we present here is based on semi-structured interviews with six of the most important actors of Portuguese hardcore.

'Now is the time': the first years of hardcore and straight edge.

The "hardcore" term began to be used in the Californian punk scene to distinguish the punk rock sound of bands like *Devo* or *Buzzcocks* from most brutal and rough currents (Kent, 2006). In the late 70s this musical genre was refined and exalted with bands

¹ Song of X-Acto. We can translate as "Somos uma só voz".

² This text results from research carried out under the research project KISMIF – Keep It Simple, Make It Fast! Prolegomenons and punk scenes, a road to Portuguese contemporaneity (1977 – 2012) made possible with funding by FEDER - through the COMPETE Operational Program from the FCT, Foundation for Science and Technology. KISMIF project is promoted by The Institute of Sociology of The University of Porto (IS-UP), and developed in partnership with the Griffith Centre for Cultural Research (GCCR) and Lleida University (UdL). The following institutions also participated: Faculty of Economics of University of Porto (FEP), Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Porto (FPCEUP), Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (FEUC), Centre for Social Studies of University of Coimbra (CES) and the Lisbon Municipal Libraries (BLX). For more information see: www.punk.pt/en/.

like Bad Brains, Teen Idles, Untouchables, S.O.A., Minor Threat or The Faith that combined music with an ideology that escaped the mainstream. Thus the first wave of American hardcore emerged with Washington, DC scene leading the movement. The assumptions were simple: produce short and very fast songs, but of excellent quality and with political and social content. In fact, hardcore movement proposed the construction of a better world, in opposition to the Sex Pistols' nihilism that talked about having "no future". The independence from big majors and the do it yourself (DIY) ethos were also important features. Actually, independent labels and fanzines had a relevant role in the aesthetic creation and development of this movement; we can enumerate some of them: the labels Dischord Records³, SST, Touch & Go, SubPop and the fanzines Flipside, Maximumrocknroll and Forced Exposure (Azerrad, 2002).

Between 1980 and 1983, straight edge ethics became a prominent part of a fledgling and visionary underground scene. It is a subculture of hardcore punk whose adherents refrain from using alcohol, tobacco and other recreational drugs, in a reaction to the excesses of punk subculture. Its practitioners emphasize self-control and bodily purity as an alternative to these 'hedonistic bodily indulgences' or 'deviant' practices (ie. substance abuse, promiscuity) (Atkinson, 2003: 197)⁴. The 'straight edge' term was created by Ian MacKaye, singer from Minor Threat, when he wrote a lyric with the same name in 1981:

*I'm a person just like you
But I've got better things to do
Than sit around and fuck my head*

³ Dischord Records is the label founded by Ian MacKaye, the vocalist of Minor Threat. All the band albums were released by Dischord Records.

⁴ See the slogan used by this subculture: 'don't drink, don't smoke, don't fuck. At least I can fucking think'.

*Hang out with the living dead
Snort white shit up my nose
Pass out at the shows
I don't even think about speed
That's something I just don't need
I've got the straight edge
I'm a person just like you
But I've got better things to do
Than sit around and smoke dope
Cause I know that I can cope
Laugh at the thought of eating ludes
Laugh at the thought of sniffing glue
Always gonna keep in touch
Never want to use a crutch
I've got the straight edge*

The lyric talked about him but quickly, and against his expectations and intentions, it became not only a label for drug-free hardcore punk youths, but also a movement “spreading around the world and remaining a vital part of the hardcore punk community to this day” (Kuhn, 2010: 13). Thus, in the second half of the 80s we can talk about the first wave of self-identified straight edge bands across North America, often referred to as the “youth crew movement” (Kuhn, 2010). The 90s bring the ‘new school’ straight edge bands, among others aspects characterized by the increasing significance of animal rights and by a strong political awareness, in a context characterized by the social uncertainties derived from globalization. At this stage arise inside the straight edge various ideologies and this multiplicity generates up different positions within the subculture, from the extremists, who take their ideology in an aggressive logic against non-followers of the subculture, to those who choose the incorporation of straight edge philosophy in their daily habits in a more private way. The use of tattoos as a symbolic practice of this

lifestyle seems to be transversal to the subculture that sees them as a way to promote their message of peace and self-control.

Figure 1: A Portuguese straight edge girl promoting her option for a clean living life style



Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/TUGAxCORExCLASSICS/280020182012198?sk=timeline>

At that time we have seen the proliferation of hardcore and straight edge scenes in various countries, like Portugal with appearance of X-Acto, in 1991, or *New Winds*, in 1995. Later, from 2000 to nowadays, we can look to a diverse movement with a kind of old school revivals, vegan straight edge reunion tours, but also with a lucrative straight edge merchandise industry (Kuhn, 2010). But let's go back to Portugal. Here the hardcore scene, close to the American line of the 80s, was undoubtedly marked by bands like X-Acto and Sannyasin and places like Ritz Club, with its matinees. In fact, these were the protagonists of the moment with greater adhesion to Portuguese punk (Rios, 2004). The movement began as a result of the contact of some people of Portuguese

punk scene with the straight edge reality of England and, at the same time, with the arrival of the first records and fanzines belonging to this subculture. As happened in USA or in England, some people of the Portuguese punk scene started thinking they must to have mental clarity so they can resist to the system and change the world. X-Acto are seen as the catalyst of the movement in Portugal, influencing the emergence of other bands, as one of its members tells us:

We started to make a very cute scene: open our rehearsals. Our rehearsals were open. Who wanted, just appear. We started to organize concerts there in that garage without my parents knowing, which was impossible because so many people showed up, like sixty people. When we started our band, in Sintra began to emerge more bands, like Alcoore and Subcaos. Josué, 38 years old, Bachelor's, Illustrator and designer, Cascais.

Figure 2: X-Acto rehearsal, 1994.



Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/TUGAxCORExCLASSICS/280020182012198?sk=timeline>

Picture 3: *X-Acto* and *New Winds* rehearsal, 1996.



Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/TUGAxCORExCLASSICS/280020182012198?sk=timeline>

The early 90s was characterized by the predominance of the 'Linha de Sintra Hardcore', to which belonged, in addition to X-Acto, bands like Alcoore and Subcaos. Between 1995 and 1998, the community begins to increase with people from the South margin of Lisbon (Croustibat, Human Choice) and Linda-a-Velha⁵ and the appearance of bands adept of the straight edge. Indeed, this philosophy of life, based on a clean living, began to have an important place in most of the time bands, as in X-Acto, but also in New Winds, Finger Pointing, Day Of The Dead, Liberation, Renewal and Gafanhoto, who adhered to these ideals, looking for a breakthrough in relation to capitalism and consumerism (Guerra, 2010; Haenfler, 2006), using the music as a vehicle to convey a message for social, personal and political change. People involved in this lifestyle were in contact with the straight edge community

⁵ Sintra and Linda-a-Velha are two municipalities of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon.

of various other countries and they even tried to create a Straight Edge Libertarian Federation.

I remember in 94, we tried to make a first meeting of straight edge that we called SELF. SELF was initially Straight Edge Libertarian Federation, which was supposedly an international federation of straight edge in several countries. We had contacts with groups in Argentina, Brazil, and we were trying to make a SELF in Portugal. They were there people of X-Acto, people of Sacavém and Benfica and was also there a representative of the SELF in Brazil. It was the first meeting we had and it was funny because this initial core of people is that one from which I think came all the straight edge scene in Lisbon, Portugal. Lisbon has always been the strongest zone for straight edge. Fernando, 38 years old, Teacher, London, England.

Actually for some of the interviewees, the importance of straight edge movement in Portugal was so big, that they believe if there were not those straight edge factions, there was nothing: there were no concerts, no one organized them, there were no fanzines, there were no collectives, there was no hardcore scene. In fact, Portugal seems to be one of Europe's strongest recent political straight edge scenes and *New Winds*⁶ the main straight edge export (Khun, 2010).

At that time and after Ritz Club closed, the concerts at Kasa Enkantada, a squat in the center of Lisbon, in cultural and social associations, in parish councils or in centers of Portuguese Youth Institute were very important to the growth of the movement to which the music has always been the reason for the meeting, the reason to release frustration of depressing and uneventful (sub)urban lives.

With the end of X-Acto and the end of Ritz Club in 2000, the hardcore movement suffered some confusion and fragmentation. Several subgroups emerged within hardcore, it has been merged with the metal and emo, from where screamo and metalcore were

⁶The band made several international tours with a strong involvement of the public.

born. At the same time, some of the main protagonists of the Portuguese hardcore scene are now members of bands like If Lucy Fell, Linda Martini, PAUS, Riding Pânico and The Vicious Five. Although anchored in a rock sound, these bands eventually develop specific sounds that are therefore the result of a socialization in hardcore in the 90s. But this doesn't mean the end of hardcore in Portugal. Actually, nowadays there are many bands that have this kind of sound and philosophy. They have a lot of control of what they do and how they want to communicate it. We can talk about My Rules (Lisbon), No Good Reason (Almada), Mr. Miyagi (Viana do Castelo), that play a fast hardcore or thrashcore, and, in some way, *Adorno*, with some influences of original emo.

‘In it for life’: why to belong to this scene? After this brief journey through the history of hardcore and straight edge subculture in the USA and Portugal, now it's interesting to explore the motives that make someone decide to belong to these movements. We do that here focusing on the speeches of some of our interviewees. Thus, our analysis allows us to identify five main reasons for our respondents enter in the hardcore scene and take an active role.

First, the strong ideological content associated with hardcore and straight edge movement. This subculture is seen as an alternative to more commercial or mainstream music, contents, and lifestyles. Through the messages transmitted and the lifestyle promoted, hardcore and straight edge are like a weapon against the system. Alcohol and drugs are seen as social lubricants, both in punk and in hardcore, that blur and decentralize people from the true political and cultural power of this subculture – the power to really make a difference, to create an independent and alternative network, not only musical, but also culturally and

socially. Thus straight edge was seen as an essential basis for achieving sobriety, clarity and power needed to build a better world. Besides, people believe hardcore and straight edge must to be something really alternative to what is mainstream, what is the system. They have to challenge society and the status quo. Otherwise they are not really different from what already exists⁷. So we can say that for some of our interviewees, the involvement in the hardcore subculture happened for the content and not for the music, at least in a first moment.

I saw straight edge more like a weapon than as a lifestyle. I could perfectly see the pattern that mattered to the status quo, to the power, that the population was fully immersed in drugs and alcohol and did not think in a critical way, did not have a critical perspective of things and the straight edge I think it was a gun, a tool that allowed somehow to have this clarity, this distance.
Fernando, 38 years old, Teacher, London, England.

Related to this, and in the case of some of our interviewees, perhaps makes more sense to talk about the discovery of a movement or subculture to which they already identified with than speak about adhesion. In fact, two of our interviewees discovered hardcore because they already belong to the metal scene where they usually were ridicularized for don't smoke, don't drink or don't consume drugs. When they started to attend to hardcore gigs, they began to have contact with many people who made music that was still extreme music and who also had the same option in relation to the consumption of substances.

The hardcore interested me because of its content. When I had ten years, I thought I would have a metal band, but then I thought that what doesn't interest me in the metal are the lyrics, they don't interest me at all. Talk about Satan... I thought that when I had a band on the CD, it would have the addresses of Greenpeace and that stuff, for people to be informed. Anyway, to

⁷In this context, for example, all messages and actions for the defense of animal rights, for more just and equal economic relations, for peace or for environmental protection assume special relevance.

make a better world. When I discovered the hardcore, I realized there was a genre of music that interested me enough and which content totally meets my interests. (...) When I discovered X-Acto in 1995, I realized there were a lot of people playing music as I liked and talking about things that interested me. Bartolomeu, 36 years old, Incomplete Bachelor's, Photographer, Almada.

I did not adhere to the movement, I just discovered a movement to which I identified me with and began attending concerts of this movement and was in this sense that I was part of the movement but I don't know if say 'belong to' the political or ideological movement makes sense because it was something that was already in me... Gaspar, 32 years old, Incomplete Bachelor's, Musician and Producer, Lisbon.

A third reason as to do with the fact this lifestyle allow people to be rebel without being in conflict with others. To be involved in hardcore scene and to have a straight edge way of living allow people to combine the very youth rebellious with their studies or their working life, it allows people to reconcile their subcultural identification with other spheres of their lives. It's like to have the better of two worlds: music, ideological content and aesthetic and peer recognition without having problems with the parents, in the school or in the work.

I understand the straight edge, even more than the punk, as something that allowed me to combine all my faces. It allowed me to be punk without having to be punk. It allowed me to dress more pretty clean, to have a clean look, easier to harmonize with my parents, with school, with family, so it allowed me to escape problems - not that I had thought of it consciously. (...) That allowed me to find that I continued to be very rebellious and crazy but without actually having to go into great family conflicts. Fernando, 38 years old, Teacher, London, England.

Getting involved into hardcore and straight edge may also occur because of the identification with the DIY ethos associated to this subculture. It has to do with a kind of strong magnetism exerted by a community of people really dedicated to do things independently and with a great spirit of sharing experiences, material, music, everything. It's about the energy with which

people in this movement live and do things, it's about empowerment and the capacity to make things happen, it's about being an alternative and the fascination all of this can generate in people who want to challenge the status quo and the dominant ways of living.

As a result of the combination of all these factors, belong to hardcore and straight edge can act as an opportunity of personal growth and development through the values, ethical principles, ideological content and experiences in which these agents find themselves involved.

We have created a parallel scene with revolution messages and slogans and we tried to change our lives and many of us eventually manage to get a gigantic human development because we have been awarded with very sharp ethical and moral values. Xavier, 37 years old, Upper Secondary Education, Bank employee, Lisbon.

'I need your strength to live': experience hardcore and straight edge through its core values

Hardcore punk isn't just music, it's much more than music, it's a culture, it's a lifestyle, it's positive, it's political and it's powerful. Xavier, 37 years old, Upper Secondary Education, Bank employee, Lisbon.

Considering them much more than just music, Xavier's worlds seem to resume those that are the core values of hardcore and straight edge scene. As we mentioned before, 'Straight Edge' is first of all the name of a song of a hardcore American band – Minor Threat – that named a 'behavioral movement' within the punk scene (Blush, 2001; Khun, 2010). As 'Xavier', the most fervent followers understand straight edge as something that goes beyond than just a name of an urban tribe. It is seen as a way of living that some follow with a sharp orthodoxy⁸. Actually, as

⁸This kind of position usually makes other punks look to straight edgers as the more "puritan" and "moralist" faction from the punks. But for those that belong to straight

Haenfler suggests, despite the individuals who belong to straight edge subcultural are free to follow the philosophy in different ways, often adding their own interpretations and meanings, there are fundamental values common to the entire movement. Regarding the Portuguese case and the experience of our interviewees, we propose an analysis of the meanings and ways of being involved in hardcore and straight edge scene in the 90s, based on the core set of straight edge values and ideals identified by Haenfler (2004).

Positive, clean living and reserving sex for caring relationships are two of straight edge core values⁹. Indeed, the straight edge philosophy promotes a drug-free, tobacco-free, and sexually responsible lifestyle (not engaging in casual and promiscuous sexual relations). It is, as Irwin (1999) suggest, a way to subvert the stereotype of the excessive consumption associated to the punk movement members and, at the same time, to create ‘an alternative, drug-free environment’. Meanwhile, being clean and sober is also the ultimate expression of resistance (Haenfler, 2006) – resistance to the mainstream, to the consumerist society in which we live nowadays. Some straight edgers are committed vegetarians or vegans as well. This clean living is “the key precursor to a positive life” (Haenfler, 2004). Here, positive life must be understood as having a broad meaning, including an exercise of question and resistance to the society’s norms, a positive attitude through life, respect the others, having an active role to make the world a better place. Therefore, as Haenfler suggests, ‘clean living and positivity were inseparable; they

edge subculture this way of living is important to prove that to be a punk doesn’t mean to be immoral, violent or vandal.

⁹ We present them together because as Haenfler refers, reserving sex for caring relationships is an extension of the positive and clean lifestyle and our interviewees always speak about them in association.

reinforced one another and constituted the foundation for all other straight edge values' (Haenfler, 2004: 416).

With different levels of commitment to this life philosophy, in a general way, our interviewees seem to guide their lives having this principles and ideals in mind. Xavier, member of *New Winds*, identifies very well the basic pillars of being straight edge: say no to alcohol, to tobacco, to drugs, to dependency, to a system of exploitation which sees people as a commodity and who acts as an oppressor. For him, positive and clean living can make easier to develop a (r)evolutionary consciousness and to have a deep and true impact on society. In the same way, Gaspar, member of If Lucy Fell, Linda Martini and PAUS, also identifies this clean living as a straight edge premise:

At the time, the straight edge scene that was connected with the hardcore punk had three premises, then there was extreme people, the hardliners, but the three premises were: a youth free of drug, alcohol (...) some carried this to the extreme and were not in favor of promiscuous sex, for example, then there were others who became vegans or vegetarians, so they ended up attaching several of these ideologies, but the base was to be free of drugs, straight edge was initially that. Gaspar, 32 years old, Incomplete Bachelor's, Musician and Producer, Lisbon.

As Haenfler (2004) suggests when talk about resistance within the straight edge subculture, Josué, member of X-Acto, one of the most relevant Portuguese hardcore and straight edge bands, understands and experiences the positive and clean living as a way to be different and to demonstrate his opposition to the dominant society:

To be different; it was this. I don't belong to this shit society, I don't want to belong and I will do everything to don't belong to it as long as possible: if everybody drinks, I will not drink; if everybody uses drugs, I will not use drugs; if everybody picks up girls, I will not pick up girls. Josué, 38 years old, Bachelor's, Illustrator and designer, Cascais.

Like Xavier and Josué, Guilherme, member of PAUS and Vicious Five, also sees this kind of lifestyle as a way to become more conscious and thus to have more power and capacity to resist to what the dominant society imposes.

I remember the coexistence on the straight edge community those who consciously dedicated to an abstemic lifestyle and then there was the idea of reducing the levels of cruelty in their lives, choosing not to eat meat, not eat fish, which are political, ethical and philosophical assumptions that comes from getting aware: 'I don't need to be intoxicated to enjoy whatever it is' and then is like spring cleaning, you don't need these pants, you don't need these books and you begin to clean the surplus and what generates ethical and political conflicts and what is an obstacle in your way to independence from a society that deploys you a lot of decisions without you have any other choice. Guilherme, 33 years old, Incomplete Bachelor's, Illustrator/ Musician, Lisbon.

Self-realization is another core value of straight edge. Like happens in other subcultures, straight edgers seek to create and experience an 'authentic' identity. They intend to find a meaningful path in their life toward self-realization. Thus, in a context they felt encourage conformity and mediocrity, similar to other punks, they try to be "true to themselves". At the same time, and like hippies, they believe we have a great potential which is destroyed by the dominant society and toxins such as drugs and alcohol. This kind of substances is seen like a threat to a clear and focused mind and so as an obstacle to achieve their goals. On the contrary, to be straight edge enables them to be conscious and aware, to be active, to explore different philosophies, spiritualities and ideologies. All the experiences and share in which straight edgers are involved are conceptualized as real opportunities for learning and growth. This demand is reflected, for example, on how evolved the lyrics of some bands. This applies to X-Acto who went from more politicized lyrics to increasingly spiritual ones until they had formed another band – Sannyasin – whose name reveal an option for a more philosophical and spiritual content.

Straight edge, and the reason why I liked so much that straight edge scene feeling is that it allowed us an incredible exploitation of philosophies, spiritualities, policies. I think we lived a really special moment, because there was a huge group of kids who were looking for directions. Fernando, 38 years old, Master's, Teacher, London (England).

Spreading the message is another core value in straight edge subculture. Very often straight edgers actively encourage others to adopt their lifestyle. For some of them it's like to have a mission – to convince other people that an alcohol and drug free life would help them to actively construct a better world. They are frequently named by other straight edgers 'hardliners' or 'militants', because they try to impose a rigid lifestyle and usually confront who doesn't have such an orthodox way of living. That's why sometimes there is an ongoing tension within the movement and divisions between its members like happened in Portugal. But, as Haenfler suggests, 'by focusing their message at their families, subcultural peers, mainstream youth, and the larger society, straight edge created a multilayered resistance that individuals could customize to their own interests' (Haenfler, 2004: 425).

Regarding the Portuguese case and the experiences of our interviewees that is precisely what seems to be their main goal – to share their message with so many people as possible allowing them to interpret and transpose it into their day-to-day life in a personal way. And they do that through the concerts, the promotion of debates and workshops, the production of fanzines and also writing on blogs. During all the 90s, concerts were a very powerful vehicle to share a message. At the time of hardcore boom in Portugal, some bands had on average 300 to 500 people attending their concerts. Casa Enkantada, a squat in the center of Lisbon, and Ritz Club were key spots. As Fernando, member of

New Winds, told us, Casa Enkantada played a pivotal role in the development of the punk and straight edge scene, not only because of the concerts, but also because it was a place where different people can meet each other and this had promoted constructive confrontation and an interesting exchange of ideas. Guilherme speaks about the creation of a 'disciplined production culture' which had an important contribute to the growth and development of straight edge culture.

This created, in some way, a culture within the straight edge of disciplined production and the evidence is that between 1994 and 1998 the amount of people who were producing things, the amount of concerts that happened, with line-ups not much repeated, with foreign and new Portuguese bands not only making music but also recording it and sharing it, doing fanzines... There was an almost exponentially increase of critical mass to the point where every month we had one or two matinees at the Ritz Club, with an average of 400 people on a Sunday afternoon to gather around this straight edge culture. Guilherme, 33 years old, Incomplete Bachelor's, Illustrator/ Musician, Lisbon.

Figure 4: Casa Enkantada



Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/TUGAxCORExCLASSICS/280020182012198?sk=timeline>

Figure 5: Concert at Casa Enkantada



Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/TUGAxCORExCLASSICS/280020182012198?sk=timeline>

Many of these were benefit concerts. New Winds, for example, whenever they had the chance and the means to do so, they organized shows providing different cultural and political information, some of them with videos and spoken word moments. There was always something on stage to share and the possibility of using music to share thoughts and experiences and to make people aware of things they weren't aware of before was always a reason to keep going. Xavier, member of New Winds, believes that's why the band was so important to Portuguese hardcore and also to the international hardcore scene.

I think New Winds contributed in a very positive way to the hardcore scene. We contributed with several benefit concerts, with various messages and spoken words, with several videos, with several interviews, with several rescues of animals; the money New Winds earned was to help someone. I think New Winds contributed much (...) so many people are inspired to look for another kind of thoughts (...) We contributed in a very positive way to the hardcore scene and to the lives of people who have had contact with New Winds. Xavier, 37 years old, Upper Secondary Education, Bank employee, Lisbon.

Figure 6: Benefit concert poster in favor of prisoners



Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/TUGAxCORExCLASSICS/280020182012198?sk=timeline>

Figure 7: *New Winds* concert at Prague, 2006



Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/TUGAxCORExCLASSICS/280020182012198?sk=timeline>

In addition to the concerts, moments of encounter and exchange of ideas were also very important. It was common bands and its members attend libertarian centers, such as Centro de

Cultura Libertária de Cacilhas [Cacilhas Center of Libertarian Culture]¹⁰ and organize debates or information sessions under themes related to human and animal rights, vegetarianism or environmental protection. Fanzines were also an important tool to spread the message. In most cases, their preparation was based on independent and artisanal production forms. Its contents were diverse, covering personal texts, interviews with bands and activists, texts on vegetarianism, spirituality, among other topics¹¹. In more recent years and taking advantage of the possibilities brought by new technologies, blogs seem to play a similar role, allowing the message to reach more people faster.

Involvement in social change is another core value to straight edge movement. Often its members get involved in a variety of social causes. As Haenfler refers, for many, this involvement is viewed as a 'logical progression from clean living', which led them to "clear thinking, which in turn created a desire to resist and self-realize. This entire process opened them up to the world's problems, and their concerns grew' (Haenfler, 2004: 425-426). In this sense, one of our interviewees speaks about a holistic perspective of social fights promoted by straight edge. For him straight edge demonstrates that there is only a main fight – the fight against any kind of oppression.

Straight edge had a very holistic view of everything. So the big fallacy that the straight edge evidenced on many ideological

¹⁰ This is an important place for anarchists and more interventionist factions of the punk movement. Its main objective is the dissemination of libertarian ideas, regularly promoting cultural activities. The space has a library with a particular focus on social and libertarian themes, and a small library where we can find books, magazines, fanzines and music. As announced in its Facebook page, it opens its doors to all "who share the idea of an alternative society based on freedom and autonomy of individuals, without oppressors or exploiters or to who simply wants to know the libertarian ideals". You can find more information about it here: <http://culturalibertaria.blogspot.pt/>, <https://pt-br.facebook.com/CentroDeCulturalibertaria>.

¹¹ We can talk about 'Dedication' or 'Trust', for example, two fanzines of a New Winds' member that circulated between 1998 and 2000.

struggles was the issue of being single-issue approaches, issues focused on a single aspect, like feminism or anti-homophobic groups, or SOS Racism. There were groups fighting against very specific things and the straight edge ended up having a perspective that all fights were one fight, there wasn't partial struggles but that freedom of each of us depended on the freedom of others and that oppression was not only in relation to women in feminism or only in relation to homosexuals, or in relation to the factories staff, but the oppression was one and only one and we had to fight it that way. Fernando, 38 years old, Master's, Teacher, London (England).

This comprises the involvement in fights for animal rights and environmental causes with bands calling for an end to cruelty against animals and a general awareness of eco-destruction. In the Portuguese case, some members of hardcore and straight edge bands had organized benefit concerts to help kennels and catteries, others promoted speeches and debates under vegetarianism, encouraging people to adopt completely cruelty-free lifestyles. Prisoners, homeless people, women's rights, police brutality and other causes related to social justice were also reasons of concern. To prove it, we can consider Xavier's case:

I've always been involved with my bands, Força Interior and New Winds in dozens of benefits to political prisoners, kennels, catteries, non-governmental institutions, supporting the homeless and disabled children. We have made many benefit concerts and I ended up being one of the people that with more political prisoners corresponded in the hardcore punk scene. I corresponded with dozens of political prisoners and have dozens of letters from them. And did lectures on support to political prisoners and the importance of this support. I ended up volunteering for with the homeless for two years as a result of all this. Xavier, 37 years old, Upper Secondary Education, Bank employee, Lisbon.

Figure 8: Protection of the environment and defense of animals rights in hardcore fanzines



Source:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/TUGAxCORExCLASSICS/280020182012198?sk=timeline>

Actually, *New Winds* was one of the bands that more actively was involved in social change. Even the name – a song from *7 Sconds*, an American hardcore punk – reveals this concern with promoting a better world. As the chorus says, they believe they could bring “new winds” to punk and hardcore; they could start bringing more people to concerts and make people to be more politically engaged; they could encourage the creation of associations and the involvement of people in social struggles. Basically, as Haenfler (2006) suggested, for *New Winds* and other straight edgers, following straight edge philosophy was a way to get involved into a broader and challenger mission – to improve the world in which they live.

‘My Choice my life’: hardcore, DIY ethos and everyday life. We didn't refer DIY ethos like a core value of hardcore and straight edge subculture but, in fact, we could have done it. Actually, like

suggested by several authors (Dale, 2008; McKay, 1998; Moore & Robert, 2009; Moran, 2011), DIY is one of the most important features fueling the punk subculture. Independent record labels, DIY press, and even DIY venues allowed and continue to allow punk to be alive. They create a network which enables punk music and ideologies to be distributed. People who belong to the subculture are able to produce and disseminate their music, ideas and ideologies without the interference of major corporations. DIY ethos is based on an empowerment logic, on taking possession of the means of production, as an alternative to mainstream production circuits. It's about mobilizing DIY skills (strength, achievement, freedom, collective action). In the same way, Moore and Robert (2009) understand DIY as a social movement and also as a mobilization of resources that support punk subculture. Belong to punk movement is to be active and take on specific roles within the punk community. As Mike Watt, bassist and founder of *Minutemen*, said: "Punk was about more than just starting a band, (...) it was about starting a label, it was about touring, it was about taking control. It was like songwriting; you just do it. You want a record, you pay the pressing plant. That's what it was all about." (Mike Watt In Azerrad, 2002: 6). And if we go back to Haenfler (2004) perspective, this lifestyle and way of working can be seen as a way to express resistance and, at the same time, it can create a sense of satisfaction for those involved in the punk movement, leading them to self-realization.

In Portuguese hardcore and straight edge movement we also find this ethos. Such as the journalist Pedro Rios (2005) suggested, the DIY methodology is present in all hardcore spheres: in the musical inexperience, in the records released by small independent labels, in the dedication and cooperation spirit, in the commercial disinterest and in the informal contacts network. Thus, in Portugal,

the unifying characteristic of hardcore lovers reveals an active posture linked to the DIY featuring all musical way of production from creation to distribution.

Our interviewees confirm precisely this. Fernando tells us this DIY ethos, this independent way of doing things was probably the most important and practical aspects he experienced when he was involved in hardcore and straight edge movement. He speaks about people's empowerment and initiative. For example, they learned to play instruments without ever having taken classes; the gigs and the tours were organized by members of the bands; the records were released by independent labels. They just didn't wait things to happen; they made things happen. In his perspective, his contact with hardcore and DIY ethos had a concrete impact on his lifestyle, generating an alternative vision of how things can be done and leading to a big change in his professional life. For Xavier, punk, hardcore and DIY were synonyms. He organized the concerts and the tours, he made two fanzines, he had a distributor of books, fanzines and some merchandise without any commercial purpose, all the money he earned was to re-invest in the distributor.

The point is that I never got to separate that, because to me it was DIY, it was punk, it was hardcore, it was to make our own records, organize our own tours, make our concerts and our merchandise as if our life depended on it, like there is no tomorrow, as if today was the last day of my life and I will enjoy it. Xavier, 37 years old, Upper Secondary Education, Bank employee, Lisbon.

Bartolomeu, member of *Renewal* and *New Winds*, believes DIY ethos is an aspect of his personality, but he admits it was developed by his involvement in hardcore and straight edge subculture. And nowadays he transports this way of doing things to his professional and personal life. Actually, he thinks this is the most important 'legacy' he has from that times.

So I think sometimes it may already be the nature of people, but at the same time I have no doubts that was the involvement in hardcore, the underground culture and the DIY that pulled me around and, finally, that leads me to live this way even today. (...) I think it was developed there. We made the tapes, we did the covers and all that stuff (...) DIY, in a very refined way, is perhaps the greatest legacy that I have from punk and hardcore.
Bartolomeu, 36 years old, Incomplete Bachelor's, Photographer, Almada.

Close up. With this brief history of Portuguese hardcore and straight edge scene, we sought to account for the influences emanating from other realities, such as the American one, but also highlight those that are the specificities of the movement in Portugal. From the experience of our interviewees, we realize to what extent the involvement in a particular subculture may be important whether in a more individual perspective, related to the creative expression of those who belong to the subculture, with their personal development and with what they transport to their daily life, either in a collective perspective, related to the development of an active citizenship. In this sense, belong or have belonged to the hardcore subculture seems to have been for our interviewees both an individual and collective form of resistance and to be alternative with an impact in different spheres of their lives.

References

- Atkinson, M. (2003). The civilizing of resistance: straightedge tattooing. *Deviant Behavior: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 24(3), 197-220.
- Azerrad, M. (2002) - *Our band could be your life: scenes from the American Indie Underground 1981-1991*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Blush, S. (2001). *American Hardcore: A Tribal History*. Second ed., Feral House.
- Dale, P. (2008). It was easy, it was cheap, so what?: Reconsidering the DIY principle of punk and indie music. *Popular Music History*, 3(2), 171-193.

- Guerra, P. (2010). A instável leveza do rock. Gênese, dinâmica e consolidação do rock alternativo em Portugal (1980-2010) [The unstable lightness of rock. Genesis, dynamics and consolidation of alternative rock in Portugal (1980-210)]. Porto: Faculty of Arts and Humanitie, University of Porto. PhD thesis available in: <http://repositorio-aberto.up.pt/handle/10216/56304?mode=full>.
- Haenfler, R. (2006). Straight Edge: hardcore punk, clean living youth, and social change. Rutgers University Press.
- Haenfler, R. (2004). Rethinking subcultural resistance: core values of straight edge movement. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 33 (4), 406-436.
- Irwin, D. (1999). The straight edge subculture: Examining the youths' drug-free way. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 29 (2): 365-80.
- Kent, N. (2006). The dark stuff. L'envers du rock. Paris: Naïve.
- Kuhn, G., ed. (2010). - Sober Living for the Revolution: Hardcore Punk, Straight Edge And Radical Politics. Oakland: PM Press.
- McKay, G. (1998). DIY Culture: Party & Protest in Nineties Britain, London: Verso.
- Moore, R., Roberts, M. (2009). Do-It-Yourself Mobilization: Punk and Social Movements. *Mobilization*, 14(3), 273-291.
- Moran, I. (2011). Punk: The Do-It-Yourself Subculture. *Social Sciences Journal*, 10(1), 58-65.
- Rios, P. (2005). Work in progress sem fim [Work in progress without an end]. Y. Suplemento do Jornal Público [Supplement of the Journal "Público"].
- Rios, P. (2004). Hardcore - vários escalões [Hardcore - various levels]. Y. Suplemento do Jornal Público [Supplement of the Journal "Público"].

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE

João Leite and Paula Guerra

A

After subculture: critical studies in contemporary youth culture.

Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004

ISBN 978--0-333-97712-2

ÁLVAREZ MORENO, Mauricio Andrés - El desafío de las radios comunitarias. *Anagramas: rumbos y sentidos de la comunicación.* Colombia, Vol.6 Nº12, 2008 p.59-76

Almeida, Paula Ramalho de - *A intersubjectividade na poesia de Allen Ginsberg.* Porto : Universidade do Porto. Faculdade de Letras, 1999.

America: the definitive pop collection. [S.l.] : Rhino, cop.2006

ANDERTON, Chris - *Understanding the music industries.* London : Sage, 2013

ISBN 978-1-4462-0795-6

Andy Warhol : 1918-1987. Madrid : Globus, 1996. (Grandes pintores do século XX)

Andy Warhol, Pietro Psaiar & The Factory : iconos pop : exposición conmemorativa no 75 aniversario do nacemento de Andy Warhol.
Lugo : Deputación Provincial de Lugo, 2003

Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen - *Emerging adulthood.* New York : Oxford University Press, 2004
ISBN 0-19-530937-5

ARNOLD, Gina - *On the road to Nirvana.* London Pan Books, 1998
ISBN 0-330-36743-9

The art of record production: an introductory reader for a new academic field. Farnham : Ashgate, 2012. (Ashgate popular and folk music series)
ISBN 978-1-4094-0678-5

B



BARKER, Simon - *Punk's Dead.* Divus, 2011
ISBN 978-80-86450-65-0

The beat goes on: Liverpool, popular music and the changing city.
Liverpool : Liverpool University Press, 2009

ISBN 978-1-84631-190-1

BESSMAN, Jim - *Ramones : an american band*. New York : St. Martin's Press, 1993

ISBN 0-312-09369-1

BIEL, Joe - *Beyond the music: how punks are saving the world with DIY ethics, skills, & values*. Portland: Microcosm, 2012

ISBN 978-1-62106-472-5

Blondie, 1974- - *Blondie live*. [S.l.] : Eagle Rock Entertainment, cop.2012

Bodies of sound : studies across popular music and dance. Farnham : Ashgate, 2013. (Ashgate popular and folk music series)

ISBN 978-1-4094-4517-3

BOURGES, Hervé - Le défi de la mondialisation et de l'affirmation des cultures. *Medias Pouvoirs*. Paris: Bayard Presse, série 2,, N°2, 1998, p.52-59.

Brake, Michael - *Comparative youth culture : the sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London : Routledge, [rep. 1990]

ISBN 0-415-05108-8

BUCK, Percy C. - *Psychology for musicians*. London : New York : Oxford University Press, 1944

Buckley, Jeff, 1966-1997 - *Sketches for my sweetheart the drunk*.
[S.l.] : Columbia, cop.1998

Burroughs, William S., 1914-1997 - *And the hippos were boiled in
their tanks*. New York : Grove Press, cop.2008.

Burroughs, William S., 1914-1997 - *Cidades da noite vermelha*.
Miraflores : Difel, 2003. (Literatura estrangeira)
ISBN 972-29-0624-0

Burroughs, William S., 1914-1997 - *Naked lunch*. New York :
Grove Press, 1966

Burroughs, William S., 1914-1997 - *Révolution électronique*. Paris
: Editions Champ Libre, 1974

C

CARDOSO, Miguel Esteves, 1955- - *Escrítica pop : um quarto da
quarta década do rock 1980-1982*. Lisboa : Assírio & Alvim, 2003.
(Rei lagarto)
ISBN 972-37-0875-2

CARVALHO, Mário Vieira de - *Razão e sentimento na
comunicação musical: estudos sobre a dialéctica do iluminismo*.
Lisboa : Relógio D'Água, 1999.
(Antropos)
ISBN 972-708-562-8

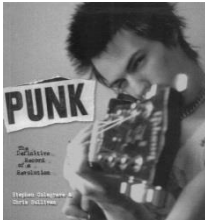
Chandarlapaty, Raj - *The beat generation and counterculture : Paul Bowles, William S. Burroughs, Jack Kerouac*. New York : Peter Lang, 2009. (Modern american literature)

ISBN 978-1-4331-0603-3

CLARKE, Eric - *Music and mind in everyday life*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, rep. 2012

ISBN 978-0-19-852557-8

The clubcultures reader : readings in popular cultural studies. Oxford : Blackwell Publishers, 1998. ISBN 0-6312-1216-7



COLEGRAVE, Stephen - *Punk : the definitive record of a revolution*. New York: Thunder's Mouth press, 2005

ISBN 978-1-56025-769-1

COLEGRAVE, Stephen - *Punk: hors limites*. Paris : Seuil, 2002

ISBN 2-02-054138-6

Cool places : geographies of youth cultures. London : Routledge, 1998

ISBN 0-415-14921-5

Cooper, Alice, 1948- - *The definitive Alice Cooper*. [S.l.] : Rhino, cop.2001

Creedence Clearwater Revival, 1967-1972 - *Bayou Country : 40th anniversary edition*. Beverly Hills : Concord Music, cop.2008

CRANE, Diana - *The production of culture : media and the urban arts*. California : Sage Publications, cop. 1992. (Foundations of popular culture)

ISBN 0-8039-3694-X

Craveiro, Pedro - *Hoje sem musa apenas meu nome escrito na blusa : a Beat Generation e o Budismo Zenem Paulo Leminski*. Porto : [Edição do Autor], 2014.

D

DeNORA, Tia - *After Adorno: rethinking music sociology*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2003

ISBN 0-521-53724-X

DeNORA, Tia - *Beethoven and the construction of genius : musical politics in Vienna, 1792-1803*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995

ISBN 0-520-21158-8

DeNORA, Tia - *Music in everyday life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000

ISBN 0-521-62732-X

Doors, 1965- - *Morrison Hotel*. [S.l.] : Rhino, cop.2007

Dylan, Bob, 1941- - *Greatest hits*. [S.l.] : Sony Music, cop.1967

Dylan, Bob, 1941- - *Together through life*. [S.l.] : Sony Music, cop.2009

E

Encyclopedia of urban cultures : cities and cultures around the world. Danbury: Grolier, 2002

ISBN 0-7172-5698-7

F

FAIRCHILD, Charles - *Music, radio and the public sphere: the aesthetics of democracy*. Houndmills : Palgrave Macmillan, 2012

ISBN 978-0-230-39050-8

Filler, Louis - *Vanguards and followers : youth in the american tradition*. Chicago : Nelson-Hall, 1978

ISBN 0-88229-608-6

G

GARNIER, Laurent - *Electrochoc*. Paris : Flammarion, 2005

ISBN 2080683926

GIBSON Chris - *Music festivals and regional development in Australia*. Farnham : Ashgate, 2012

ISBN 978-0-7546-7526-6

GILBERT, Pat - *Passion is a fashion : the real story of The Clash*.
New York : Da Capo Press, 2005

ISBN 0-306-81434-X

Ginsberg, Allen, 1926-1997 - *Uivo* ; Kadish. Vila Nova de
Famalicão : Quasi, 2002. (O barco ébrio)

ISBN 972-8632-87-8

Ginsberg, Allen, 1926-1997 - *Collected poems 1947-1980*.
London : Penguin Books, 1987

ISBN 0-14-058634-2

Ginsberg, Allen, 1926-1997 - *Howl and other poems*. San
Francisco : City Lights Books, 1978

ISBN 0-87286-017-5

GRAZIAN, David - *Blue Chicago: the search for authenticity in
Urban Blues Clubs*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 2003

ISBN 0-226-30589-9

GREEN, Anne-Marie - *De la musique en sociologie*. Paris :
L'Harmattan, 2006. (Logiques sociales)

ISBN 2-296-01184-5

Griffin, Christine - *Representations of youth : the study of youth and adolescence in Britain and America*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 1993. (Feminist perspectives)

ISBN 0-7456-0280-0

GUERRA, Paula - Alta fidelidade : um roteiro com paragens pelas lojas de discos independentes em Portugal na última década (1998-2010). *Revista da Faculdade de Letras : Sociologia*, Porto, Série I, vol. 21, p. 23-48

GUERRA, Paula - *A instável leveza do Rock : génese, dinâmica e consolidação do rock alternativo em Portugal (1980-2010)*. Porto : Edições Afrontamento, 2013. (Biblioteca das ciências sociais)

ISBN 978-972-36-1342-1

GUERRA, Paula - *A instável leveza do Rock : génese, dinâmica e consolidação do rock alternativo em Portugal (1980-2010)*. Porto : [Edição do Autor], 2010

Dissertação de Doutoramento

GUERRA, Paula (2014) - Punk, ação e contradição em Portugal. Uma aproximação às culturas juvenis contemporâneas. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*. N.º 102-103, p. 111-134.

GUERRA, Paula (2014) - Punk, expectations, breaches and metamorphoses: Portugal, 1977–2012. *Critical Arts*. Vol. 28, n.º 1, p. 111-122.

Guerra, Paula - Underground music scenes and DIY cultures. In Guerra, Paula; Moreira, Tânia, eds. - *Keep it simple, make it fast! : an approach to underground music scenes*. Porto: Universidade do Porto. Faculdade de Letras, 2015, p. 11-14.

Guns N' Roses, 1985- - *Greatest hits*. [S.l.] : Geffen Records, cop.2004

H

HEBDIGE, Dick - *Subcultura : el significado del estilo*. Barcelona: Ediciones Paidós, 2004. (Paidós)

ISBN 84-493-1609-X

Hebdige, Dick - *Subculture : the meaning of style*. London : Methuen, 1979

ISBN 0-416-70860-9

HENDY, David - *Radio in the global age*. Cambridge: Polity Press, [rep. 2004]

ISBN 0-7456-2069-8

Haenfler, Ross - *Goths, gamers, and grrrls : deviance and youth subcultures*. New York : Oxford University Press, 2010

ISBN 978-0-19-539666-9

Haenfler, Ross - *Subcultures : the basics*. London : Routledge, 2014. (The basics)

ISBN 978-0-415-53029-3

Haenfler, Ross - *Straight edge : clean-living youth, hardcore punk, and social change*. New Brunswick : Rutgers University Press, 2011
ISBN 978-0-8135-3852-5

HENNION, Antoine - *La passion musicale: une sociologie de la médiation*. Paris : Métailié, 1993. (Collection Leçons de choses)

HESMONDHALGH, David - *The cultural industries*. Second edition . London : Sage, [rep. 2008]
ISBN 978-1-4129-0808-5

HOLIDAY, Billie, 1915-1959 - *Lady sings the blues*. Barcelona : Poll Winners Records, cop.2009

HUTTON, Fiona, 1969- - *Risky pleasures? : club cultures and feminine identities*. Aldershot : Ashgate, 2006
ISBN 0-7546-4424-3

I

IBÁÑEZ, Miguel - *Pop control : crónicas post-industriales*. Barcelona : Editorial Glénat, 2000. (Parapapel)
ISBN 84-8449-018-1

J

Joplin, Janis, 1943-1970 - *The essential*. [S.l.] : Sony Music, cop.2010

Jimi Hendrix Experience, 1966-1970 - *Smash hits*. [S.l.] : Sony Music, cop.2010

K

KENT, Nick - *The dark stuff : l'envers du rock*. Paris : Naïve, 2006
ISBN 2-35021-073-1

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *A la carretera*. Barcelona : Editorial Pòrtic, 1989. (Els maleits)
ISBN 84-7306-337-6

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *Desolation angels*. London : Panther, 1972

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *Doctor Sax : faust part three*. New York : Grove Press, 1975
ISBN 0-394-17278-7

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *The Dharma bums*. New York : Penguin Books, 1977

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *Lonesome traveller*. New York : Grove Press, 1970

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *Lonesome traveller*. London : Panther Books, 1972

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *On the road*. Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1957

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *On the road : text and criticism*. Middlesex : Penguin Books, 1979
ISBN 0-14-015-511-2

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *On the road*. Middlesex : Penguin Books, 1985

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *Pela estrada fora*. Lisboa : Relógio d'Água, 2011. (Ficções)

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *Os subterrâneos*. Lisboa : Relógio d'Água, 2006. (Ficções)

Kerouac, Jack, 1922-1969 - *The town & the city*. San Diego : A Harvest Book, 1978

KOTARBA, Joseph A. - *Baby boomer rock 'n' roll fans: the music never ends*. Lanham : The Scarecrow Press, 2013
ISBN 978-0-8108-8483-0

KRUSE, Holly - *Site and sound: understanding independent music scenes*. New York : Peter Lang, 2003. (Music/meanings)
ISBN 978-0-8204-5552-5

KYROU, Ariel - *Techno rebelle: un siècle de musiques électroniques*. Paris : Denoël, 2002

ISBN 2-207-25352-X

L

LASH, Scott - *Global culture industry: the mediation of things*.
Cambridge : Polity Press, 2013

ISBN 978-0-7456-2483-9

Lawlor, William - *The beat generation : a bibliographical teaching guide*. London : Scarecrow Press, 1998. (Magill bibliographies)

ISBN 0-8108-3387-5

LE BART, Christian - *Les fans des Beatles: sociologie d'une passion*.
Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2000. (Le sens social)

ISBN 2-86847-520-5



LEBLANC, Lauraine - *Pretty in punk : girl's gender resistance in a boys' subculture*. New Brunswick : Rutgers University Press, 2006

ISBN 0-8135-2651-5

LEIBETSEDER, Doris - *Queer tracks: subversive strategies in rock and pop music*. Farnham : Ashgate, 2012. (Ashgate popular and folk music series)

ISBN 978-1-4094-3702-4

El lenguaje de los jóvenes. Madrid : Editorial Ariel, 2002

ISBN 84-344-4248-5

Loops: una historia de la música electrónica. 4^a ed . Madrid : Mondadori,[rep. 2002]

ISBN 84-397-0901-3

M

MABILON-BONFILS, Béatrice - *La musique techno, art du vide ou socialité alternative?*. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2002. (Collection Logiques sociales)

ISBN 2-7475-3224-0

MCNEIL, Legs - *Please kill me : l'histoire non censurée du punk racontée par ses acteurs.* Paris : Éditions Allia, 2006

ISBN 2-84485-208-4

MANOEUVRE, Philippe - *Rock'nRoll : la discothèque rock idéale.* Paris : Albin Michel, 2006

ISBN 2226152091

MARKEY, David - *We got power: hardcore punk scenes from 1980s Southern California.* New York : Bazillion Points, 2012

ISBN 978-1-93595007-3

MARTIN, Peter J. - *Sounds and society: themes in the sociology of music*. Manchester : Manchester University Press, [rep. 2006]. (Music and society)

ISBN 0-7190-3224-5

Media and cultural studies. 2nd edition . Malden : Wiley-Blackwell, 2012

ISBN 978-0-470-65808-6

Media industries : history, theory and method. Malden : Wiley-Blackwell, 2009

ISBN 978-1-4051-6342-2

MEGÍAS QUIRÓS, Ignacio - *La identidad juvenil desde las afinidades musicales*. Madrid : Instituto de la Juventud, 2001

ISBN 84-89582-80-7

MISINA, Dalibor - *Shake rattle and roll : Yugoslav rock music and the poetics of social critique*. London : Ashgate, 2013. (Ashgate popular and folk music series)

ISBN 978-1-4094-4565-4

MOORE, Allan F. - *Song means : analysing and interpreting recorded popular song*. Farnham : Ashgate, 2012. (Ashgate popular and folk music series)

ISBN 978-1-4094-3802-1

Muggleton, David - *Inside subculture : the postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford : Berg, 2006. (Dress, body, culture)

ISBN 1-85973-352-2

Music scenes : local, translocal and virtual. Nashville : Vanderbilt University Press, 2004

ISBN 0-8265-1451-0

Music, space and place: popular music and cultural identity. Aldershot : Ashgate, 2005. (Ashgate popular and folk music series)

ISBN 0-7546-5574-1

N

Nirvana, 1987-1994 - *Live in Buenos Aires 1992*. [S.l.] : IMC Music, cop.2013

P

PAYRAT, Olivier N. Du - *De la politique audiovisuelle et des industries culturelles dans l'Union Européenne. Medias Pouvoirs*. Paris: Bayard Presse, 1998. 0762-5642. Serie 2, N°2, p.40-50.

PEDRAZZINI, Yves - *Rollers et skaters : sociologie du hors-piste urbain*. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2001. (Changement)

ISBN 2-7475-0770-X

Presley, Elvis, 1935-1977 - *Elvis is back*. [S.l.] : Play 24-7, cop.2011

Presley, Elvis, 1935-1977 - *Anthology : 30 selected songs*. [S.l.] : Entertainment Supplies, p.2013

Pinto, Sérgio - *O edifício cultural norte-americano : entre a "Utopia Dominante" e a "Utopia Marginal"*. Porto : [Edição do Autor], 2010.

POUIVET, Roger - *Philosophie du rock : une ontologie des artefacts et des enregistrements*. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1969

ISBN 2-13-057364-7

Production studies : cultural studies of media industries. London : Routledge, 2009

ISBN 978-0-415-99796-6

Punk : an aesthetic. New York : Rizzoli, 2012

ISBN 978-0-8478-3662-8

Q

Queens of the Stone Age, 1996- - *Queens of the Stone Age*. [S.l.] : Interscope Records, cop.2000

R

Rage Against the Machine, 1991- - *Rage Against the Machine*. [S.l.] : Sony Music, cop.2009

RAMONE, Dee Dee - *Mort aux Ramones!*. [S.l.] : Au Diable Vauvert, 2002

ISBN 2-84626-044-3

Ramones, 1974-1996 - *The family tree*. [S.l.] : Music Brokers, cop.2008

Redefining mainstream popular music. London : Routledge, 2013

ISBN 978-0-415-80782-1

REDHEAD, Steve - *Subculture to clubcultures : an introduction to popular cultural studies*. Oxford : Blackwell, 1997

ISBN 0-631-19788-5

Reed, Lou, 1942- - *New York*. [S.l.] : Sire, cop.1988-1989

Reed, Lou, 1942- - *Lulu*. [S.l.] : Sister Ray Enterprises, cop.2011

REGEV, Motti - *Pop-rock music : aesthetic cosmopolitanism in late modernity*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 2013

ISBN 978-0-7456-6173-5

Resistance through rituals : youth subcultures in post-war Britain. 2nd ed. London : Routledge, 2006

ISBN 978-0-415-32436-6

REYNOLDS, Simon - *Bring the noise : 20 years of writing about hip rock and hip hop*. London : Faber and Faber, 2007

ISBN 978-0-571-23207-9

Rituales de resistencia : subculturas juveniles en la Gran Bretaña de postguerra. Madrid : Traficantes de Sueños, 2010. (Traficantes de Sueños)

ISBN 978-84-96453-98-2

Rock on : women, ageing and popular music. Farnham : Ashgate, 2012. (Ashgate popular and folk music series)

ISBN 978-1-4094-2841-1

ROJEK, Chris - *Pop music, pop culture*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 2011

ISBN 978-0-7456-4263-5

RUTTER, Paul - *The music industry handbook*. New York : Routledge, 2011. (Media practice)

ISBN 978-0-415-58681-8

S

Savage, Jon - *England's dreaming : les Sex Pistols et le mouvement punk*. Paris : Editions Allia, 2006

ISBN 2-84485-102-9

SCOTT, Allen J. - *The cultural economy of cities*. London : Sage, 2000

SMITH, Gareth Dylan - *I drum, therefore I am : being and becoming a drummer*. Farnham : Ashgate, 2013. (SEMPRE studies in the psychology of music)

ISBN 978-1-4094-4794-8

Smith, Patti, 1946- - *Land : (1975-2002)*. [S.l.] : Arista, cop.2002

SMITH, Neil - *The new urban frontier : gentrification and the revanchist city*. London : Routledge, 1996

ISBN 0-415-13255-X

T

Talking Heads, 1974- - *Essential*. [S.l.] : Emi Music, cop.2011

THORNTON, Sarah - *Club cultures : music, media and subcultural capital*. Middletown : Wesleyan University Press, 1996. (Music)

ISBN 0-8195-6297-1

Tribos urbanas : produção artística e identidades. Lisboa : Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2004. (Estudos e investigações)

ISBN 972-671-129-0

TRUE, Everett - *Hey ho let's go : the story of The Ramones*. London : Omnibus, 2005

ISBN 1-84449-413-6

V

Violent Femmes, 1980- - *Add it up : (1981-1993)*. [S.l.] : Slash Records, cop.1993

W

WATTS, Lewis - *New Orleans suite: music and culture in transition*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 2013

ISBN 978-0-520-27387-0

WEBB, Peter - *Exploring the networked worlds of popular music : milieu cultures*. London : Routledge, 2008. (Routledge advances in sociology)

ISBN 978-0-415-95658-1

WEBER, Max, 1864-1920 - *Sociologie de la musique : les fondements rationnels et sociaux de la musique*. Paris : Metailié, 1998. (Leçons de choses)

ISBN 2-86424-270-2

WICKE, Peter - *Rock music : culture, aesthetics and sociology*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, [rep. 1995]

ISBN 0-521-39914-9

Z

ZZ Top, 1969- - *Rancho texicano*. Burbank : Warner Brothers, cop.2004



