PunKore Scenes as Revolutionary Street Pedagogy

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Abstract

This paper is about "youth" resistance and its street pedagogy. While recognizing the importance of other subcultures (such as Hip Hop for example), we focus on PunKore scenes because of our personal experiences and knowledge of them, having been participants for the past 20 years.

The arguments herein deal with PunKore's specific street pedagogical practices (as we understand and know them) that have changed lives, rendering it part of a potentially-revolutionary force capable of dismantling the social relationships that lead to "the capitalization of humanity."
In this paper we, first, discuss youth resistance as it relates to extant advanced stages of global capital. Next, we outline what we think the essences of the most revolutionary aspects of PunKore pedagogy have been and continue to be. Social mobilization, organizing on multiple social issues and the materialization of concrete political actions, via the PunKore scene, are exposed throughout the paper.

Furthermore we also focus on what could be labeled as counter revolutionary tendencies of the PunKore scene. Finally, we outline what the pedagogical practices of these PunKore scenes of human resistance mean for us in terms of our lived praxis and emancipatory possibilities.

Introduction

Nearly everyone knows of Robin Hood, the hero of Sherwood forest who stole from the rich to give to the poor. The story perseveres because it speaks to enduring conditions of inequality and injustice, and equally enduring fantasies of righteous rebellion. This myth of the social bandit is part of our cultural heritage. (Hobsbawm, 2002, p.136)

As the hopes for a future freed from the constraints of racism, sexism and capitalism offered by the revolutionary social movements of the 1960s and 1970s (i.e. the Black Panther Party, BPP, the American Indian Movement, AIM, and the Hippies) were flushed down the toilet by the FBI's Counter Intelligence Programs (COINTELPRO) that were responsible for the deaths of many movement leaders, especially those of the BPP and AIM, false arrests leading to unfounded prison sentences, the public dissemination of fraudulent information, as well as many other illegal tactics (Churchill & Vander Wall, 1988; 1990), coupled with the politically conservative backlash representative of Hollywood's Ronald Reagan and his "trickle down economics" that do *not* trickle down, but rather, de-industrialize, "NAFTAize," and become more mobile and globalized (Ackerman,1982; Albelda et al, 1988), many in my generation, those who came of age during the 1980s, saw our futures downsized and criminalized, got increasingly more and more pissed, gave the bird to US society as we understood it, and proceeded to create our own subcultures motivated by the simple philosophy, DIY, that is, 'Do It Yerself.' For me, and my immediate crew in the Northwest in general, and Corvallis, Oregon in particular, this subculture was punk rock, and I became (and continue to grow as) a SK8punk (skateboarding punk rocker).

Furthermore, as the multiple national liberation struggles over Latin America, Asia and Africa came to a systematic grinding halt in the mid-to-late seventies and eighties due to the destabilizing, genocidal tactics of the CIA, NSA and graduated classes of the Schools of the America's (Blum, 1998), I came of political age in Puerto Rico. That is, born and bred in the revolutionary and decolonization struggles of Puerto Rican music and underground culture, my subjectivity informed by an ethics of anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism and self-determination was, and is, my "natural" way of life. A very similar philosophy of DIY, punk, hard-core, OI, folk and hip-hop made me what I consider to be an undergrounder (underground youth cultures of punk, hard-core, skinheads, hip-hop & revolutionary praxis).

This paper is about "youth" resistance written from the old-school, bi-classed (working and middle), multi-ethnic, and multi-cultured perspectives of a west-coast SK8punk of British, German and Irish descent and a Puerto Rican undergrounder. While recognizing the importance of other subcultures (such as Hip Hop for

example), we focus on PunKore scenes [1] because of our personal experiences and knowledge of them, having been participants for the past 20 years. The arguments herein primarily deal with the progressive aspects of PunKore's specific street pedagogical practices (as we understand and know them) that have changed lives, rendering it part of a potentially-revolutionary force capable of dismantling the social relationships that lead to what Glenn Rikowski (2002) refers to as "the capitalization of humanity." What follows is, first, a discussion of youth resistance as it relates to "the capitalization of humanity." Next, we will outline what we think the essences of the most revolutionary aspects of PunKore pedagogy have been and continue to be. Finally, we will outline what the pedagogical practices of these PunKore scenes of human resistance mean for us in terms of our lived praxis.

Youth Culture, Resistance, and Kapital

Subculture are cultural resistance. The question is where does this resistance lead? (Duncombe, 2002, p.135)

In "Youth, Training and the Politics of 'Cool'" Michael Neary argues that "the Modern condition of 'youth' was invented in 1948, as part of the Employment and Training Act of 1948" (2002, p.150) in order to lure more young people into Britain's training programs designed to produce a workforce conducive to the capitalist imperative. According to Neary, "the status of youth does not refer to any young person, but is a status attributed to the young working class based entirely on their capacity to become the commodity labor power: to exist as abstract labor" (2002, p.152). Similar patterns abound in the US, and throughout the capitalized world, as capitalist education seeks to instill in the "youth" a commitment to capitalism, and a naturalized desire to sell ones labor-power – the lifeblood of capital – in the market for a wage, that is, to become capital (McLaren, 2000; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2000, 2001, 2002; Ross, 2000).

This drive to capitalize humanity, of course, is threatened and challenged by what Glenn Rikowski describes as "our capacity for reflexivity, to attain awareness of the existence and practical application of processes of the production of ourselves as labor-power" (2002, p.135). Marx (1967/1867) saw this progressively totalizing and intensifying process, whereby we come to sell our labor-power for a wage less than the value produced by that labor, as not only exploitative, but alienating as well. That

is, alienating ourselves from our selves, the environment, each other, and most importantly, from our humanity – our ability to humanize the world through our unhindered creative labor. It is therefore not surprising that there exists a long and continuing history of human resistance to the capitalization of humanity, that, at its best, is marked by a taking-back of one's labor power to fight capital through the combined strategies of direct action in the work-place, as well as a refusal to work and live as capital, informed by the creation of oppositional, yet always complex and contradictory, and thus also counter-revolutionary, cultural practices, such as PunKore scenes.

For instance, the generations born in post war Britain were largely disenfranchised by the current status quo as jobs became less available, wages fell, and racism, as well as other forms of divisiveness, rose. Those post-war youth who understood that the extant government and economical system would never alleviate the human suffering engendered by capitalism, either consciously of as an intuitive response (discussed below), took the struggle to the streets through the creation of subcultures based on the refusal to participate in traditional society. However, the refusal to participate in the system does not automatically result in progressive alternatives. As a result, counter-cultural manifestations have been informed by both progressive and reactionary motivations. Beginning in the 1950s and the 1960s many progressive youth took the concept of "racial unity" as their place of departure. That is, the active engagement in anti-racist struggle. This tradition of unity continues to persevere, as white supremacy also thrives in society in general and within many skinheads in particular (see Warzone, 1997, and the US Bombs, 1999, for musical examples of anti-racist struggle transmitted through punk and skinhead styles). Still other youth were influenced by more reactionary elements in response to the intensification of their own and others' suffering.

For example, well connected with, if not led by, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), many skinheads, such as the bonehead Hammerskin Nation (HN), see themselves as soldiers in a race war. These groups possess the ultimate goal of exterminating those they deem their enemies focusing on people of color, Jews and gays and lesbians (Novick, 1995). Broad coalitions of KKK, Aryan Nation and HN racists have created international communities providing their own music, religion and even childcare for

its participants often viewing themselves as in direct opposition to dominant society even though they are often funded and run by undercover FBI agents (Novick, 1995).

During the 1960s, for example, the federally infiltrated KKK was used to assassinate Black Liberation leaders the US deemed a threat (Novick, 1995). Such Nazi skinhead groups often participate in anti-abortion protests, anti-immigration campaigns, focusing on Mexican immigrants, and unprovoked attacks, often deadly, on those different from themselves (Novick 1995; Silver, 2003; Zellner, 1995). The extreme violence of many Nazi skinheads throughout Europe, Canada and the US who terrorize entire communities, coupled with the sensationalist nature of the US mass media resulting in anti-racist skinheads almost never reported on, has conditioned much of society to automatically associate "skinheads" with racism and hate crimes. This conditioning has been so intense that anti-racist skins in the US have established their own group, Skin Heads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARP) (Zellner, 1995). The white supremacist nature of European-based capitalist multi-ethnic societies provides the backdrop from which to understand the central role of "race" in both progressive and reactionary counter-cultures.

It has been argued that there is a direct correlation between the power of workers' struggles and racism. That is, as workers' power decreases, racism tends to increase. According to Alex Callinicos:

> When the class is engaging successfully in battles with the bosses, then white workers are more likely to place their confidence in workers' self-organization to defend their interests, and to see themselves as part of the same class as their black brothers and sisters. By contrast, when the workers' movement is on the defensive and the employers are generally able to impose their will, then workers are much less likely to look towards class-based collective organization and action to solve their problems. (1993, p. 61)

It was within this context of working-class disempowerment and rising racism that the youth-based countercultures in Britain (and the US) emerged. Callinicos (1993) argues that when the Left does not offer a viable alternative to the suffering engender by capital, workers become increasingly susceptible to the influences of racist groups, especially when they are well-organized and offer workers a sense of belonging in an alienating world. Aware of society's rejection of youth cultures such as skinheads, punk rockers, and metal heads, Nazi groups often recruit at their concerts with the

goal of not eliminating punks and skins, but transforming them into racist Punkers and moon stompers (Zellner, 1995). On the other hand, in Britain, more progressive youth involved in counter cultures, organized movements such as "Rock Against Racism" to fight capital and counter the rising racism and violence of the state and skinheads. At their most radical and potentially revolutionary moments the Mods, Rude Boys and Skinheads challenged British society to guarantee what was promised and expected as a minimum of social stability and recognition by, among other things, fighting racism. At their worst, they terrorized innocent people strengthening capital by further limiting workers' ability to come together as exploited labor in their struggles against capital and its divisive tendencies.

Urban street riots depicted in the film "Quadrophenia," an expression of youthful rage against a government and the capitalist system where their futures were uncertain and apparently non-existent, was a common event in the UK during the 1960s (Hebdige, 2002). Hebdige expands on this general social discontent by arguing "the MOD was determined to compensate for his relatively low position in the daytime status-stakes over which he had no control, by exercising complete dominion over his private estate - his appearance and choice of leisure pursuits" (2002, p. 307).

Although a necessary first step, and thus, place of departure, it is not enough to take control of one's leisure time. That is, because of the totalizing nature of capital, it is also necessary to destroy the social relations of capital for the total emancipation of humanity (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2002). Making the compelling argument that capital can*not* be controlled, Peter Hudis (2000) notes that "...any effort to control capital without uprooting the basis of value production is ultimately self-defeating. So long as value and surplus value persist, capital will strive to self-expand" (2000, p. 2). It should therefore be the goal of the PunKore pedagogue to develop their counter-culture into a force in direct confrontation with not only racism, but capital as well. Scholars of student resistance, such as Paul Willis (1977), highlight some of these shortcomings of youth culture.

As many ethnographers of student resistance underscore, resistance does not tend to be motivated by concrete critiques of capital and social injustices in general, and a conscious desire to work for social justice, but rather, an intuitive, reflexive response to oppressive and dehumanizing educational and social systems and relationships. It

has also been argued that the particular form resistance takes reflects student's perceived sense of what future opportunities are available to them (Willis, 1977; MacLeod, 1987; Weis, 1990). For example, Willis (1977) found that working-class student resistors completely rejected the value of mental labor reflecting the relative stability of Western industrial capitalism, and thus high paying working-class factory jobs of the 1970s.

Thirteen years later, on the other hand, Lois Weis (1990) found the simultaneous rejection and acceptance of mental labor among student resistors reflecting the relative instability of Western industrial capitalism, and unionized working-class jobs. Thus, some working-class students in Weis' study, rather than glorify manual labor, as did "the lads" in Willis' study, sought to leave the working class and the gruelling life of manual labor, although, according to Weis, rarely did their words translate into action. In other words, although many students spoke of finishing high school and going on to college, few did, for a number of complex and contradictory factors related to the hidden curriculum, cultural capital, and the structure of capitalist society – in short, control and power.

Working in a similar global-social-context of rising poverty, underemployment, and human suffering as Weis (1990), Dave Hill, Mike Sanders and Ted Hankin (2002), rather than taking note of some students' desire to achieve a higher class status, argue that the relative instability of previously industrialized areas, paving the way for high rates of youthful unemployment, have led many students to realize how irrelevant education is when there are no capitalists seeking to purchase their labor-power. The attitude described by Hill et al (2002), marked by a complete loss of faith in the system to live up to its democratic promises, we believe, is what sparked the counter cultures of the 60's and 70's, that paved the way for the late 70's, early 80's, PunKore scenes. For example, we could not commence to talk about punk or a hard core scene if it were not for the influence of UK's Mods, Rude Boys, Skinheads and street punks (Hebdige, 2002; Hobsbawm, 2002; Clarke, 2002). The cultural and musical revolution that these counter cultures sparked are still being felt to his day (Hanna, 2002).

The Skinhead counter culture, whose roots do not stem from fascism, but from the Jamaican-based African Rude Boys, is a working class youth phenomenon, which emerged in the UK in the late 1960s. As a counter culture, they challenged the

industrial and post-industrial economical conditions of worker's exploitation motivated by their general disenchantment with Britain's social and political order. At the same time however, fascism infiltrated and subsequently facilitated the development of large segments of Nazi skinheads frequently engaging in "gay-bashing" and what they termed "paki-bashing" (Novick, 1995). George Marshall (1991), an original skin from the late 60's, in his autoethnographic book "Spirit of 69: a Skinhead bible" gives us an historical overview of how the skinhead counter culture emerged. Skinheads are a fusional metamorphosis of the Mods and the Rude Boys (Marshall, 1991).

While the Mods emerged as a predominantly "white" counter cultural phenomenon of the early 60's, the Rude Boys, on the other hand, grew from Jamaican immigrants in southern neighborhoods such as Brixton. The Rude Boys were known as one of the roughest and toughest street cultures in post war UK (Marshall, 1991). The potentially revolutionary militancy of the Rude Boy's influenced certain members of Britain's white working-class to such an extent that they started their own version, the skinheads, which was reflected by their passion for being tough enough to resist anything, and simultaneously enjoy the music of rock-steady, ska and reggae. The militancy of the skins attracted race-war Nazis. However, rarely do fascist skinheads praise the African roots of their culture.

In records such as "Symarip" (1991), and in bands such as "The Specials," "Bad Manners," and "Madness" the interconnectivity between skinheads and the Rude Boy 2tone counter culture is reflected. Within this scene, there is a strong current of 'racial harmony' and of healing the hatred of racism predominating in those and these capitalist-dominated times. In fact, the precursors of reggae, rock steady and ska are commonly referred to in PunKore scenes as "Skinhead Reggae" (Marshall, 1991). For example, Trojan records, a UK-based PunKore record label, which have produced various artists from Jamaica and Britain since the late 60's, entitled one of their recent compilation box sets "Skinhead Reggae" (1999). Furthermore, the working-class pride and strong sense of style characteristic of the skinhead movement has roots in the Mod scene (Marshall, 1991; Hebdige, 2002; Clarke, 2002). However, in their less-progressive moments the Mods emphasis on the material possession of scooters and expensive cloths such as, posh suits, ties, and high quality 'crombie' coats,

represented more of a focus on achieving upward social mobility than overthrowing capital.

In its more progressive and potentially revolutionary counter cultural moments, the skinheads produced a working class culture of resistance that is expressed in lyrics (expanded on below) from "The business," "The Oppressed," "Stiff Little Fingers," "Angelic Upstarts", "Sham 69," "The Blitz," "Cock Sparrow," among countless others. The skinhead music of the early to mid-70's is referred to as "OI" (Marshall, 1991). OI is also known by others in the PunKore scene as street punk. Regardless of the name, OI & street punk lyrics, both progressive and reactionary, continue to give us a series of documented oral histories and experiences of street life and beliefs shared by the working class, the lumpen proletarian, and even the middle class. For example:

Hey little rich boy. Take a good look at me. Hey little rich boy. Take a good look at me. Why should I let it worry me? I'll never believe your better than me
(Sham 69, 1978).

Although it is undeniable, as Hill et al note, that, for some youth, the current state of de-industrialization and the resultant levels of poverty and human suffering "...has led to a situation of demoralization, drug dependency or crime, for others, albeit a small minority, there has developed an alternative lifestyle with a distinct critical edge in relation to environmental and animal rights issues" (2002, p. 183), we wish to expand on this analysis in order to highlight how this plays itself out in the everyday.

Although it is true that PunKore scenes (like other subcultures or cultures in general) can, at times, be sexist, racist, homophobic and support the labor/capital relationship, as argued above, these traits are not inherent within "the scene," but are indicative of the larger society in which it emerged. PunKore scenes (like Hip Hop and other subcultures), because they emerge from an often intuitive response to oppression, and thus lack a well-formulated critical praxis, have, historically, resisted, as well as supported, the process of value-production and capitals' divisive tactics of control, such as racism. Those in PunKore scenes, like everyone else in society, suffer, to various levels of intensity, from the counter-revolutionary illnesses of white-supremacy, sexism, homophobia and the idea that capitalism is our only choice. The

progressive role of the subculture is therefore to heal people while simultaneously creating the foundations for revolutionary change. For example, according to Kathleen Hanna (2002), lead singer of the popular underground street punk band "Bikini Kill," argues that self-healing can and does occur within PunKore scenes. In the "Riot Grrrl" Manifesto, a document informing the actions of an entire music-oriented, subcultural movement, Hanna states:

> We hate capitalism in all forms and see our main goal as sharing information and staying alive, instead of making profits or being cool according to traditional standards...Because self-defeating behaviors (like fucking boys without condoms, drinking to excess, ignoring true soul girlfriends, belittling ourselves and other girls etc.) would not be so easy if we lived in communities where we felt loved and wanted and valued. (2002, p.180)

From this quote we see how one participant views the possibilities of a PunKore pedagogy as both the reality and the potential of a self-healing community. Through the self-healing praxis and street pedagogy, members of the PunKore scene engage in Freire's concept of "concietizacione" (Freire, 1996). For instance the PunKore scene, as a subculture, is what Toby Daspit, making reference to Hip Hop culture, refers to as not pedagogies with the oppressed, but "pedagogies from the oppressed" (2000, p. 166).

Drawing on the cultural texts of Hip Hop his high school students bring with them to class, Daspit seeks to "'discover' relevant points of appropriation that facilitate empowerment" (2000, p. 167). That is, picking up on messages of social justice, human resistance and contradiction within the lyrics of his students' rap music, Daspit is able to successfully facilitate engaging and "empowering" class discussions. Taking note of the importance of Daspit's critical pedagogical tactics, having practiced similar techniques with both high school and university students, the focus of this piece is on how youth have both empowered and contributed to their disempowerment through the PunKore scene. To facilitate and advance this discussion, we look to recent academic works on pedagogies of revolution paying particular attention to the work of Peter McLaren.

TAZ [2] and the Revolutionary Pedagogy of PunKore Scenes

In fact I have deliberately refrained from defining the TAZ- I circle around the subject, firing off exploratory beams. In the end the TAZ is almost self-explanatory. If the phrase became current it would be understood without difficulty...understood in action. (Bey, 2002, p.115)

Rikowski argues that Peter McLaren has been leading the struggle to rekindle the revolutionary potency of critical pedagogy by "reclaiming [it] for the urgent task of increasing our awareness of our social condition, as a first step in changing it" (2002, p. 136). What is more, through his work, McLaren stresses the point that awareness by itself is not sufficient. That is, what is needed is a commitment to social justice giving way to a transformation of consciousness to action (Rikowski, 2002). As we will attempt to demonstrate below, McLaren's pedagogy of revolution can not only help to advance our PunKore pedagogies, but it also shares common characteristics with the PunKore scenes' revolutionary pedagogy of the late 70's and early 80's and its continuing legacy of independent resistance.

However, youth counter-cultures, have not only been co-opted by open racists, but by capital itself, and thus need to be reclaimed and revitalized for the purpose of social justice. That is, the results of corporate advertisers and marketers taking out the social message of punk rock and turning it into a new style can currently be purchased and consumed in the form of clothing as well as watered-down music. Nevertheless, because of the independent nature of progressive PunKore scenes, much of it has retained its potentially revolutionary aspects. An important difference of focus between the revolutionary pedagogy outlined by McLaren and the one outlined below is music, and its unique ability to mobilize people across space and time. The unique experience created through music is referred to by Hakim Bey (2002) as a Temporary Autonomous Zone (TAZ), weather progressive or reactionary. We will explain this phenomenon in subsequent paragraphs.

Echoing Bey's (2002) concept of the TAZ, Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison in Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century, argue that social movements make use of "pre-existing forms of social solidarity and communication" (1998, p. 160) using culture as their primary example that is

reproduced by the movement as it simultaneously transforms it through the construction of alternative spaces where new ideas and forms of sociability can be experimented with. For example, Everyman and Jamison (1998) argue that the music generated by particular movements can inspire future generations to action who live under similar conditions.

The current popular underground group, the "Dropkick Murphys," a progressive Irish skinhead band out of Boston, MA, for example, not only adorn their album sleeves with anti-racist quotes from Martin Luther King (see Dropkick Murphys, 2000), but have also done covers of labor songs from the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) such as "Which Side Are You On?" (1998) and "Gonna Be A Blackout Tonight" (2003) by Woody Guthrie. These songs exemplify the Murphys message of working-class solidarity and struggle. That is, in "Which Side Are You On?" the lyric, "my daddy was a miner, and I'm a miner's son, I'll stick with the union until every battles won" is representative of the attention the Dropkick Murphy's pay to forging bonds at their shows through their commentary between PunKore rockers and other members of the working class such as police officers and construction workers.

That is, on their "Live on St. Patrick's Day" (2002) album, lead singer, Al Barr, introduces a song about

> good cops who don't abuse their power who are just protectin' our sorry asses
> because in the punk world everybody writes songs about hatin' cops, and some
> of em' are fuckin' good shits, and they're here tonight. This one's called John
> Law.

In this potentially revolutionary pedagogical performance the Murphy's were leading the struggle to create a space where working-class youth and working-class police officers could come together, as the IWW attempted to establish through multiple tactics such as using music to show the interconnectedness of the entire working class represented in their slogan, "one big union."

The Murphy's work at reconciling the tensions between the police and youth is particularly important given the long history of clashes that occur between these two groups at these types of shows (Blush, 2001). The structures and emotions of PunKore can be partially understood through their songs because they "give us access

to both feelings and thoughts that are shared by larger collectivities" (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998, p. 161). To fully grasp the significance of progressive PunKore scenes, one needs to understand them experientially, as a participant. What follows is an outline of our PunKore pedagogy, as we understand it, through the lens of the critical educators we have and continue to become.

What does a PunKore revolutionary pedagogy look like? At its best, it is a pedagogy of community, of coming together to heal wounds, to organize against oppression, it is a pedagogy of emotion, to vent ones frustration, to express oneself through the rhythm of the music, but most importantly, it is a pedagogy of possibility, a celebration of one's collective creative potential realized through the discoveries made when engaged in a DIY (Do It Yourself) praxis in the midst of a TAZ. In the following liner-note quote, Jesse ("J"), from "Operation Ivy," a leading force in the US's 1980s underground skatepunk scene with their brand of "white," working-class, punk rock/ska, which emerged out of San Francisco's' bay area, highlights the potentialities of a revolutionary PunKore pedagogy. Consider his words:

> Music is an indirect force for change because it provides an anchor against human tragedy. In this sense, it works toward a reconciled world. It can also be the direct experience of change. At certain points during some shows, the reconciled world is already here, at least in that second, at that place. Operation Ivy was very lucky to have experienced this. Those seconds reveal that the momentum that drives a subculture is more important than any particular band. The momentum is made of all the people who stay interested, and keep their sense of urgency and hope.
> -- J.

(Operation Ivy," 1991[3])

"J's" comments reflect the materialization of a progressive TAZ, spaces created out of, and for, collective struggle. These zones are the lifeline of what we consider to be the PunKore scene and the focus of the potentially revolutionary PunKore pedagogy. As "J" eloquently articulates, "at certain points during shows the reconciled world is already here at least in that second, at that place." This goes to the heart of Bey's (2002) notion of the TAZ. It has been our experience that in PunKore scenes a mood, energy, feeling, emotion and, hence, a reality is created. At many times this temporary created reality shows us that we can live, interact, and establish human relationships, tactics, and a DIY praxis that defies global-capitalist hegemony.

The PunKore scenes that create TAZs become the foundation from which a counter cultural praxis emerge and counter hegemonic identities are formed. Defiant and revolutionary ideas and praxis become and are a way of life. As a Sk8terpunker and an undergrounder we believe and experienced how the TAZ serves as a breeding ground for a revolutionary pedagogy defying oppressive conditions of both global capital and cultural/social relations. As veterans of the PunKore scenes we have seen a TAZ second expanding to minutes, minutes to hours, hours to days, days to weeks, weeks to months and sometimes months to years.

For example, during the years 1999 and 2000 the UNAM (National Autonomous University of México) was paralyzed in a student strike that lasted over a year. This strike was reacting and protesting De Salina's neo-liberal policies in all facets of Mexican life. The image of punk anarchist Zapatistas was used to discredit the validity of the students claim. Nevertheless, through the strike, the students of the UNAM created a TAZ that evoked memories of the Paris communes and revolts of 1968. However, the turn of the century uprising of the UNAM students lasted much more than the summer of 1968. In this TAZ UNAM students got a taste of communal freedom that, due to its collective solidarity, lasted for over a year.

For UNAM students, music, arts and theater were the soul of the struggle. In an almost one year anniversary of the strike the students reaffirmed their vows against neo-liberalism and demanding free quality education for all through a musical festival that lasted more than one day. As part of the festival, the internationally known revolutionary band, Rage Against the Machine, participated in a solidarity concert called "The Battle of Mexico City." The money raised in that concert was given to the striking students of UNAM.

The anecdote of the UNAM strike, among countless others, has been a source of inspiration that translates into aspirations of creating a liberating TAZ where oppressive relationships of global capital and social/cultural praxis are deconstructed, destroyed, altered and mutated into a different way of life freed from the constraints of the past. Experiencing and striving to forge the TAZ through our PunKore pedagogy of revolution has convinced us we can live in a different way freed from not only labor capital relation, but from racism, sexism, and homophobia as well. That is, through participating in the construction and maintenance of a TAZ, participants, by

gaining a certain degree of distance from their "normal" lives, have the opportunity to simultaneously become aware of their social position and act to change it through an ethics of social justice.

Furthermore, "J's" commentary on punk rock demonstrates the significance of the late Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's (1993, 1998) consist insistence on the need for the revolutionary to practice a pedagogy of humility acknowledging his or her role in facilitating the oppressed in moving themselves from objects to subjects through naming their world, and taking collective, conscious control of their historical destinies – that is, to be not only the creators of their world, but the visionaries of the world they create designed to truly benefit their human interests, which are inherently contrary to capital. On the Murphys St. Patrick's Day (2002) album Barr also addresses the audience informing them that they wouldn't be there if it were not for them, so "please don't go anywhere," which was then followed by a cheering and screaming crowd.

In these spaces of resistance and "reconciliation" (that is, progressive TAZs) constructed by the vibe, lyrical content, and overall message of the band(s) dominating a scene or particular show, and the consciousness and actions of the audience the acts attract, which, in most motivated cities, occur almost every night, participants are in a unique position to channel the constant flow of collective energy. Through the revolutionary, counter-hegemonic PunKore pedagogy, despite the omnipresent existence of the counter-revolutionary, hegemonic pedagogy of the white-supremacist, sexist, homophobic, glorifier of the working class PunKore, this energy is converted into a social movement for social justice, therefore making strides in reconciling the internal contradictions of the counter-revolutionary.

"J's" focus on music as an "anchor against human tragedy" through leading the way for social change represents a common theme articulated by scholars writing on the sociology of music. For example, Craig Werner in A Change Is Gonna Come: Music, Race & the Soul of America (1999) argues that "music can help bring the world back into harmony" because it tends to reflect the varied material conditions of the different class', ethnicities and genders of the musicians, thus telling the stories that unveil the structural inequalities lived by many, therefore creating the conditions for building a sense of community. Steven Blush, who was an integral part of the Hardcore

community since the early eighties as a fan, a promoter, a DJ, and the owner of a small independent label, in his book, American Hardcore: A Tribal History argues that Hardcore;

> was more than music – it became a political and social movement as well. The participants constituted a tribe unto themselves. Some of them were alienated or abused, and found escape in the hard-edged music. Some sought a better world or a tearing down of the status quo, and were angry. Most of them simply wanted to raise hell... Lots of fucked-up kids "found themselves" through Hardcore. Many now say things like, "I grew up thinking I was a weirdo, but I met like-minded people and figured out I wasn't such a freak after all" Hardcore was a way of life an infectious blend of ultra-fast music, thought-provoking lyrics, and a fuck-you attitude (2001, p. 9).

In his reflections and analysis of "the scene," Blush (2001) highlights the 'messiness' of any democratic movement for social justice. That is, because not every participant was motivated by the same drive against oppression, or haunted by the self-destruction of despair, it has continued to form and re-form around its internal contradictions responding to both larger social structures, and the participants society creates and is created by. As a result, potentially revolutionary PunKore scenes tend to not only transmit "thought-provoking lyrics," but are also backed up by a "fuck-you attitude." This combination, at its best, not only encourages deeper understandings of one's social position as it relates to larger social structures, but challenges participants to take action as advocated by critical pedagogues such as McLaren (2000, 2001, 2002).

For example, in the late 1980s and early 1990s lead singer, "Raybeez," from one of New York City's leading hardcore groups, "Warzone," emerged as one of the main organizers protesting policies resulting in the increasing of rent as a way to force gentrification in less affluent sectors of the City. Through live musical performances and squatting in buildings targeted for demolition, Raybeez and other activists lead a relatively successful halt on rent increases. Punks, Skinheads, Hardcore kids and other members of the PunKore scene took the streets in protest. However, due to multiple factors related to the power of capital, and the death of Raybeez, over time, the rents did increase, and their mobilization was temporarily halted. These examples, nevertheless, point to the power of music as a mobilizing force in the creation of a revolutionary pedagogy as described by McLaren (2000).

In his timely book, Che Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the Pedagogy of Revolution (2000), Peter McLaren outlines his revolutionary pedagogy based on the lives and writings of "El Che" and Freire. Like Guevara and Freire, revolutionary PunKore bands and the fans who make the potentially revolutionary PunKore scene what it is, as demonstrated in the above quotes, play important roles in constructing progressive TAZs, or, as described by McLaren "sites – provisional sites – in which new structured mobilities and tendential lines of forces can be made to suture identity to the larger problematic of social justice" (2000, p. 187). That is, the PunKore scene, in its nascent days especially, served an important uniting function for those disaffected youth who were unaware of the existence of others like themselves. At the same time, however, as already alluded to, PunKore scenes can be counter-revolutionary.

That is, PunKore scenes can also practice a pedagogy of hatred, by uncritically supporting their internalized ideas, values and beliefs transmitted through the cultural institutions controlled by the ruling class such as the mass media, education and the state. That is, sometimes PunKore scenes can teach sexism, racism, homophobia and even support for the labor-capital relation through the celebration of manual labor. But then again, as we previously said, no one is immune to the hegemonic fog of capitalism, sexism, homophobia, and racism. We are not either glorifying nor demonizing the PunKore scene, we merely recognize its historical role, in a specific time and space, characterized as a TAZ, where revolution is created, planned and lived in multiple facets of our day to day lives. For a full discussion of the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies of punk rock see Malott & Peña (in press). In the last section we will demonstrate how we live the PunKore pedagogy, described above, through our own praxis as SK8punk and undergrounder academics.

The Praxis of One SK8punk

> I was a maintenance man, a line cook, I worked in the factories
> I went to school, I hated it, I got my "C"s and "D"s
> We road our skates, we smoked our weed, we chilled with the fuckin' crew...
> We used our punk rock skating, and built a fuckin' crew...
> The time is now, the place is here, what do you stand for?...
> Will we fuckin' buckle, under all this pressure?
> Or do we have the skills, to commit a radical gesture?
>
> (Jonez Boyz, Malott, 2001)

I sing these lyrics from my song, Jonez Boyz, as an old-school west coast SK8punk (see Malott & Peña, in press, for a detailed account of my background, upbringing and introduction into punk rock and skateboarding) in a band, Ajogún, in Las Cruces, New Mexico situated in the US/Mexican borderlands, at PunKore shows at local underground music stores, parties, and clubs. Las Cruces is situated within a relatively small "urban" county of approximately 100,000 people, over 30% of who live below the official poverty line.

My role as a revolutionary punk rock pedagogue is therefore to attempt to engage people, through my music, in conversations concerning our social situation drawing on my own experiences and perspectives as examples/points of departure. Part of this message, which, in my opinion, resonates particularly well with McLaren's pedagogy, goes beyond awareness and challenges participants to act on the world based on a commitment to social justice. Driving this point home, using the space not only in the songs, but between the songs, myself, and the other members of the band, including Ajogún's other lead vocalist, the second author of this piece, let the audience know about our various campaigns such as our Cop Watch activities accompanied with the passing out of fliers about what rights people have regarding our interactions with the police.

As a group that is part of the local progressive PunKore scene, we frequently play shows with out-of-town bands on tour. It is not uncommon for bands with a similar political bent to express their feelings of joy to know of other bands "fighting-the-good-fight." Even if one of these shows draws no more than 20 people, a progressive TAZ is still created, and that band has one more experience contributing to their sense of hope and possibility. We have made similar connections with local PunKore bands forging informal coalitions. Other bands and fans in general who like our vibe always mention, not only the music, but the lyrics as well. Perhaps lyrics are easier to express ones feelings about than the music, but folks always mention how enthused they are that our lyrics, whether they be mine or the other singers,' often transmitted in Spanish, have substance and generate debate.

That is, it is not uncommon to hear people in the crowd discussing their perceptions of our lyrics and the possible messages they contain. For example, after playing one of our first shows at a local underground music store, two young male members of a

local punk band, one "white," one Chicano, were debating the meaning of my lyric, "...done a lot of shit I wish I never did, fucked many chicks, just to get my kicks." The debate was over whether I was advocating for, or speaking against, the sexual exploitation of women. The other aspect of my revolutionary pedagogy is skateboarding.

When I attend academic conferences, and inform my colleagues of that particular city's skate park, they will usually take a look at my punk rock style of dress and tattooed arms, and say something like "that's probably the only reason why you came here." It is not until they hear my contributions to discussions, and present my papers, that they realize there is something inherently counter-hegemonic about the alternative communities from which I belong. Folks unfamiliar with the skate scene— a scene fused with punk rock in its most underground moments—assume that it is just another sport, the youthful pastime of "juveniles," and that I, a 31 year-old PhD candidate, needs to "grow up." Skateboarding, however, is not a "sport," it is a way of life, and "true" die-hard skaters, those who are in it for "the duration," create progressive TAZs that can last a lifetime. Combined with the DIY philosophy of punk rock, skateboarding, and SK8punks in particular, practice, to varying levels of severity, an outlaw pedagogy of courage and possibility by saying "fuck you, fuck society, fuck the government, and fuck anyone that tries to get in our way."

This attitude does not, however, invoke a pedagogy of violence as much as it declares a pedagogy of "let me create my own reality and my own life, and I won't bother you." When I was in high school, my crew, the Jonez Boyz, through the creation of our own TAZ, hooked up with other crews, creating larger, more connected networks of solidarity. Through this pedagogy of love and brother and sisterhood, existing on the margins of society, ways of living, previously unlived, were formed. However, it was hippies, who, after the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s died down, settled in Oregon and Washington, who influenced the forms of communal living that we forged. That is, many of the SK8punks I road, learned and came of age with, were the sons and daughters of hippies. Our DIY pedagogy coupled with a praxis of communal living materialized through some of the skaters I used to ride with such as Marc "Red" Scott from Portland, Oregon and Mark "Munk" Hubbard from Seattle, Washington.

These guys and their crews took the DIY philosophy to a level none of us ever thought possible through the construction of an anti-park skate park, "Burnside," in Portland, Oregon under the Burnside Bridge (Borden, 2001). Red, whose father was a carpenter, and his crew started constructing banks under the Burnside Bridge in 1990 without permission from the city, they just went for it. In the documentary, "Northwest" (2003), Red describes how him and his friends started building bowls and quarter pipes out of cement under the Burnside Bridge despite what anybody said like "'they'll tear it down.'" Red describes how through this process they met "some allies along the way that said 'leave these guys alone, they're not hurting anybody.'" As a result, the city eventually granted them permission to keep what turned into the pirated Burnside Skate Park, a park and skate scene unlike any other in the world, and Red and his crew learned how to build world-class skate parks, and have since been commissioned to be build city parks throughout not only the Northwest, but all over the world in Canada, the former USSR, Singapore, and Iraq.

Munk, who had a rough life growing up in Seattle, Washington, also learned how to build skate parks, and in the documentary, Northwest (2003), is featured building and skating a park in Washington on the Island, Orcas. Munk's pedagogical philosophy, in my opinion, contains the most revolutionary potential out of all the skaters/designers/builders featured in the documentary. In the following quote Munk is describing Orcas, where, at the time of the video, he was working on a park, consider his words:

> This is where the pirates used to come and hide out cuz nobody could catch em.'
> It's the vortex. You come here, nobody knows where you're at; nobody knows
> where you're goin'; nobody knows where you been. You disappear off the face
> of the earth. I have no contact with the mainland; severed all ties; dropped out of
> society; pretty much disappeared; nobody knows where I am. I mean they know
> we're up here buildin' a park or somethin,' but you don't hear nothin' about it.
> Nobody knows I'm in with Ray Clever, the Sheriff. Nobody knows we're
> runnin' the show up here. This is the biggest joint fuckin' skater project I've ever
> been involved in. Usually it's all set up. Here, it's who's ever here this week, and
> they got the balls to put on a belt and fuckin' nail some 2X4s together, then
> they're designin' a park. Just whoever, it's not a fuckin' big deal. There's a lot of
> shit goin' down. I think we need to open the kitchen up...

Through his pedagogy Munk humbly takes on not only the DIY philosophy of punk, but, despite his pro-skater status, is open to working with anyone interested in

participating in the scene, which is similar to the pedagogy of Guevara described by McLaren (2000). This potentially revolutionary pedagogy is in stark contrast to other professional skaters/park designers who practice a much more elitist pedagogy of exclusion, working with only those deemed experienced and committed enough. Within Munk's SK8punk pedagogy, practiced by myself in the Southwest, a potentially revolutionary force exists with the potential to transform not only our immediate lives within the capitalist system, as many skaters do, but it also has the potentiality to completely uproot and transform the labor-capital relation through a DIY pedagogy of community building, humility and courage practiced on a large scale. Summing up the possibilities of the SK8punk pedagogy of revolution from the documentary, Northwest (2003), "Q" argues that "I got this vision that the revolution's going to be all these hippies in Oregon beatin' up the cops in pools takin' their clubs away from them and smakin' em' with em.'" What follows is the complementary pedagogical praxis of revolution emerging out of Puerto Rico.

The PRAXIS of One Undergrounder

The TAZ is like an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to reform elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it (Bey, 2002)

Born in the revolutionary struggle within Puerto Rico I was introduced to a world where dreams were a concrete way of materializing revolutions. This belief was inculcated shortly but surely through the Latin American struggle folk songs of Aires Bucaneros, Roy Brown, Silvio Rodriguez, Pablo Milanes, Mercedes Sosa, Victor Jara, Intillimani, among others. Through "Trova", in the U.S. experience is better known as folk music, a sense of pride, emancipation, self-determination and sensibility to all forms of oppression became what are known my pillars of an undergrounder subjectivity. I stress underground for in my experience my mother as a radical student of the 60's and her comrades had to live a semi clandestine life. The FBI, CIA and local government tactics of repression were a day to day reality that resulted in the political persecution, torture and assassination of many in the struggle. Through the underground community and mutual solidarity many managed to survive.

In my teen years I was introduced to the world of underground punk, hard core and OI musical scenes. Raw and aggressive music complemented perfectly with my rage against the U.S. Empire and its historical role of killing anything that came in its way of consolidating hegemonic control. It was in this progressive PunKore scene where I would discuss the nationalist and socialist movements of liberation for Puerto Rico. While drinking and hanging out we aspired and plotted to create emancipatory TAZs through our multiple shows as a source of instigating, breeding and materializing revolution. Shows of the PunKore scenes were instances where our revolutionary tendencies bloomed for it had a fertile and concrete community, space and time to grow in. For us, revolutionary TAZs were and are a way of life. We felt free so we became free.

Later I embarked in higher education and I brought my PunKore praxis with me. In fact many of my friends in the PunKore scene were also in the University of Puerto Rico. The PunKore scene not only was in the streets but in the university as well. There I got involved in multiple student movements that engaged in a Latin American style of revolutionary praxis. For us, the TAZ, created via the PunKore scene, was the lifeline of our revolution. If we wanted to mobilize thousands of students to paralyze the university without multiple musical concerts/rallies, the task would have been practically impossible. TAZ, via music and theater, broke barriers of apathy facilitating the bloom of various movements against multiple forms of injustices. We dealt with all kinds of issues dealing with imperialism, decolonization, capitalism, racism, homophobia, xenophobia among other forms of oppression.

As an undergrounder I've lived the phenomenon that any form of underground music creates a space where revolutionary tactics and life help materialize in counter cultures and counter hegemonic forces. For me it has been vital to any form of resistance against oppressive conditions. Music is the soul of the revolution without it I think it's dead.

Music as a form of organizing is not inherently property of the Latin American struggle. Here in the US it has been used on a constant basis throughout its history. Music massified and mobilized revolutions. Some of the most recent examples have been tours with Rage Against the Machine. Within their tours they rallied the cause for clemency and immediate release of both Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal

while simultaneously use their status to shed light on the Zapatista struggle. Other musical groups such as Ozomatli are always to be found in Chicana/o and borderland issues.

Music in an underground fashion and was and is a key element to help organize the massive mobilizations against the oppressive nature of the World Trade Organization, the WTO and other transnational capitalist elite organizations in Seattle, Washington DC, Prague, Vancouver among many others. It is in this fashion that both of the authors of this piece engage in consciously creating Temporary Autonomous Zones of liberation where the praxis of the PunKore scenes pedagogy helps us create a community that deals with the eradication of oppression however it may manifest itself.

Currently I work with my colleague and TAZ-mate, who co-authors this piece, in multiple community efforts. From literature tables, to free speech movements, cop watch, migra watch, *Ni una Más* campaign to stop the assassination of maquiladora workers in ciudad Juarez, Anti-war protest, theater of the oppressed workshops, we have been seriously involved in borderland politics and resistance. Our DIY TAZ making praxis materialized in creating a PunKore band in the borderland scene known as AJOGUN (West African word that means destructive forces within nature, that bring things into balance).

Conclusion

Punk rock represents part of the world's working and middle class's response to an increasingly unjust world. As argued throughout, for some this response was progressive, for others, it was viciously reactionary. Being a punk rocker in those days was dangerous business. If you progressive, that is, anti-racist and against the system, you took heat from not only dominant society, but from Nazi punks and skins. That is, there was much resistance across the US from the police, the schools, freaked out parents, corporations who constantly worry about work place attitudes, and anyone else progressive punk rock rebellion made uneasy. Operation Ivy, and other bands and fans in the scene, were therefore in a position to witness and be a part of the transformative energy of a generation's political awakening and direct confrontation with society's and their own internal contradictions.

As previously alluded to, punk rock represents one youth subculture out of many, which, if united with all counter-cultures beyond all boundaries, possess a revolutionary potential capable of smashing the relationships that oppress us, and building new ones that allow us to develop our collective creative capacities in the humanization of not only the world, but ourselves as well because they are not only emotive, but "they contain a rational or logical core, a truth-bearing significance" (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998, p. 161). Not only does progressive PunKore contain "a truth-bearing significance," but, as previously alluded to, it also resonates particularly well with the pedagogies of previous revolutionary struggles and revolutionary leaders, such as Ernesto Ché Guevara.

Translating some words of Ernesto Ché Guevara in English our revolutionary TAZ creating praxis strives to create a community and alternative way of life where we all "feel indignation against any form of oppression against anybody in the world becomes and is the most beautiful quality of a revolutionary". We want to "be realist and do the impossible" (Guevara, 1996, 1997).

To all those undergrounders worldwide creating their own TAZ and counter hegemonic communities **UMBUNTU AGALAMOSA** (we are all connected through a revolution based on wisdom and spirituality) and HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE (Until Victory Always) (Guevara, 1996, 1997).

Notes

1. When we say PunKore scenes we mean the multiple scenarios and communities that evolve around punk, hard core and other forms of rockish underground culture.

2. TAZ is an acronym for Temporary Autonomous Zones. We draw on this concept coined by Hakim Bey. As such it means what it says. Bey states that "in fact I have deliberately refrained from defining the TAZ- I circle around the subject, firing off exploratory beams. In the end the TAZ is almost self-explanatory. If the phrase became current it would be understood without difficulty...understood in action (Bey, 2002 p.115)".

3. This remastered discography of Operation Ivy was released two years after the band's last published recording, "Energy," 1989. The quote is a retrospective look back at Operation Ivy by the band's lead singer, Jesse Michaels.

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