Social Sciences Journal

Volume 10 | Issue 1 Article 13

9-30-2011

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Recommended Citation
Moran, Ian P. (2010) "Punk: The Do-It-Yourself Subculture," *Social Sciences Journal*: Vol. 10: Iss. 1, Article 13.
Available at: http://repository.wcsu.edu/ssj/vol10/iss1/13

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Punk: The Do-It-Yourself Subculture

Ian P. Moran

The punk movement is often viewed as a youth culture based on teen adolescence angst. However, punk as a subculture goes much further than rebellion and fashion as punks generally seek an alternative lifestyle divergent from the norms of society. The do-it-yourself, or D.I.Y. aspect of punk is one of the most important factors fueling the subculture. Independent record labels, the D.I.Y. press, and the D.I.Y. venues are what have kept the punk subculture alive since the late 1970s. The creation of the punk subculture has allowed individuals who seek an alternative lifestyle to thrive. The D.I.Y. record labels and independent pressing system creates a social network that allows for punk music and ideologies to be distributed. This social networking allows punk bands to travel from city to city playing at D.I.Y. venues and fueling the overall subculture.

What are the core values of the punk subculture that allow the D.I.Y. lifestyle to succeed? This research will investigate how the D.I.Y. record labels and independent press reinforce the social networking which allows the subculture to survive. What makes it possible for virtually unknown bands to partake in international tours across the globe? This research will examine how punk bands have created a network that is strong enough to support bands from other countries. The core values within the punk subculture seem to be universal. The values and music of the punk subculture are being transplanted into many different cultures around the world today. This research will also explore how modern technology has enhanced networking capabilities and changed the D.I.Y. punk movement as a whole. The research will also examine the reason behind the devotion and allegiance punks feel towards the D.I.Y. aspect of the subculture and explore if the purpose of the D.I.Y. aspect of the punk subculture is strictly a rebellion against consumerism.

This qualitative analysis will attempt to show how various individuals have created as well as survived in the punk subculture and will be conducted through in-depth interviews with informants who have specific roles in the punk community and extensive knowledge of the subculture. Informants will be chosen based on their active status and contribution to the punk subculture, and across different age groups to provide a sample of how the D.I.Y. values of the punk subculture may vary. People from Boston, MA, New York City, NY, Los Angeles, CA, Richmond, VA, St. Louis, MO, and various towns in Connecticut will be interviewed to examine the variation of the core values of punk by location. Interviews will be conducted with the owners of a D.I.Y. record label and printing press to gain knowledge of the core values that hold the punk subculture together. Interviews with multiple bands will also be conducted to provide an account of how it is possible to tour while dealing strictly with the D.I.Y. subculture.

The subjects selected for this research are dependent on my own experience within the punk subculture which may affect the results of this study. Although many different groups are represented within the subculture, this study will focus on individuals who have made D.I.Y. punk a life choice rather than people who do not necessarily support the D.I.Y. aspect of this subculture.

Literature Review

This literature review will focus on a variety of empirical research articles on different aspects of the punk subculture, including studies that have been conducted on the nature of the punk subculture and the reason for the involvement of individuals. The articles for this literature review were chosen in order to provide different angles of the punk subculture, as researchers who choose to study the punk subculture often focus on the political aspects of the movement.

In "Punk Subculture in Mexico and the Anti-globalization Movement: A Report from the Front," Alan O'Connor examines the relationship between the political activity of the punk subculture in Mexico and the ways in which the punk subculture in Mexico views the world today (2003). The author studies the relationship between a local anarchist collective in Mexico and its relationship to the Zapatista movement and the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) Strike of 1999-2000. The social movement of punk is based on the ideas and other punks throughout the world, and O'Connor argues, "The relation between punks and these movements is a matter or practice within a *habitus.* . . in the case of punk it is the international circulation of recorded music, zines and bands on tour" (44). O'Connor's research was conducted through participant-observation at two events as well as content analysis. The author attended a 1994 benefit show in Mexico City in support of the Zapatista movement, and the UNAM Strike of 1999-2000, where he examined the part anarcho-punks played in the protest. The author also examined the lyrical content of songs produced by Mexican punk bands and the political views of anarcho-punks as published in Mexican fanzines. Analysis of research conducted at the Zapatista benefit show provides an example of

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how the punk subculture in Mexico is extremely well-organized. The Mexican fanzines that are published are more focused on politics than the punk music itself, with:

> Themes [including] autonomy and punk resistance, the Zapatista struggle in Chiapas, the squat movement in Europe, women's issues in Mexico, European movements such as the Provos and Situationists and articles on classic punk bands such as the Clash and Crass.(48)

The Mexican punk subculture organizes shows with international bands by way of an underground booking circuit that is reinforced by fanzines published in Mexico.

Steven W. Baron's "The Canadian West Coast Punk Subculture: A Field Study," uses Functionalist and Neo-Marxist theories of punk subculture to guide this study on the background and outlook of life held by individuals involved in the punk subculture in Victoria, Canada (1989). Baron's sixty-day field study was conducted using the participant-observation method to gather data on thirty-five participants ages fourteen to twenty-nine. First, the author examined the variables of gender and social class, relating them to the participants' goals and attitudes towards school and family life. Second, the author focused on the political, stylistic, and creative aspects of the punk subculture. The central findings of Baron's study show that the majority of the participants in his study were financially independent from their parents. Only twelve of the thirty-five participants lived at home with support from their parents. The majority of the participants came from middle class blue-collar families, and "Some members are totally committed to a lifestyle of resistance. They are alienated from dominant goals, rebel at home and school, and live on the street engaging in illegal activities to survive" (311). Baron described the punk subculture in Victoria as a place where status could be gained by interacting with like-minded individuals without institutions such as school or employment.

In "Local Scenes and Dangerous Crossroads: Punk and Theories of Cultural Hybridity," Alan O'Connor (2002) examined regional punk music scenes in Washington D.C., Austin, TX, Toronto, Canada, and Mexico City, Mexico by conducting ethnographic research with participants in the local punk to show how the attributes of the punk subculture may vary by country. The economic status of the city and country are examined in order to study the scene in a given city. The study is based on the social organization of traveling punks and how they gain acceptance to local scenes. O'Connor believed that the differences in a local scene are evidenced by the social geography of the city in which the scene is located, stating, "Each city provides a different set of resources and difficulties including the availability of places for bands to play, housing, record stores, and such like" (233). The author's examination of the four cities proves how scenes may differ based on the city's infrastructure.

Ryan Moore and Michael Roberts focused on the D.I.Y. ethics of the punk subculture and how the structure of the underground media has enabled the social movement to be linked with political protest in "Do-It-Yourself Mobilization: Punk and Social Movements" (2009). The authors argued that punk is a social movement based on the organizational aspects of the D.I.Y. ethic by claiming:

> The D.I.Y. ethic has enabled punk subculture to build a substantial infrastructure of underground media, and we will examine different episodes where this media has played an active role in generating and coordinating social protest among people who identify as punks.(276)

Moore and Roberts' study was conducted using historical-comparative methodology with primary and secondary sources including ethnographic data and other archival materials from another study on the punk subculture. Moore and Roberts' study examined three different cases in which the D.I.Y. subculture was involved in the political agenda of the time: Rock Against Racism, the "hardcore" movement, and the "riot grrrl" movement. Once the punks attach themselves to a political agenda, they use the D.I.Y. ethic to enhance the subculture's relationship to the ideal. Rock Against Racism was a movement where punks addressed the notion of anti-racism, whereas the "hardcore" movement was a rebellion against President Reagan's actions. The "riot grrrl" movement was a way for women to create a network with other individuals who shared their feminist beliefs. In the analysis, Moore and Roberts discuss how the punk subculture as a whole is formed by music and common similarities of the individuals involved.

Once punks decide to voice their political views, they look to the D.I.Y. ethic in order to share their views with other punks. They might publish their political views in fanzines which are distributed to other punk collectives. The global networks involved in the punk subculture are dependent on each other in order to support touring bands that travel to play in scenes

around the world. In "Transnational Cultures: Punk and Globalization," Alan O'Connor focused on cultural globalization of the punk subculture in Mexico City, Mexico and Toronto, Canada by conducting multisite ethnographies throughout the 1990s. O'Connor writes that the punk subculture in Mexico City is organized more in opposition to the Mexican government than the punk subculture in Toronto, who focused more on social issues in Canada such as feminism and abortion laws. Although the scenes in Toronto and Mexico City are very different, the global networks that exist through zines and musical recordings allow the subculture to stay alive. O'Connor's findings stress that the punk scenes in different cities are not independent from each other. The punk culture in Mexico City is comparative to the scenes that existed in California in the early 1980s. The punk subculture in Toronto has turned to more non-violent and more knowledge-based behavior, whereas the scene in Mexico City is focused more on fast music, politics, and violence at shows. The globalization of the punk subculture allows different cities to have alternative views, but the culture would not exist without other cities.

In "D.I.Y. Masculinity: Masculine Identity in D.I.Y. Punk Subculture," Tom Buechele focused on the gender issues relating to the D.I.Y. punk subculture, as the subculture is surrounded by masculinity which may result in discrimination against women and feminine males. The author looked at gender and masculinity amongst the participants in this study, stating, "The struggle to resist hegemony is a central issue in the lives of these men leaving them with an ontological crisis, i.e. how do they challenge a system of gender inequalities when that system to a large extent has been a reference point to their identity?" (2005). Buechele conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with ten male participants ages 19 to 34 whom he selected for the study through a convenience sample of past and present participants in the D.I.Y. scene. Of the participants, one was homosexual and one was Hispanic. The remainders of the participants were Caucasian males from the New York D.I.Y. punk subculture. Data gathered from the interviews was later categorized in order to find patterns in the participants' responses, with analysis showing that the participants' involvement with the D.I.Y. punk subculture was an outlet for their creativity that gave them the freedom to voice their political views with others who had similar ideals. Buechele noted that after conducting the interviews, the realization of the hegemonic tendencies in the punk subculture caused a few of the participants to displace themselves from the punk subculture.

Research Methodology

The purpose of this study was to examine the D.I.Y. ethics in relation to the core values of the punk subculture. What are D.I.Y. ethics, and how do they relate to the punk subculture? Would the punk subculture exist without the D.I.Y. movement? How do the core values of the punk subculture relate to politics? The results of this study will indicate answers related to these topics. I will conduct in-depth interviews with participants who are currently active in the D.I.Y. punk subculture to examine the core values of the movement itself. I believe that the core values individuals hold based on D.I.Y. ethics ultimately sustain the punk subculture.

The population of this study consisted of active members within the punk subculture. For the purpose of this study, the term "active member" indicates a person who currently participates in the punk subculture. Since the goal of this research was to examine the core values and D.I.Y. ethics of the punk subculture, it was appropriate to include research subjects who have been involved with the subculture since the beginning of the punk movement. The sample for this study is reflective of the individuals within the punk subculture who play in bands, run record companies, and write fanzines; all of which are important aspects of the punk subculture that help keep the D.I.Y. community stay alive.

Time restrictions on this research dictated a small sample. Snowball sampling and personal acquaintances through social networks were used in this study to identify key players in the punk subculture. Eight men were selected to participate in the study based on their past and current roles in the punk subculture. (Women and men are not equally represented in this study because of the lack of women who have traditionally taken on major roles within the punk subculture, such as playing in bands, recording music, and releasing material.) In order to identify the core values of the punk subculture, it was necessary to have participants from punk communities outside of Connecticut, as the core values of the participants may vary based on their geographic location in the United States. In order to get accurate data, participants from Connecticut, California, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, and Virginia and were all used in this study.

The table on the following page identifies the gender, age, and location of each participant. The method used to complete this study was in-depth interviewing. The times of the interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to two hours. No demographic data was collected due to my personal relationships with the subjects. Each participant was asked six broad questions addressing the D.I.Y. ethic and core values in the punk subculture. All of the participants in this study agreed to be tape recorded for

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purposes of analysis. Because of the location of three of the participants, the interviews were conducted over the telephone, after which all interviews were transcribed and reviewed in order to identify themes.

Table 1

Name	Gender	Age	Location
Brandon	Male	25	Richmond, VA
Brian	Male	25	Bethel, CT
Chris	Male	30	Newtown, CT
Dave	Male	29	Southbury, CT
Jim	Male	54	Hoboken, NJ
Matt	Male	26	Los Angeles, CA
Rob	Male	30	St. Louis, MO
Ryan	Male	26	Boston, MA
Tom	Male	26	Bethel, CT

Findings

Upon review of the collected interviews, three themes emerged: attraction and exposure to the punk subculture, the values of D.I.Y., and politics. These themes are discussed in more detail in the following sections. D.I.Y. is the aspect of the punk subculture where everything is constructed by the individual. This often includes distributing fanzines, booking shows, and recording music only with other people involved with the punk subculture.

Initial Attraction and Exposure to the Punk Subculture

Understanding the participant's initial attraction and exposure to the punk subculture was very important in order to fully grasp the participant's outlook on the punk subculture. The punk subculture's main social events evolve around shows, and while all of the participants viewed the excitement of engaging in live punk shows as important, only four of the respondents viewed their main attraction to the subculture as a social event. Brandon, Ryan, Matt, and Rob all felt that the social aspect of the subculture is what attracted them to punk. From the answers given during the interviews, it is clear that the socialization aspect of the subculture is more important, if not more so than the music itself. With the exception of one participant (Jim), all of the other interviewees viewed themselves as part of the subculture from ages 11 to 13.

Jim graduated from college the summer punk came into existence, so his attraction to punk is based on the notion that bands can release their own material. Because the late 1970s were flooded with rock "super groups," a band being able to release their own material attracted young adults across the United States, and Jim's interest in the punk subculture is an example of this attraction. Jim described his perspective as different because he was around before the punk phenomenon. His first exposure to punk was seeing Patti Smith perform in New Brunswick, NJ in 1975. After visiting his old college newspaper, Jim was invited to see a new band, The Ramones, play at CBGB's on the Lower East Side in Manhattan. Jim had the opportunity to witness the beginning of the punk movement and is still a part of the subculture today, and said:

> I had been reading about the Lower East Side punk scene in The Village Voice and had heard of the Ramones, but I had no idea who they were or what they sounded like, but I volunteered to go. And so I interviewed the Ramones in November 1976 at CBGB. They totally blew me away and from that point on, I considered myself part of the punk movement.

Rob discovered punk when he was 11 or 12 years old in the suburbs of St. Louis from his brother who listened to a metal band who covered the classic punk band the Sex Pistols. He has been involved in the punk scene for over 15 years, and stated:

> I found punk through an overwhelming feeling of not fitting with others and not wanting to fit in with others. I liked to be the person who no one understood and who liked things no one else liked.

> Maybe I just craved attention, but I could not stand the idea of liking things because you wanted to be accepted by others.

Rob believes that punk music had the perfect soundtrack and shock value for the way he felt at the age of 11. The colored hair, homemade clothes, and freedom of expression all made him embrace punk to the maximum level.

Although the social aspects at the shows were important, the loud and chaotic nature of punk music was described as a second attraction for Rob, Matt, Ryan, and Brandon. Matt was born in Los Angeles and described his love for many musical genres such as show-tunes and jazz, but also stated that punk rock "just sounded good." Ryan stressed his love for other aggressive heavy-metal music, but stated that punk is more pure and straightforward, making the music more powerful. Brandon is from the suburbs of Richmond, Virginia, and was introduced to punk by finding part of his older sister's tape collection, including some classic punk albums. All four of these participants had similar answers regarding the attraction to punk, and how they felt punk music shows were the most important aspect in keeping the punk subculture alive. Although these four participants are from different geographical locations throughout the United States, similarities of their views on the punk subculture are very similar.

Chris was born and currently lives in Newtown, Connecticut. He stated, "As far back I can remember, I was attracted to the visual aesthetic of music." The visual aesthetic is large aspect of the D.I.Y. punk subculture. Chris cited the band Nirvana as his gateway to the punk subculture, and described how his devotion to Nirvana led to him read their official biography at a young age, in which the band mentioned their influences to early punk bands such as Black Flag, Flipper, and the Stooges.

Brian, Tom, and Dave were all from the greater Danbury area located in Connecticut. Brian described his initial exposure to the punk subculture as being "very unpunk." He believes that he was fortunate because his mother would listen to records by bands such as The Ramones and The Dictators while cleaning the house. Brian states:

> I was 11 years old at my first show and I'm 25 now. Once you become part of a scene or the subculture, even if you stop being an active participant, your life is changed forever. You just see things in a totally different way. It's a liberating feeling when you know you can make and produce music on your own terms. It leaks into every aspect of your life.

Interestingly, all participants besides Jim were introduced to the punk subculture from ages 11 to 13. Brandon, Ryan, Matt, and Rob all stated that the exposure to the actual punk music was from family and friends. One can see why the punk subculture might be attractive to a child in search of himself or herself, especially due to its accepting nature.

Core Values and Doing-it-Yourself

The most prevalent core value in the punk subculture mentioned by all the participants of this study was Do-It-Yourself, or D.I.Y. Chris summarized most participants' responses by stating, "The ethical domain of D.I.Y. punk culture can be summarized as something that is fundamentally made by fans, for the fans." He explained how with the outgrowth of hardcore punk in the 1980s would not have been possible without D.I.Y. Because no major labels showed interest in punk, punks were forced into creating almost every aspect of the subculture. Chris believes the D.I.Y. ethic spawned from kids in the late 1970s "giving their middle finger to the major rock groups of the time." Chris mentions the importance of how the D.I.Y. ethic is extremely close to the political output of many individuals within the subculture by saying:

> Many initial publications (fanzines) that covered new groups were fan created and were analogous to the political pamphlets that were circulated during the centuries of yore. Moreover, what's more political than refusing a conglomeration of dominant media outlets and releasing your own art?

D.I.Y. was not only the forefront for just strictly music, but made it possible for individuals to book their own tours, release their own records, and distribute their own ideas and materials through fanzines. By the late 1970s, underground labels started to emerge from all over the United States. Labels such as SST, TwinTone, Epitaph, BYO, and ROIR were releasing records by many local punk acts. Bands including Black Flag, Youth Brigade, Minor Threat, and the Dead Kennedys were now releasing records and booking their own tours. Although bands have recorded their own music in the past; punk helped pave the way for people in bands to create their own music, release a record, and tour with a minimum of outside assistance. Because Jim was around for the birth of the punk movement, he explained how after it was proven that individuals could create music and

go on tour without being a rock star, the ideal became that "it is better to do it yourself." Rob viewed the D.I.Y. ethic as an untaught requirement because of the underground nature of the punk subculture, stating that "Kids began making homemade shirts in support of their favorite bands, or even for their own bands. So even if a company would do business with them for merchandise or what not, they didn't have the money anyway." He explained how bars were the only venues who welcomed punk bands to perform. The average age of participants in the punk subculture range from age eleven to eighteen, excluding the majority of fans from the shows, and punks do not rely on anyone but themselves to create the subculture. Because the subculture consists mostly of adolescents, D.I.Y. also meant creating your own clothes on a limited budget in order to support the bands of the subculture.

D.I.Y. in the punk subculture is often not a choice because of the low economic income of individuals in the subculture. Ryan and Matt both discussed how there is absolutely no money in the punk subculture. Ryan runs a recording studio; screen prints unauthorized t-shirts, books shows, and plays in multiple bands. He questioned whether or not punk has ever had any actual core values. There are virtually no politics in uniform except for doing it yourself. Ryan gave the example of Screwdriver, a white supremacist band, and Crass, an anarchist punk band, as both being classified as "punk" bands despite their lack of shared values. Being a participant in the punk subculture suggests that one must be active in the creation and support of other members of the movement.

Although all of the participants stated that the D.I.Y. ethic is the core value of the punk subculture, Ryan mentioned that he believes punk would exist without D.I.Y. Although the music and image play a definite role in the subculture, he said:

> If people play music for any other reason besides their own desire, it falls flat and useless to me. I have no time for other people's failure. In this case, the watered down punk band who emerged from the mall still can have access to an extremely sacred D.I.Y. recording space.

Being an outsider and staying an outsider are key points that Brandon mentioned. The feeling of alienation is a common bond that punks seem to have in common across the world. Brandon feels that by being an outsider at school, he found a common ground with other alienated punks. The definition of how one may be an outsider can place them in a certain niche within D.I.Y. punk, and classification of different subdivisions of the punk subculture varies by the individual's view on the meaning of punk.

The foundation of networking system used by punks today was created by hardcore punk bands such as Black Flag during the early 1980s. In order to participate in the D.I.Y. principles, it is necessary to make contacts with others in order to accomplish tasks. Networking within the punk subculture has changed drastically after the advent of electronic communication. Online fanzines, music sharing sites, and email enable virtually any punk to connect with other punks and bands within the subculture. All of the participants in this study believed that the internet has strengthened the D.I.Y. networking system by allowing access to scenes around the world. Rob described the punk network as very tightly knit group of punks based on trust. After shows that he books, Rob often offers shelter and hospitality to the touring bands. Trust is a universal aspect of the punk community because there are constantly people passing through a city for one night to play a show. Rob explained this concept by telling a story of an unnamed band that broke this common bond. Rob had arranged for a touring band to stay at a friend's house after a show that he booked. After the band had left for their next destination, Rob was informed by his friend that a guitar amp and part of a drum set were missing from his apartment. After phone calls to the band on the road went unanswered, Rob was able to contact the promoter of the band's next show via the internet in order to resolve the problem. The promoter of the show contacted the band and explained how their show would be cancelled unless the equipment was returned to Rob's friend in St. Louis. After telling this story, Rob explained that although there is a common trust between people in the punk movement, there are always people who do not adhere by the rules. This story illustrates how tightly knit the punk community is, and how with the internet virtually any person involved in punk can be contacted.

The agreement that modern technology has done more good than bad in the networking aspect of the D.I.Y. punk subculture is present throughout all the participants' views. Ryan stated that there can be five different D.I.Y. punk shows in Boston on a given night. The internet has also created divisions between scenes of punk. Prior to the internet, punk bands of all styles would often play together; whereas now there are strictly hardcore shows, crust shows, or pop-punk shows. Electronic communication has changed the D.I.Y. punk subculture in a positive manner by increasing the connections between people, but at the same time has created divisions between punk genres.

The Political Aspect of Do-It-Yourself

All of the participants agreed that the First Wave of the punk subculture was intertwined with making a political statement, and it is generally accepted that the punk movement became involved with politics in England. Jim explains how the major economic depression that occurred in the United Kingdom during the late 1970s left an entire generation on welfare, without hope for steady employment. The British class system, institutionalized poverty, and unemployment, acted as fuel for bands like the Sex Pistols and the Clash. Even the 1970s American punk band The Ramones had political influence in their music and actions. Chris explains how The Ramones "made a socio-political statement simply by not making one." Even if The Ramones did not understand the original nature of their rebellion, it has influenced the D.I.Y. punk subculture drastically.

Dave, Ryan, and Brian all gave similar answers regarding the political aspect of punk, stating that it is more of a personal philosophy. Dave answered that the core value of punk was freedom and thinking for yourself, and when asked about the political aspects of punk, he described how the common punk is more against establishment politics. This response shows how influential D.I.Y. ethics are to individuals involved in the punk movement. Anti-establishment ideologies are derived from the D.I.Y. ethic of the punk subculture. Interestingly, Rob stated that political views were not related to the punk subculture and that punk's values are based on basic human values. Tom and Brandon explained how they were aware of the political aspect of the punk subculture, but do not believe that politics influence the core values of the movement. Chris explained how the political views in fanzines distributed are another example of self expression and freedom of voice. If self expression is a core value, Chris stressed that the political outfit is a large part of punk subculture. The distribution of fanzines is often a combination of updates on the punk scene by geographic location, and political views of the authors. The rejection of major ideals tied to consumerism that punk offers show that the values of the subculture are indeed based on politics.

Conclusion

The attraction of individuals to the social aspect of the punk subculture was not a surprise. Punk music is very important for individuals that are part of the movement to release emotion, but the core of the movement is based on socialization. The extreme hands-on nature of D.I.Y. ethics gives a person a feeling of establishment, and producing a sacred product such as a record can give a person a sense of accomplishment.

This research displays that the majority of the individuals who get involved with the punk subculture have been active members since a very young age. The sense of belonging to an alternative scene is one of the main attractions to the punk subculture, as the participants of this study all mentioned feelings of being an outsider. The typical punk show can be viewed as a playground, as watching bands perform as loud and fast as possible with high energy can enable the participants to play without rules. Punk shows can also be seen as a common meeting ground. Punks share information about new bands, upcoming events, and other important knowledge of the subculture during shows, as a show represents an opportunity for socialization as well as viewing live music.

Interestingly, the core value that all of the participants agree on of the punk subculture is the D.I.Y. ethic. Being able to produce and distribute ideas and art without the interference of major corporations seems to be the main idea within the punk subculture. The ability to create your own identity and be in a network of like-minded individuals can create a sense of satisfaction for those involved in the punk movement. Because of the young nature of the participants in the punk subculture, little currency involved in its transactions, and as previously mentioned, the D.I.Y. ethic originates from necessity as well as the lack of monetary funds. If this study was reproduced, it would be interesting to examine the socioeconomic status of the families of the participants. Are children in lower socioeconomic classes more prone to be attracted to the punk subculture?

This research supports Moore and Robert's findings that D.I.Y. is a social movement as well as a mobilization of resources that support the core of the punk subculture (2009). Being involved in the punk movement means being active. Freedom of expression is extremely important but in order for the punk movement survive it is necessary for individuals to actively participate and take on specific roles within the punk community. The distribution of fanzines is an expression of self-philosophy, whereas records are a creative outlet. Punk music is created for individuals within the movement to share the common bond of self-expressionism. Creating fanzines, printing shirts for bands, and playing in bands are just small parts of roles that individuals play in the movement.

The data collected for this study might be viewed as gender biased due to the lack of interviews with females in prominent roles in the subculture. This research is also biased because of my personal involvement in the D.I.Y. punk subculture. Like many of the other participants, I was introduced to the punk subculture at the age of 12. I understand the importance of the

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D.I.Y. ethic and networking systems that are used for distribution and booking tours. I have been in bands, gone on tour, and currently consider myself to be an active participant in the punk subculture. I selected the participants for my study based on what I felt were the most relevant or important punk scenes in the United States. Although my bias may affect the trends that I chose to examine, I attempted to separate myself from my subculture during the course of my research.

All participants in this study viewed their decision to become involved in the D.I.Y. punk subculture as a life-changing event. D.I.Y. provides people with the knowledge of what humans are capable of producing on their own, as well as with each other. Because the participants in this study were not selected from a random sample, this research does not represent the D.I.Y. punk movement as a whole. The interview questions were designed to be broad in order to receive open interpretations of their views on the punk subculture. Although the survey sample was small, the consistency of answers regarding the D.I.Y. punk subculture indicates similar views other people in the punk community, and data collected regarding the core values of the D.I.Y. punk subculture may prove useful for future studies of the punk community.

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