Title
Crust Punk: An Anarchist Political Epistemology

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Publication Date
2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Crust Punk: An Anarchist Political Epistemology

By

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Ethnomusicology

in the

OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

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2021

Abstract

The Sex Pistols' 1976 anthem, "Anarchy in the UK," memorialized an ongoing relationship between anarchism and punk rock music. Although scholars of punk music have long documented the relationship between leftist or progressive politics in punk music scenes, they have not interrogated the content and sources of anarchist politics, often taking for granted the relationship between anarchism and punk. This dissertation examines the anarchist politics of a particular genre of punk, called "crust punk," which is a blend of punk and heavy metal. Like most music subcultures, the crust punk scene is much more than musical sounds; it is associated with a particular lifestyle as well. Crust punks' choices to drop out of society and live in squats or on the streets, I argue, are political. This dissertation combines ethnomusicological methods with a field of study called "political epistemology" from political science that seeks to understand the origins and composition of political ideas. I combine these two approaches to examine crust punk political ideas: where they come from, how they are shared within the scene, and in what ways they can be considered "anarchist." I conclude that crust punk represents a form of what I theorize as "vernacular anarchism" that arises from precarious forms of existence, is formulated in everyday life experiences, and is given substance through affective and emotional responses to the poetics of crust punk song texts.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Professor Henry Spiller, whose feedback pushed me to sharpen my writing and in turn, my thought process. I would also like to thank my committee members, Professor Lawrence Bogad and Dr. Juan Diego Díaz, for providing insightful criticism, helpful suggestions, and stimulating exchanges. I truly appreciate all the work my committee has put into my dissertation.

I would also like to acknowledge percussionists Christopher Froh and Ricardo Romero for their help in accurately transcribing a d-beat drum pattern. I would also like to thank my crusty interlocutor, Jace, for his feedback on my metal/punk genealogy chart.

In addition, I would like to thank my mother, for her never-ending support, reassurance, counsel, and sympathetic ear. Finally, I could not have completed this dissertation without my friends and colleagues, Dr. Luis Chavez and Drs. Davin and Andressa Vidigal-Rosenberg. I would also like to thank my longtime friend and creative partner Damon Gentry for always managing to bring me back down to earth and providing me with a creative outlet and much-appreciated distraction in the form of Dance The Bridge. You were right, “this doesn’t do anybody any good,” but I did it anyway. Thank you all for believing in me, even when I no longer believed in myself.

Contents

Figures

Introduction

Crust punks are loud and angry. They are dirty and they smell bad which contributes to the name "crust" punk; they are literally crusty with filth. Crust punks hop trains, travel the US, squat in abandoned buildings, camp beside train tracks, and sleep on the streets. Crust punk music is an aural manifestation of those gritty, filthy attributes in the form of metal-punk crossover. You have probably encountered a crust punk on the streets in urban settings, sitting on the sidewalk begging for spare change or cigarettes, a loyal dog companion by their side. Or perhaps they've approached your car in traffic while holding a sign that reads, "traveling, hungry, broke, anything helps." Their clothes are dirty and tattered, their presence is threatening; between their lack of hygiene and often drunken demeanor they are the unwashed masses that we tend to avoid in public settings. We avert our eyes, keep our heads down, and keep walking in the hopes that these individuals will not bother us any further. But what do we really know about these individuals? Are they homeless? Where do they come from? What music do they listen to and why? Why do they look and behave the ways that they do? And why do they smell so bad?

This dissertation seeks to answer those questions by examining the relationship between the crust punk music scene and politics. I argue that the music and the everyday activities associated with the scene shape the politics of crust punks. Those politics explain why they choose to live on the streets or in squats as well as other lifestyle choices and embodied practices. Similarly, the connections between crust punk music scene and politics provide context for ways of understanding and being in the world. Music has the power to affect people and crust punk is no different. This dissertation argues that the affective qualities of crust punk music and everyday life help establish the politics that lead to choices such as squatting, being transient, and even why crust punks look and smell the way that they do. This will be done by

studying the interactions I have had with crust punks over the last 9 years in Austin, Texas, in various locations in California and on the West Coast, as well as online social media. I also analyze recorded performances and examine scholarly literature about punk and metal music, transiency, and homelessness.

Understanding "crust punk" requires a rudimentary understanding of "punk." Punk, however, is a "notoriously amorphous concept" (Sabin 1999, 2). Musically, punk is characterized by "high energy, three-chord compositions featuring 'stiff rhythm sections, overamplified guitar and harsh, almost characterless vocals'" (Savage 1991, 295 in Phillipov 2006, 383). Punk is much more than just the music, however, is it a culture, a way of life, and a worldview. Punk has been around since the mid- to late 1970s in the UK and USA. Punk rock was a response to the exaggerated, virtuosic, arena-style rock that had come to dominate the popular music landscape at the time. British media theorist Dick Hebdige, writing about the early punk scene in 1979 London was the first cultural studies scholar to write about punk in *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. He saw it as a bricolage,[1] creating not only a new music but also a new subcultural style. For Hebdige, punk was an amalgamation of anything young minds found meaning in during the mid-to-late 70s in the UK, generating a new style from "elements drawn from a whole range of heterogeneous youth styles" (1979, 25). Hebdige considered punk music to have a "dubious parentage" featuring the combination of disparate musical styles as varied as glitter-rock (e.g., David Bowie), American proto-punk (e.g., The Ramones), London pub-rock, northern soul, and even reggae (ibid.). Despite attempts to trace punk rock's lineage at its core punk broke away

[1] Bricolage is the process by which humans make sense of the material world around them, bringing seemingly unrelated items into new and meaningful relationships creating a logic, a structure for their environment. As Hebdige (1979) saw it, bricolage was the way in which punks brought together various musical, visual, and textile elements to create the subculture of punk.

from mainstream rock music and culture. Punk bands rejected the over-the-top arena rock of the 1970s both in performance style and attitude. Instead of seven or eight-minute virtuosic rock songs, punk bands composed short, simple songs with fast tempi played only on the basic rock instrumentation of guitar, bass, drums, and vocals (no keyboards, synthesizers, string sections, orchestras, etc.). Guitar parts were typically distorted and featured technically accessible barre chords for accompaniment.[2] Similarly, unlike the fantastical lyrics that had become typical of 1970s rock songs, punk lyrics tended to be socially relevant, political, and anti-establishment. Those lyrics were typically delivered in a punk rock snarl or shouted vocal style as opposed to the melodic or even operatic vocal delivery employed by 1970s rock singers (Laing 2015). Punk rock originally referred to bands like the Sex Pistols, The Clash, The Ramones, The Runaways, and other bands in the 1970s. By 1976 punk had become a major subculture in the United Kingdom, with individuals expressing their rebellion against established rock norms and the mainstream through music and fashion. Punk quickly made a global impact and by the 1980s had spawned multiple subgenres and influenced mainstream rock and pop music, such as hardcore punk, post-punk, and new wave. However, because of the popularity of punk, the term came to be used by market savvy record companies and bands looking to capitalize on the appeal of punk rock while still offering pop-oriented music that would sell records and be radio-friendly. That style and era of music in the 1980s is known as "new wave." Hardcore punk was the response to the perceived neutering of the punk ethos by new wave bands.

[2] A barre chord is a major or minor triad as played on guitar. A barre chord consists of the root, fifth, octave, eleventh, thirteenth, and fifteenth (or double octave) from low to high on a guitar. It is called a barre chord because the index finger is used to "bar" all the strings at a given fret while the remaining fingers fret other strings higher in order to voice the chord. Unlike barre chords, power chords omit the third and are neither major or minor, only an open fifth.

Because punk is an amorphous concept, the many different subcultures and subgenres of punk can be just as difficult to nail down. Punk has become something of an umbrella term under which various subgenres emerge, evolve, then fracture again creating new and different forms. Crust punk is one of the many subcultures and subgenres of punk that evolved alongside what became known as hardcore punk. Hardcore punk was a response to the appropriation of punk rock aesthetics, namely its DIY[3] nature and a rejection of mainstream rock by pop rock bands and record labels in order to sell records. Hardcore punk bands realigned themselves with the irreverent, abrasive, and political aspects of earlier punk music and culture. Hardcore punk is faster, louder, and more aggressive than, not only new wave but, the punk music and culture that inspired it. Hardcore punk has its own long and complicated history in both the UK and USA in the 1980s (for more on that history see Blush 2001 and Glasper 2004, 2006, 2009), but it was during this time period that crust punk developed as a subgenre of hardcore punk, specifically in the UK. Crust punk is more than just another version of hardcore punk though: it is "punks playing metal" (Glasper 2009, 183). Up until this point hardcore punk bands continued the musical trends of punk rock, utilizing a predominantly simple chordal accompaniment for songs, fast tempi (faster than punk rock), and aggressive vocal performances that took the shouted or snarled punk style to another level of intensity. Crust punk musicians incorporate something different into their punk sound: the heavy metal guitar riff. A guitar riff is an ostinato-like pattern, often with a melodic element, that has become the hallmark of heavy metal guitar playing and style. Whereas punk guitarists would simply strum chords in rhythmic patterns, heavy metal guitarists focused on riffs.

[3] DIY stands for Do It Yourself as was a key component of punk rock ethos built around the ability of anyone to literally do punk rock themselves. DIY has since taken on greater meaning for any number of activities wherein anyone and do it their selves.

Crust punk musicians were (and still are) equally inspired by hardcore punk ethos and politics as well as the sounds of heavy metal. After all, punk is only one component of crust punk. Heavy metal is equally important to understanding crust punk music and style. It is the combination of the political, iconoclastic, DIY nature of punk with the feelings of empowerment, and riff-based guitar music of heavy metal that created crust punk in 1980s UK and has kept it going ever since. In *Metal, Rock, and Jazz* (1999) ethnomusicologist Harris Berger points out, hardcore can be seen as "preachy and tedious" (1999, 267) in contrast to…metal's critical and individualistic tendencies. But, as I will show, bands and fans do not see crust punk music as being preachy or tedious but rather empowering (like metal). Instead, crust punk bands highlight the political nature of punk through their use of poetics, as well as capturing the power of heavy metal in order to create something new and different. As Robert Walser points out in *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (2013), '"Heavy metal' now denotes a variety of musical discourses, social practices, and cultural meanings, all of which revolve around concepts, images, and experiences of power" (23). The intensity and loudness of heavy metal empower bands and fans. The iconography, lyrics, and outrageous live performances of heavy metal exhibit fantasies of social power. The "power chord[4]" is arguably *the* feature "that underpins the coherence of heavy metal as a genre" (Walser 2013, 23). Power chords along with pedal tones make up a bulk of guitar riff material in heavy metal music. It is my assertion that power chords are only as important as the riff in which they are used. For instance, all types of punk rock also use the power chord, but it does not have the same effect when they are subsumed into what amounts to basic chordal accompaniment which is typical of

[4] A power chord is a two-pitch chord consisting of the root and fifth of a triad. It can also feature the root, fifth, and octave. It is a common feature of rock guitar and is based upon a truncated form of the barre chord shape.

punk rock music. The power of heavy metal, as derived from the guitar riffs, power chords, and bombastic performance style is what attracted the first crust punk bands to incorporate heavy metal attributes into the hardcore punk they were already playing; it is what continues to shape new developments in crust punk music.

Like heavy metal and punk, crust punk is a subculture, an identity, a music scene, and in some cases a way of life with its own specific embodied practices. As a subculture and an identity, it is based upon a working-class identity, as well as homeless, transient, or squatter lifestyles. Because of those lifestyles it is easy to identify crust punks (whether homeless, transient, or otherwise) by their dirty, dreadlocked or a combination of untangled and dreadlocked hair, typically all-black clothing (often band t-shirts and black jeans or pants), and combat or biker boots. While not every crust punk looks the same, and not every crust punk is homeless or transient, there is a collection of aesthetics that mark those individuals who identify as "crust punk," as opposed to simply "punk." This style of fashion was derived from the motorcycle-riding style of the 1970s, which included denim jeans, t-shirt, leather vest or jacket, and leather riding boots. This look has been described by Julian "Leggo" Kilsby of the seminal British crust punk band Deviated Instinct as "a punk-y biker look, more akin to [the 1979 film] Mad Max" (Glasper 2009). Included with those accessories are a black bandana (used for concealing or protecting one's face while illegally riding freight trains, reappropriation of material goods, and/or protesting), stick-and-poke tattoos,[5] and occasionally even facial tattoos. Additionally, many crust punks (homeless or otherwise) make a pair of "crust pants," designed out of a well-worn pair of jeans or Carhartt work pants held together by an overlapping disarray

[5] A "stick-and-poke" tattoo is done with only a single needle and makeshift ink. The "tattoo artist" typically hand pokes each individual needle insertion into the skin of the person being tattooed. Hence, "stick" refers to the needle and "poke" to the poking action of the tattoo artist.

of quilted patches, sometimes featuring band artwork, iconography, or popular slogans (such as "No Gods No Masters" or "ACAB" which stands for "All Cops Are Bastards"). Many crust punks who are not homeless or transient dress the same way or similarly to those crust punks who do choose to be homeless or live in squats. Crust punks will craft their own crust pants, wear denim vests festooned with patches, and band t-shirts. For an example of this style of clothing see Figure 1 below. Those crusty crust punks who are transient, homeless, and hygienically "crusty" choose to be that way. I highlight that their choice because that is how they present themselves and their personal narrative. I have yet to meet any homeless or transient crust punks who describe themselves or their circumstances in narratives of victimhood or victimization. However, the agency claimed in an individual's choice to be crusty is highly dependent upon context. For instance, some crusty crust punks begin their life on the streets as runaways, usually teenagers. They view their choice to run away from home as an informed decision and their willingness to travel and/or to live in squats or on the streets as exercising their agency in the face of adversity.

Figure 1 – An example of crust pants and general style[6]

The crust punk community can be classified in to two types: the crust punks who attend shows, buy band merchandise, and attend to the day-to-day of the music scene and the crusty crust punks who are transient, choosing to live in squats or on the streets. Both types of crust punks participate to one degree or another in the music scene, however, only the crusty crust punks live a life of crustiness. I thus emphasize here the difference between those crust punks who are truly "crusty," not bathing, participating in the transient/squatter/homeless lifestyle and those crust punks who do not engage in those behaviors but who still participate in the music scene. For analysis I differentiate between crust punks (non-transient) and crusty crust punks (i.e., transient crust punks or "crusties").[7] What marks crust punks as non- "crusty" are minute, but distinct differences in appearance and personal hygiene. For instance, transient crusties are

[6] Dbeat-dave, May 3rd, 2017, London, England. https://dbeat-dave.tumblr.com/post/157950292644/one-of-my-favourite-photos-of-myself. Accessed 12/9/20.
[7] For more on this distinction see the Definitions of Terms at the end of this chapter as well as the accompanying glossary.

visibly dirty, they smell of body odor,[8] stale beer, sometimes their own urine, and commonly cigarette smoke, they will have on a tattered black bandana, and their clothes will be visibly worn and unwashed. The clothes that transient crusties wear also differ from crust punk scene participants in that the former favor Carhartt brand overalls, pants, and jackets for their durability and protection against the elements, whereas crust punks will have on clean clothing, tight-fitting black jeans, and exhibit an overall more polished appearance than their crusty counterparts. Figures 2 and 3 display the differences between non-transient and transient crust punks. Figure 2 shows a young man who lives in Oakland, California. He has an apartment, a job, and is a guitarist in a band. Notice how his clothes, though tattered, are clean and relatively new looking denim. Similarly, he sports impressively long dreadlocks that require regular care and maintenance. Contrast that individual with Figure 3, featuring a portrait by photographer Michael Joseph of one of my crusty online interlocutors and his then girlfriend. Their portrait was taken while traveling in New England one summer. Jace is originally from Florida and is (as of this writing) somewhere in eastern Washington State; I have since lost track of his girlfriend, Sharia. Notice how he has dreadlocks, but they are only at the back of his head in the form of a "dread mullet". His clothes are simple and utilitarian yet still adorned with buttons and patches as well as threadbare and dirty (stains on the vest). It is hard to tell from this black-and-white portrait but, his skin is darkened from sun exposure and he is not wearing a shirt because of the heat outdoors where he spends all of his time. Notice too, his face tattoos, septum piercing and well-

[8] In my field experience, sometimes depending on the length of time they have been traveling they will not smell anymore because their body chemistry has adapted to not being washed. However, the smell associated with traveling crusties is part of the social marker of being "crusty." For more on body odor see Hamblin (2016) https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2016/06/i-stopped-showering-and-life-continued/486314/

worn railroad engineer cap, all signs of his participation in the transient practices of crusty crust punks.

Figure 2 – Non-transient crust punk[9]

Figure 3 – Transient crusty crust punks[10]

The embodied practices I have observed over the course of the last nine years studying crust punk range from willful homelessness and/or squatting, train-hopping and hitchhiking, to

[9] Unknown artist, unknown date, untitled, Oakland, California. https://www.facebook.com/crustpunks/posts/d41d8cd9/1744796308963447/ Accessed 12/9/20.
[10] Michael Joseph, 2017, *Jace and Sharia*, Cambridge, MA. https://www.photo-emphasis.com/artists/michael-joseph-2018 Accessed 12/9/20

quotidian behaviors such as working various unskilled jobs, or in some cases skilled professions, and supporting the music scene by attending shows, buying merchandise, and producing/maintaining subcultural knowledge and the scene itself; the latter of which is what Keith Kahn-Harris has called "mundane subcultural capital" (Kahn-Harris 2011). "Mundane subcultural capital is produced through a sustained investment in the myriad mundane practices through which the scene is produced…a crucial element of [which] is the demonstration of savoir-faire within the scene" (2011, 211). "Scene members claim subcultural capital by knowing the complex histories of the scene and by having heard the music of its vast number of bands" (211-212). This aspect is shared by both crust punks and transient crusties alike. Subcultural knowledge is particularly important, since there is a gap between crust punks who can and do participate in the scene and transient crusties who have an estranged relationship with ongoing scenes because of their chosen subcultural practices.

Part of participation in the crust punk scene is a commitment to the mundane practices such as attending shows, buying music and merchandise, as well as possessing the knowledge of the many bands within the scene. But crusties cannot participate in those same mundane practices because of their ideological choice to participate in another mundane crust punk practice, that of *being* crusty. This does not mean that one necessarily excludes the other, but that in performing and embodying crustiness, crust punks separate themselves from those mundane scenic practices that maintain the very scene itself. However, while crusty crust punks may not participate as fully in the music scene, they provide the authenticating crustiness of crust punk. This is why, despite the perceived dangers of their presence at shows by non-crusty crust punks (e.g., their smell, the risk of disease transmission, and a reminder of their own economic

precarity), crust punks tolerate crusties at shows or in public spaces because crusties are the "crust" in "crust punk" (Roby 2013).

Discourses of authenticity present themselves from both inside and outside the scene. For example, it has become a popular Internet joke among some in the extreme metal scene to produce pictures of crust punks or crusties with added banners and titles such as "crust funder" (a play on the term "trust fund"), or other derogatory remarks. The reference to a "crust fund" or "crust funder" is an attempt to expose the performative nature of crusties and crust punks: that it is in the doing (the performance) of crustiness that one becomes a crusty or crust punk. This is done by those inside as well as outside the scene, who imagine crusties as middle or upper-class people who become "social parasites," and "slum it" for fashion purposes, or in order to accrue some form of subcultural capital. Interestingly, the term "crust fund" has been appropriated by crusties in online blogs such as http://richkidsarelatfo.tumblr.com/, which features photographs taken of crusties and hobos often on trains or engaged in other crusty activities such as busking, drinking, and camping juxtaposed with pictures of rich people doing similar activities. Because people outside the crust punk scene generally do not understand the importance of crustiness to the authenticity of the scene and its participants it is unfathomable to many people why anyone would choose to be dirty, smelly, live in a squat or on the streets, and refuse to work. Non-crusty crust punks, however, understand this importance yet, do not typically support crusties or crusty crust punks financially beyond handouts at shows. Similarly, crusty crust punks do not get along with local homeless people, calling them derogatory names like, "homebum" meant to demean the fact that they are non-transient and homeless. Crusty crust punks have been known to get into physical altercations with homeless individuals, fighting over territory, supplies, perceived wrongs, or simply each other's presence at a given location.

The lifestyles of crusties, the squatting, being homeless, and/or transient, are an essential part of crust punk music and culture. Within the scene, bands and fans are quick to delineate between crust punk and actually crusty people. What I found while doing ethnography in Austin, Texas, (Roby 2013) was that crust punks will disavow personal claims to "crusty" authenticity. Crusty crust punk authenticity becomes so highly valued that many people that I have met within the scene deny being authentically crusty enough, often even crusties themselves. Crust punks deny identification as "crust punks" even though they may have all the characteristics and have earned the identity of crust punk or crusty crust punk. This is not to say that all crust punks deny or disavow identification as crust punks or as authentically crusty crust punks. Some crust punks embrace that identification, while others refuse to self-identify as "crust punk" as well as disavow being crusty enough. Further, the constant flux between the crustiness of "authentic" crusty crust punk and simply crust punk exacerbates this disavowal. I have yet to meet anyone who claims to be "authentically" crusty crust punk. For the few people within the crust punk scene who do embody crustiness, that crustiness alienates them from the scene that inspired their very embodiment of "crust" in the first place. Proximity to the scene is just one of many attributes that contribute to the construction of authenticity and identity within the crust punk scene. The fraught relationship between crustiness and crust punk leaves everyone wondering who or what is to be considered the genuine article. This creates a discourse of denial, or disavowal, within discourses of authenticity in the crust punk scene. Nobody feels quite secure or sufficiently authoritative to self-identify as crust punk or crusty crust punk. The few who do, such as the band Mass Grave, associate crust punk authenticity and identity with an explicit set of musical parameters and expressive resources. For crust punk fans, the identification as crust punk is fraught with anxiety: Because nobody feels comfortable claiming authenticity, no one

claims identification as crust punk, crusty or otherwise. Instead, they simply consider themselves punks.

Much Ado About Crust Punk

This is not my first project dealing with crust punk. This line of research was initially conceived while writing my undergraduate honors thesis, entitled *Bastard Offspring: Heavy Metal, Hardcore Punk, and Metalcore* (Roby 2010), about the blending of heavy metal and hardcore punk. In that project I examined the various ways in which metal and punk music "crossed over" each other, creating subgenres with new and different meanings. Crust punk is one of those subgenres, those "bastard offspring," that defies easy categorization as either metal or punk. It may be called crust *punk,* but it is often times disavowed by hardline punks and metalheads alike because it is both punk and metal and yet distinctly neither. Following that project, I went on to study and write about the local Austin, Texas, crust punk music scene as part of my master's thesis. *Crust Punk: Apocalyptic Rhetoric and Dystopian Performatives* (Roby 2013) situated the diverse and amorphous crust punk music scene in Austin, Texas, within the history of the global crust punk music scene. That project featured an ethnography of the Austin crust punk music scene as well as transient crust punks hopping trains (or trying to, at least). Within that ethnography I give an analysis of the role of apocalyptic rhetoric not only in lyrics, but also in everyday interactions with crust punks, both crusty and otherwise. I came to understand that "the apocalypse" was not some far off event, the eventual "end of the world" that is associated with the apocalypse, in crust punk imagination but rather an ongoing moment in everyday life. The apocalypse is literally and figuratively in a constant state of *happening* for crust punks; it is not the end of the world but the *ending* of the world as we know it. The phenomenon of the apocalypse, along with its representations in the music, iconography, and

everyday life, open the possibilities for what I have theorized as "dystopian performative" (Roby 2013). A performative utterance is one that *does* something in the world (Austin 1975). An example of a performative utterance would be a bet, "I bet you that…" or saying "I do" as part of a wedding ceremony, those utterances act upon the conditions of the world. Dystopian performatives are expressions that allow the reframing of the world as dystopic/dystopian. My theory of dystopian performatives evolved from my examination of apocalyptic crust punk worldviews and the role of music in those views. What I found was that crust punk music actively does something in the lives of crust punks; it shapes how they see themselves (as crust punks) and their place in the world (survivors in a relentless dystopia).

I am not interested in simply giving an account of crust punk, I have already done that once (see Roby 2013). Similarly, there will not be musical analysis or transcription in this dissertation. If the reader is curious as to what this music or these bands sound like they can all be accessed via the internet or on music listening apps like Spotify and/or Bandcamp. I encourage the reader to seek out the bands mentioned in this dissertation and listen to their music. I have found that, like other punk scholars (Hebdige 1979; Laing 2015; Sabin 1999), it is the extramusical qualities of crust punk that define the genre; transcription would fail to capture those features. This is not to say that I will not discuss music at all. However, the ways in which I examine music is through genre, style, and features such as tone, distortion, and performance practices. While I will attempt to describe the music in language the reader can understand, it is still a poor substitute for actually hearing it for yourself.

I use genre identifiers and band names to explain similarities and differences between the bands I will be discussing. I also home in on specific musical features to highlight sonic differences between bands or to help guide the listener on what to listen for should they choose

to listen to this music. To help the reader with this style of music discourse I have compiled a rudimentary list of genres and terms in the section entitled "Definition of Terms" as well as Appendices, those terms can also be accessed in a Glossary. I recognize that this topic may be obscure and confusing to the uninitiated reader, but luckily crust punk is a form of popular music and is accessible for listening on the internet. By using genre and band names as partial sonic descriptors I am reproducing the ways in which my research participants talk about bands. This approach enables me to write in a way that my crust punk interlocutors (should they choose to read this document) can understand. In my experience, crust punk musicians and fans do not use (nor are familiar with) specialized music language. That being said, I also have done my best to keep my musical terminology accessible to non-music scholars and punks alike. Following the Chapter Outline there will be a section concerning the definitions of terms. Similarly, general descriptions of the music discussed in this dissertation are available in Appendix A and the Glossary. I offer those definitions and descriptions so that the readers unfamiliar with either heavy metal or punk sounds and their musical practices can follow discussions that come later in the dissertation. Appendix B features a diagram of the genealogy of the many different genres and subgenres discussed in Chapter Two.

Punk scholars typically treat punk as everything from a subgenre of rock music, youthful rebellion, or performance art; studying punk as resistance, subversion, or political radicalism (Phillipov 2006). For example, Hebdige (1979) focused on the style of punk displayed in clothing, hair styles, and visual aesthetics. I think this was simply his attempt at understanding popular music culture in the UK during the 1970s through his own bricolage of what was available to him. Essentially, Hebdige was trying to make sense of punk as it related to rock and reggae subcultures and as a response to existing styles. I think in many ways Hebdige was trying

to understand how punk could be embodied by the two bands that arguably started the genre: the Sex Pistols and The Clash. Hebdige attempted to understand how the Sex Pistols who were intentionally shocking, vulgar, amateurish, and rejected established rock norms, and The Clash, who presented as politically conscious, anti-establishment, with reggae influences, and had signed to a major record label, were both punk despite their differences. I have previously argued (Roby 2013) that Hebdige might have been much more successful if he had actually talked to punks to find out the meaning behind the subcultural style instead of merely tracing similarities between and theorizing how punk relates to any number of subcultures and music styles that came before it. For instance, instead of making the connection between UK punk and American proto-punk rockers The Ramones as he did, Hebdige would have known that as Johnny Rotten (vocalist for the Sex Pistols) puts it, “"[The Ramones] were all long-haired and of no interest to me. I didn't like their image, what they stood for, or anything about them" (Lydon 1995).

Since Hebdige’s (1979) writing on the subject, other studies on punk have focused on the connections between class, politics, and punk subculture, as well as tracing punk’s contested history. This dissertation will include a brief history of crust punk, not for history’s sake, but rather in order to contextualize the conditions which crust punk bands and fans experienced. I am not concerned with locating the origin of punk rock’s radicalism by parsing out the differences between the apolitical and nihilistic performances of the Sex Pistols or documenting the preoccupation of politics embodied by second wave (hardcore punk) bands (see Davies 1996 and Tillman 1980, respectively). And, I am only interested in giving a “reflectivist” account of crust punk insomuch as it contributes to understanding the historical contexts for and current entanglements with specific subcultural behaviors. Similarly, this dissertation is not meant to show how crust punk is an expression of class sentiments. For instance, the notion that punk rock

somehow reflects the lives of its participants (Marsh 1982; Willis 1993). As Simon Frith (1997, 167) acknowledged, "pioneering punk rockers themselves were a self-conscious, artful lot with a good understanding of both rock tradition and populist cliché; the music no more reflected directly back onto the conditions of the dole-queue than it emerged spontaneously from them." Crust punk should not be thought of as a reflection of disaffected youth but rather, as a response to specific economic contexts.

Crust Punk Political Epistemology

This dissertation is about how crust punk music and culture shape the politics of listeners and in turn those politics are represented in the music and culture. Specifically, this dissertation addresses how and/or why crust punks come to an anarchist political epistemology. For political scientists, political epistemology is the study of political knowledge. More specifically, it is the study of what political actors know and how they know it. Political epistemologists "study the content and sources of real-world political actors' knowledge and interpretations of knowledge" (Friedman 2014, i). Those political scientists are interested in the ideation of political actors. In *Ideas and Politics in Social Science Research*, Béland and Cox write, "ideas provide us with interpretive frameworks that make us see some facts as important and others as less so" (2011, 3). Those ideas come about through an understanding of the world and are connected to the interpretations of our surroundings as based on a "multitude of sensory perceptions" (ibid.). As I mentioned above, I have previously researched how crust punks perceive and interpret the world through the lens of the apocalyptic and dystopian (Roby 2013). For the purposes of this dissertation, I am interested in examining the content and source of those ideas that are the result of that way of thinking. This dissertation will expand on my concepts of apocalypticism and

dystopia in crust punk to show how those interpretations of the world are shaped by affect and emotion and in turn shape the politics of crust punks.

In order to understand the ideas of crust punks I will situate crust punk music within a history of precarity. As Michelle Phillopov notes, "few punk studies begin by asking under what conditions punk culture might become articulated to radical politics" (2004, 387). This dissertation will situate those radical politics within precarious economic conditions experienced by punks in the early 1980s UK crust punk scene as well as ongoing incidents of precarity experienced by my crust punk interlocutors. Part of crust punk culture has always involved lifestyles of squatting, homelessness, and/or traveling (or being transient). Those lifestyles are a response to economic contexts that have not improved for many working or underemployed people since punk hit the scene in the 1970s. It is the living of precarious lives that has a profound effect on crust punks, whether that precarity is by choice (of lifestyle) or a fact of life. The music and imagery of "crust punk" reinforces their apocalyptic worldviews. It is the affective response to living precariously that is born out in the music, lyrics, and iconography, which then affects individuals' perception of the world around them. Affect and emotion play critical roles in shaping the ideas of crust punks. The crust punk style of living affects those that choose to live on the streets or in squats as well as crust punks who struggle to work to provide for themselves as well as participate and maintain local scenes. I contend that it is the affectively and emotionally resonant experiences of their (precarious) world and interaction with the content of crust punk music and culture that influence crust punk political knowledge. Crust punk political knowledge is born from both the performance and consumption of crust punk music as well as their affectively charged everyday lives of precarity. The lived precarious experience and

the already existing subculture, together, generate a body of political knowledge for crust punk individuals.

This dissertation will examine the source and the content of crust punk political knowledge, arguing that it is an anarchist epistemology based upon what I have theorized as "vernacular anarchism." I have settled on calling this form of anarchism "vernacular" after wrestling with how to qualify crust punk political beliefs and actions. My theory of a "vernacular anarchism" was inspired by what Jim Donaghey has called "punk-anarchism" (2013, 140). Focusing only on the early years of punk (1976-1980), Donaghey identifies an "intuitive anarchism identifiable in early punk — i.e., an anarchism developed *in absence of the anarchist political canon*" (2013, 140). I would argue, that while that might be true for early punk bands and fans, in my experience and informal interviews with crust punks and crusty crust punks, that is no longer the case. Crust punks and anarcho-punks are aware of the anarchist political canon, some are even acquainted with it. But, as practicing anarchists they understand that the canonization of certain works gives undue power and authority to philosophy over ways of thinking and knowing that echo ongoing, lived experiences. Donaghey addresses the same question as I do: Given punks' complex relationship to canonical anarchism, where did they get this political knowledge from? I argue that it is through vernacular anarchist punk music and as a response to the canon, not in the absence of it. Crust punks' vernacular anarchism is based upon critical praxis. And through that praxis they generate their own texts, both written and embodied.

This form of anarchism is not based upon books or philosophical arguments. Rather, it is through their everyday performance of lifestyle politics, as well as their engagement with crust punk music, lyrics, and iconography, that they create their own vernacular version of anarchist theory and practice. The vernacular in this instance contrasts with what I consider to be

institutional forms of anarchism based upon involvement with political organizations and established political epistemologies. Vernacular anarchism should not be thought of as opposed to canonical or institutional forms of anarchism, rather as complimentary and relational. I interrogate the relationship between the vernacular and the institutional as a way to think through the different ideas and ways of being utilized by anarchists across time and place. Vernacularity is also a useful way to think through the differences in political epistemologies not only for the study of anarchism but for punk as well. Vernacular anarchism represents alternative strategies for dealing with a perceived dystopian world, one rooted in precarious existence and facilitated by affective feedback that is reinforced through crust punk performances, both mundane and musical.

Chapter Overview

Each chapter will address a specific component of crust punk political epistemology, highlighting the "what," "where," "why," "how," "when," and "who" of crust punk and anarchist political knowledge. Chapter One will address the "who" of crust punk, focusing on the crusty crust punks of the crust punk music scene, more specifically it examines the unique practices of those individuals. This chapter will address the methods I used to gather information on the source and content of crust punk political knowledge. Following D. Soyini Madison's understanding that theory and method "are the same in that theory is used in ethnography as an *interpretive or analytical method*" (*Critical Ethnography* 2012, 12), Chapter One includes my theorizing of transiency since transiency is a key component to American crust punk. I found that my methodological options opened up when I challenged common assumptions about transiency. We enter the field with our own personal and theoretical presumptions. But, in some cases, what we experience in the field and in dialogue with research participants is that the premises of our

methods were not entirely accurate and in the case of crust punk transient lifestyles more complex and fraught with cultural and intellectual prejudices. “Theory, when used as a mode of interpretation, *is* a method” (Madison 2012, 14). I am not employing any different or new methods. In fact, the actual methods I employ (participant observation, informal unstructured open-ended interviews, textual analysis, online ethnography) are ordinary for ethnomusicologists. However, I have come to realize that it is the ways in which we approach those methods and the subsequent writing of ethnography that is impacted by the theories we take into the field and maintain in our analyses. Chapter One will challenge you to reexamine what you think you know about transient subjectivities but also what it means for doing the work of ethnography.

Next, I will situate crust punk within discourses of precarity in Chapter Two. Chapter Two will discuss the “where” and the “why” of crust punk, covering the origin of crust punk narrative and why is it is called “crust” punk. Chapter Two will show how crust punk is a mixture between the ideas and lifestyles inspired by anarchist hardcore punk bands and the sound of heavy metal music. Those aesthetics are bound by the precarity and crustiness of crusty crust punks. I will begin by discussing what precarity is, how punks have dealt with precarity, the choices they make in order to maintain local scenes, but also what their everyday lives entail. I do this to show what my research interlocutors experience but also to paint a general picture of the precarious conditions under which punk finds a way. For instance, despite living in squats and ‘on the dole’ in 1980s UK, crust punk bands managed to acquire instruments, compose songs, and perform live for audiences. The same is true for more contemporary examples of crust punk. After explaining the precarious living conditions experienced by crust punks I will turn to a history of various landmark bands and musical developments in order to show how the

extramusical quality of crustiness, or living precariously has become the defining feature of the genre. This is not meant as an exhaustive history of the genre but rather reflects those bands and musical progression within the scene that is part of required scene knowledge for both crust punk bands and listeners. Being crusty is a response to economic precarity then just as it is now, and it is important to understand the historical contexts that birthed crust punk music and culture as well as the current conditions that reinforce crust punk expressive resources.

Crustiness represents the lived experience of precarity, and crustiness is the basis for everything from the look to the sound of crust punk. My discussion of precarity in the lives of crust punks begins with the precarity I have witnessed while researching crust punks over the last nine years. When I turn to my discussion of the history of the experiences and lifestyles of crust punks in 1980s UK and USA I focus more on the music because that is the bulk of my evidence. I do this because there is no literature or written history that captured the crusty experience in the 1980s and 90s. The evidence of early crust punk experience exists only in odd anecdotes in online interviews or scene specific 'zines as well as popular media and literature. To examine how the thread of crusty precarity is woven through crust punk experience and intimately tied to the music I will begin by discussing the precarious lives of contemporary crust punks. I will then tie that concept into how crust punk as a musical scene begins, showing that it is crustiness that binds it all together. Chapter Two addresses the context for the content and ideas of crust punk as well has how those experiences were adapted by nascent crust punk bands as something other than anarchist punk and/or heavy metal.

After establishing the context and origin for crust punk ideas, I will move on to an examination of affect and emotion in crust punk in Chapter Three. Having shown where crust punk ideas come from I will examine what some of those ideas are and how they are spread or

are transmitted. Chapter Three will examine the "how" and "when" of crust punk political epistemology by addressing the role of affect and emotion in shaping the worldviews of crust punks. The "when" is the past, present, and future of an apocalypse, a persistent trope and framing device in crust punk music and everyday life. I will begin by explaining my previous work on the trope of the apocalypse and what I have theorized as "dystopian performatives" in crust punk (Roby 2013). I do this in order to reflect upon what crust punks know and how they comprehend the world and their place in it. It is the meaning derived from the apocalypse and dystopian evaluations of the world that constitutes crust punk ideas. As I have previously shown, crust punk music *does* something in the world (Roby 2013), and Chapter Three examines how dystopian performatives do what they do. Punk scholars often take for granted the political nature of punk music, assuming connections between music and subculture (Phillipov 2006). In doing so, they miss the opportunity to challenge what music actually has to do with the ideas and actions taken by punks. In Chapter Three I argue that an affective cognizance of the world, their lives, and crust punk music influences the content and ideas of crust punks. Crust punk music and culture help shape how crust punks perceive the world and themselves in it, but it is not the sole factor in determining those views. Crust punks' lived experiences also help construct the content and ideas of crust punk music; art imitates life and life imitates art. Thinking and feeling are intertwined and not fully separate experiences. What drives crust punk political epistemology is affect and emotion, it is more than *what* crust punks know but *how* they know it.

Once I have examined how crust punks come to this anarchist political epistemology, I will turn my focus on what those ideas actually are and how we can think about them. Chapter Four will examine the "what" of crust punk political epistemology by addressing anarchist ideologies and their relationship to music traditions. Punk has always been associated with

anarchist ideologies. But, with only a few exceptions most scholarship takes for granted the anarchist or progressive politics of punks (Phillipov 2006). Rather than simply show how certain crust punk beliefs and ideas align with anarchist political thought I will interrogate how crust punk is anarchist. Chapter Four will put forth my theory of "vernacular anarchism" as a way to think through the ways in which crust punk actually is anarchist. I consider crust punk anarchism as "vernacular" because of the way crust punks come to that knowledge and their understanding of it as political or even as anarchism. In my field experience, both online and in real life, I noticed that crust punks do not often consider themselves as political actors. They do not think of their lifestyles or beliefs as overtly political acts. Crust punk originally took inspiration from anarchist hardcore punk messages and politics in 1980s UK crust punk. But since then, it has become so removed from that direct association with anarchism that it has lost its explicit meaning as "anarchist." In some cases, my research interlocutors would consider themselves apolitical because they were not familiar with the connections to anarchist thought and practice in the music or their everyday lives. Chapter Four will show that because the source and content for their ideas is not through books or organizations, crust punk political epistemology is established through its vernacularity.

I will close the dissertation by bringing into focus my ideas on crust punk political epistemology. I will also outline possibilities for further research as well as further applications of my theory of vernacular anarchism. As I mentioned above, this dissertation has been a long time in the making yet, there is still more work to be done studying crust punks and anarchist music, as well as politics in heavy metal and punk culture and scenes. Similarly, there are possibilities for scholarship in heavy metal and punk that focus more on the actual music of those genres. Both heavy metal and punk scholars tend to focus less on the specifics of the music and

its performance and more on the cultural, sociological, or material aspects of those music scenes. In the interests of concentrating on my argument for a crust punk political epistemology in this dissertation I have not documented the myriad possibilities for musical performance practice and technique utilized in crust punk. That would be a worthy and interesting project for an ethnomusicological study of punk and/or heavy metal. With a few notable exceptions, many studies on punk or heavy metal are not carried out by music scholars (for example, see Walser 2013 for a discussion of heavy metal music and Berger 1999 on death metal tonality). Popular music studies are typically the realm of cultural studies scholars, not ethnomusicologists. It is unfortunate that more ethnomusicologists do not study popular music because as students of music we could offer insight into music and meaning that perhaps non-music scholars would overlook. That being said, for the purposes of my argument I am relying on my multi-disciplinary training as an ethnomusicologist and performance studies scholar in this dissertation.

Definition of Terms

I would like to begin by giving my definitions of key terms in the discourse of crust punk. For assistance with these terms, the words in **bold** can be found in the glossary at the end of this text so that the reader can more easily grasp the discussion at hand. The two most important of these terms are "crust punk" and "crusty." There is a complex relationship between these two expressions. They are often used interchangeably; for my purposes, however, I will position crust punks and crusties as differentiated by the involvement (or lack thereof) with crust punk music. At first glance one could easily confuse these two terms, crust punk and/or crusty, for the same thing instead of two similar but independent ideas. I view them as multiple representations, or manifestations, of crust culture — not only crust punk — not simply crusty people, but the diverse range of crust elements assumed by the music of crust punk, the rhetoric and ethos of

crust writ large, the iconography of crust punk culture, and the various divergent satellites associated with crust punk. The crust punk scene consists of multiplicities. At one end of the spectrum, the scene is about the music, but at the other it is about the lifestyles of transient crust punks. From here on out I will refer to the musical subgenre as "crust punk" or the "crust punk scene," or "crust punk music," or simply as "**crust**." Furthermore, it should be evident from context whether or not I'm referring to "a crust punk" (e.g., an individual), "crust punks" (e.g., individuals) or "crust punk" (the music and scene). I do this because this is how my interlocutors and scene participants use the term. **Crust punk** or **crust** (for short) is a term for bands and musical styles that coalesce under the identifier "crust punk," taking inspiration from and creating music, within the rubric of hardcore punk and heavy metal musical style and subgenre conventions. Likewise, I will be using "**crust punk(s)**" to refer to those individuals who participate in the scene and identify as such by means of clothes, hair style, and maintaining mundane aspects of the crust punk scene, such as attending shows, buying merchandise, and having knowledge of requisite bands. To differentiate between crust punks and transient/homeless individuals I will call the latter "crusties" or a "crusty." A **crusty** is a person who may or may not be transient, someone who carries a visible crust of dirt, with unwashed body and/or unwashed clothes and obviously lives on the streets or in a squatted building. A crusty can be a crust punk or not, some transients look like crusties but, in fact, do not participate in the crust punk music scene, choosing instead to focus on the culture of traveling. This dissertation will be focused only on those crusties who take part in crust punk subculture.

The term crusty has been around longer than crust punk. "Crusty" is typically used derogatorily to describe a filthy, smelly, homeless person. A modern manifestation of this can be seen in the population of squatters, hobos, homeless, and new age travelers that are often simply

labeled crust punks. An example of this can be seen online at the *crustypunks* blog (http://crustypunks.blogspot.com/), in which a variety of people are labeled crust punks and assumed to be an urban tribe simply because they live in the open of Tompkins Square Park, New York City. This is evidenced in the blog's text, typically used for supplementary material, in which the author has defined his parameters of crust punk, as well as his interpretation of the crust punk community due to his encounters at a single location. The blog's author, Stephen Hirsch, uses a definition of crust/crust punk taken from the Wikipedia site as follows:

> "Crusties is a term for members of one type of subculture. The term predates crust punk and can be used independently to refer to a type of street punks or a form of contemporary squatters. Members are noted for their unkempt outward appearance and are associated with road protests, squatting, raves, begging, train hopping, street entertaining (or busking) and the young homeless. The term may now be more notable for its associations to crust punk."

While all the people photographed and "interviewed" for the blog fit the description of "crusty," they are not necessarily crust punks. This is an important fact to remember when interrogating the discourses surrounding crust punk: a crust punk is a crusty punk rocker, but a person who is identified as crusty is *not* necessarily a punk in the ideological, ethical, or musical sense of the word. Much as "punk rock" is a combination of the terms "punk" and "rock," as in rock music made by punks, so too crust punk is a combination of the terms "crust," or "crusty" and "punk," that is, punk music made by crusty people. For my purposes I will use the term "crusty" to refer to all of those people who fit the description above whether or not they identify or associate with crust punk.

There are a variety of terms that are often used or exchanged for the designation "crust punk" in everyday discourse by those within the scene as well as those outside but familiar with crust punk music and culture. I will use the term "crust punks" to denote those people who participate in the music scene but may not participate in squatting, willful unemployment, and/or

transiency. Those people who do participate in those behaviors as well as associate with the crust punk music scene I call **crusty crust punks.** Other terms associated with crust punk discourse are“ stenchcore,” “gutter punk,” “drunk punk,” and occasionally “street punk.” In my research I have noticed that the term, “street punk” is misused, typically by those outside the punk scene, to refer to what I would otherwise characterize as crust punk. This confusion as to what to call crust punks is evident in Winn and Ijazah 2012 video “Postcards from Aceh” for the *Globalpost*, wherein they identify Indonesian punks living on the streets as “street punks” and document how they were detained by their government and forced to conform to culturally appropriate expressive styles by cutting their hair, bathing, and wearing government approved clothing. The “street punks” Winn and Ijazah (2012) cover in their video are in fact what I would consider crusty crust punks, they are homeless or living in basic shelters, they are unbathed, have matted, dirty hair and support local crust punk bands. Street punk is its own phenomenon and musical genre, that was a response to the first wave of punk, much like hardcore punk. Street punk is distinct from, yet still related to crust punk on a purely esoteric “punk” level. Likewise, the terms “gutter punk” or “drunk punk” are descriptions for individuals, rather than musical genre identifiers. “Gutter punk” and “drunk punk” are almost interchangeable with the term “crusty crust punk”. Both gutter punks and crusties, or crusty crust punks, are associated with willful unemployment, unkempt appearances, panhandling, street performances, and punk subculture.

“Transiency” and “transient” are also terms that repeatedly appear in relation to crusty crust punk culture. To be **transient** is to be temporary, transitory, ever-moving, never staying in one place permanently. **Transiency** is to be in a “transient” state or have “transient” qualities. When discussing transient individuals, there is an existing discourse surrounding homelessness, houselessness, vagrancy, and mobility. For the purposes of my arguments in the following

chapter, transiency, or being transitory, differs from **mobility**, which is the ability to move, to be "mobile." This subtle distinction will be explained in the next chapter. Similarly, the term **vagrancy** is only used in relation to criminology and carries connotations and assumptions about transient and/or homeless individuals as idle wanderers who lack a permanent home and employment. Because discourses surrounding transiency often address homelessness or houselessness there are differences that need to be addressed between those two terms. To be **homeless** is simply to be without a "home" and all the associations with the idea of "home." The term "homeless" is used interchangeably with the term **houseless**, which is to recognize that while a person may or may not have a place to call "home," they lack a "house," or other suitable dwelling, possibly living in their car, sleeping in a tent in an alleyway or under an overpass, they might be "houseless" but do not consider themselves "homeless." Although a person does not have a house or home, that does not make them transient, despite the assumption of mobility confused with their lifestyle. All of these individuals, the homeless, houseless, and/or transient, are at risk of being arrested for "vagrancy."

Significance

This dissertation will contribute to the study of music and politics, specifically focusing on the interaction between participation in a stigmatized and materially disadvantaged music subculture and political knowledge. Scholars have addressed how music shapes politics, how music is used for political purposes, or the politics of music in specific circumstances. The musicological/ethnomusicological study of politics commonly concentrates on forms of national or local politics, the politics of race, gender, and/or sexuality, or how musical practices are used for political purposes. This dissertation expands the study of music and politics to include the analysis of political epistemology, or the study of the content and source of political knowledge.

It also focuses on the study of a stigmatized and materially dispossessed community of musicans and music consumers. By combining both ethnomusicological and political science modes of inquiry, asking what the political knowledge of a specific music subculture or scene is and how it came to be. This dissertation introduces an interdisciplinary approach to asking questions about musical political epistemology unique to both ethnomusicology and political science.

The interdisciplinary method used in this dissertation is in service to advancing the study of both anarchist and punk political epistemologies. This examination adds to the scholarship on anarchist politics as well as punk political practices. Anarchist political scholarship usually focuses on the study of the history and/or documentation of political and social movements or on the analysis of political theory or doctrine. This dissertation injects the study of political epistemologies into anarchist political discourses, offering insight into the content and source of anarchist ideas. Similarly, this dissertation addresses the political epistemology of crust punks, addressing the specific beliefs and practices related to punk subculture. This dissertation also progresses scholarship on the politics of punk by challenging accepted connections between anarchist and/or leftist politics and the punk music scene. In doing so, I have theorized a new concept of anarchist politics, called "vernacular anarchism," which will contribute to both punk and anarchist political studies by offering alternative modes for discussing the ever-changing dynamics of anarchist politics.

Vernacular anarchist political epistemology is fueled by the power of affect and emotion, both in crust punk music but also in the everyday interactions of scene participants. This dissertation augments the study of music and affect in ethnomusicology/musicology by asking what role affect has in shaping worldviews and ultimately political ideas. Using the framework of affect and emotion allows me to take a phenomenological approach to studying how

worldviews and politics are shaped by experience, both with music and in everyday life. Affect is a notoriously slippery concept in music literature, scholars of music and affect use various interpretations of affect or emotion and what they mean. This dissertation promotes a specific definition of affect and emotion along with an analysis of the role of affect in a music culture by examining what affect is and what it does in the world. Affect and emotion, which I understand as related but distinct sensations and feelings (see Chapter Three) are overlooked components in the study of political epistemology; this dissertation expands and combines both of those topics to broaden the study of affect and political science.

While doing fieldwork for this project I became aware that the ethnographic theory and method literature that I had been educated with lacked approaches to my specific topic. This dissertation contributes to ethnographic literature by examining the challenges of studying transient individuals. Chapter One advances my theory of what transiency is and how it can shape ethnographic engagement with transient interlocutors. We as ethnographers carry our theories into the field with us, those theories in turn shape the way we study and write about our research subjects which shape ethnographic texts. This dissertation adds to ethnographic theories on transient subjects by speaking back to those texts and offering new insights on how to think about transient subjectivities. Ethnography entails the writing of ethnographic experience, so this dissertation also challenges the depiction of transient, homeless/houseless, or "vagrant" individuals in ethnographic literature. That challenge is meant to rectify those characterizations of transient individuals as idealized "hobo" and immoral vagrant by advancing new modes of studying and writing about transient individuals.

Chapter One – Methodology

Transiency challenges ethnographic theory and method. While doing fieldwork I found that the transiency of the crusty crust punk lifestyle challenged the ways in which I both applied ethnographic methods and thought about my research subjects. I had to reconceptualize who transient individuals were and what they were doing. As D. Soyini Madison points out in *Critical Ethnography*, theory and method "are the same in that theory is used in ethnography as an interpretive or analytical method" (2012, 12). "Theory, when used as a mode of interpretation, is a method" (14). The methods I will describe in this chapter (participant observation, informal unstructured open-ended interviews, online ethnography) are ordinary for ethnomusicologists. However, having dealt firsthand with the challenges of studying transient individuals, I came to realize that it is the ways in which we approach those methods and the subsequent writing of ethnography that is impacted by the theories we take into the field.

To understand the flows of transient individuals across time and space I turned to Zygmunt Bauman's metaphor of liquid flow, which he uses to describe how modernity has shifted from a solid, hardware-based state to one of a liquid, software-based structure in *Liquid Modernity* (2000). Positioning transiency as a liquid form of movement, as a state of being, allowed me to think through the ways in which transient subjects not only interact with the world but also with each other and those of us that are not transient. By reevaluating what transiency is and does in this project, I also realized that I had to amend my concept of what it means to be transient. What does it mean to be transient and how does that act come to define a person? I argue that transiency should be defined as a set of discrete and continuous acts and understood as ontologically and epistemologically different from and challenging to non-transience. I have modeled my argument, characterizing transiency in this way, on Judith Butler's theories of

performance and performativity. My theories on transiency were born from my own struggles trying to study transient crusty crust punks and the theory and methods that I had heretofore been equipped with. The section entitled "When Ethnographic Practice Fails" relates my encounters with crusty crust punks and how the different methods I employed often failed, or at least failed to produce the outcome I had intended. Those failures forced me to acknowledge that perhaps I did not understand my transient crusty interlocutors in appropriate ways and that all my research into how other scholars had approached the topic had in fact only reinforced erroneous ideas about transient individuals and transiency itself.

In addition to theorizing what it means to be transient and how transiency works in real life, I also turn my critical gaze to the literature that represents and addresses transient subjectivities. I examine ethnographic theory and method literature trying to find the ways in which other researchers have approached an ethnographic field, the place or places that are challenged by transiency. As a student of ethnography, I was taught to "go into the field," but what if that "field" is empty or only very temporarily occupied by the people you hope to study? Reconstructing an ethnographic field became a necessary methodological component of my research. In this chapter I present several different arguments that I have found useful for approaching unconventional "field sites" while also examining critiques of the construction of a "field." Fieldwork is just one part of ethnography, writing an ethnography is the most important component. I have included here an assessment on how transiency has been written about as well as possible correctives for future scholars of transient individuals. This chapter is meant as a charge for others to critically engage transiency as well as our own ideas about doing ethnography.

Because of the challenges that transiency poses to doing field work I have employed a variety of methods. I have attended live shows, performed informal interviews with crust punk bands and fans, both virtually and in real life, all while participating in and observing the crust punk scene in the United States, focusing on Central Florida, Central Texas, and the West Coast.[11] I have conducted online ethnographic research, having engaged with and observed posts and conversations on crust punk music forums, anarchist punk forums, as well as social media sites such as Facebook, Instagram, Reddit, Tumblr, and Twitter. By utilizing both online and in-person research methods, I could cover more (metaphorical) ground than simply relying on in-person research. My interlocutors engage in online interaction in their social and professional lives as a matter of course, so my research necessarily incorporated both online and in-person methods.

I found in my earlier research that many crust punks would not readily participate in formal interviews. Informal interview techniques, such as casual conversation, and participant-observation are more useful in gathering data without challenging research participants' anti-authoritarian standpoints. Likewise, my interlocutors questioned my intentions as an outside investigator. Their awareness of my role as a researcher, documenting their everyday lives, made them trepidatious due to their ongoing illegal activities, such as trespassing, shoplifting, public intoxication, and drug use. However, I was able to assuage their fears having explained my methods, my role, and my commitment to protecting their identities. Trust also comes with time and experience, and my time in the field taught me that by joining my research participants on the streets and in their lifestyles provided some needed reassurances. This is not to say that I participated in or was accomplice to illegal activity, rather it was a necessity to disregard laws

[11] These locations are simply where I lived at the time had access to the scenes.

and norms of social behavior in order to earn people's trust, proving that I was not some sort of agent provocateur[12] or infiltrater posing as an academic researcher. It was my willingness to spend time actually living with them on the street (however brief) and mirroring their behavior that allayed their fears of my outsider status and any possible consequences of my presence. My willingness to actually spend full time living with my interlocutors on the streets as a part of their everyday lives is not typical. For instance, Anthropologists Bourgois and Schonberg would regularly return to their homes while compiling their photo ethnography, *Righteous Dopefiend* (2009), which chronicled the lives of drug addicts residing on the streets and homeless camps of San Francisco. They claim to have shared in the everyday lives of their research participants but would escape to the comfort and safety of their own homes at the end of the day.

Similar concerns must be addressed online but not in the same immediate ways. In many cases I had to establish myself as a crusty crust punk presence within existing social networks online. I had to find, follow, and befriend through regular online interactions many different crust punks and travelers from across the USA and the world on Instagram and Facebook. I was always honest about who I was and what it was I was doing online. But, in order to not be blocked or reported as an online stalker or onlooker, I curated my own social media presences as a scholar of crust punk. Being online allowed me to stay abreast of underground happenings in the crust punk music scene as well as in individuals' everyday lives. And I gained far more insight into the everyday practices and overall experiences of a variety of crust punks and crusty crust punks. As the rest of this chapter will demonstrate, it is almost impossible to keep up with

[12] An "agent provocateur" is someone who is paid to associate with certain individuals or persons with the aim of witnessing, or inciting and provoking them, to incriminating actions. Typical examples of agent provocateurs are undercover police, journalists, but also labor or corporate spies.

transient crusty crust punks across multiple locations and time zones without being online or staying as mobile as they are.

When Ethnographic Practice Fails

This section will feature ethnographic vignettes and anecdotes from my experiences in "the field." I will address the "failures" and challenges that studying crusty crust punks has entailed over the course of last nine years, multiple states, and the evolution of my research into crust punk music and culture. The stories in this section set up the basis for my theories about transiency and how to study transient individuals. The anecdotes in this section also serve the purpose of introducing the reader to the world of crust punk in general. This chapter is a result of both my experiences doing ethnography of crusty crust punks and the failures of my initial theories and methods that I had brought into the field with me. My transparency in this chapter is not meant as an apologetic but rather a candid look into doing ethnography with transient individuals, who they are, what they do, and why it can be so frustrating to try and study these individuals.

The groundwork for this dissertation began in the summer of 2012, during the fieldwork I conducted in conjunction with my Master of Arts thesis in performance studies at Texas A&M University. This dissertation has its roots in my first attempts at doing ethnography with crust punks (and crusty crust punks). At the time, I was living in College Station, Texas. There were no crust punks in College Station, and there were few homeless or transients, either. My first attempts to locate and insert myself into a "field" site was via online forums associated with anarchism and hardcore punk music. I also tried contacting individuals for formal interviews, through social networking sites, who I knew were involved in a crusty "lifestyle" of train hopping, traveling, general homelessness, squatting, and a culture of "dropping out." All of my

attempts online in that regard failed; I either received no response at all or communications were cut short, leaving me with little, if any information to follow up on. I also enlisted the help of several friends of friends who had once been a part of a squatting, homeless crust punk scene in Houston, Texas. In addition to scouring online communities, I also searched various locations around Bryan/College Station, Houston, and Austin, Texas for possible interlocutors. But no matter how much driving or walking I did; I could never seem to physically locate any potential research participants.

Attending to the music scene of crust punk constitutes only one part of this project. Other portions of this project have been to familiarize myself with relevant bands both past and present (the scene history writ large and local) as well as the anthropological research of getting to know scene participants and band members in each research location. Gaining access to a crust punk music scene is time consuming and difficult. Researching more mainstream music scenes begins with gaining access to well publicized, established network of venues and performance spaces; gaining access to a crust punk music scene is much more difficult because crust punk bands do not share an established network of venues and performance spaces. Bands define themselves by their ability to remain elusive and "underground." Many bands do not play typical mainstream performance spaces, such as bars or live music venues, instead they prefer to utilize a word-of-mouth networks, and scene-specific performance spaces such as abandoned houses, collectives (co-op houses), warehouses, and suburban backyards. More established bands will play commercial spaces, such as bars or concert venues, however they usually share the bill with better known metal or punk bands. It initially took me several months to identify and attend crust punk musical performances in Texas. And, even now, after years as a dedicated researcher I still sometimes miss opportunities or attend concerts that appear to be billed as "crusty" and are

instead some other type of punk event entirely. As an outside researcher, it is imperative to gain the utmost trust of crust punk interlocutors in order to fit into the scene and have people be comfortable with one's presence.

In 2012 I received funding that allowed me to do two short field stays in Austin, Texas. During my first foray into the field, I met an array of individuals, almost all of whom had traveled from far away to attend the annual "Chaos in Tejas" Festival. "Chaos in Tejas" was billed in metal and punk circles as attracting the largest group of underground extreme metal and crust punk fans of any such festival in Texas. Because the events were held at multiple bar venues in downtown Austin, as well as several makeshift venues, such as warehouses and co-op student housing, I quickly realized the "chaos" referred to in the title described the scattered venue booking and organization. At each venue I attended there were more than a dozen homeless and/or transient crust punks camped outside the entrance. Through informal interviews, I came to learn that nearly all of them were part of a subculture of transiency. They had all hopped trains, thumbed rides, and walked to Austin for this festival. At the end of the festival, all of them continued to travel, leaving the city as quickly as they had arrived. A few of them, I later learned, had been arrested for vagrancy or public intoxication, but that only delayed their inevitable exit. When I returned to Austin, less than two weeks later to continue my fieldwork, a new set of individuals had taken up temporary residency on the streets of downtown Austin. I inquired about the individuals I met only weeks before in hopes that perhaps somebody might know them, had known them, or seen them on the way to and from somewhere, anywhere. It was as if the people I met only weeks before never even existed; they had vanished literally without a trace.

During my second field excursion of 2012, I was resolute to stay in contact with my most recent interlocutors, a group of five individuals, only three of whom stayed together after the first night. I drove the three of them to a hop-out[13] and stayed with them under an overpass while they waited for what they deemed to be a good train to pass so they could "hop" on and head north to Detroit. They track trains using shipping applications on their phones,[14] looking up container numbers to ascertain where the container is from and where it is eventually bound to be delivered. After waiting with them I eventually ran out of money,[15] and after having spent three long, hot, dust-covered days and nights under that overpass I was forced to leave; my funds and my time had run out. I continued to strive to maintain contact with my interlocutors from Texas through text messages and on social media. Despite this, however, they often remained elusive, sometimes "falling off the grid" for months at a time. I eventually learned that shortly after I left

[13] A "hop-out" is the location that train hoppers catch a train, usually in a trainyard or inconspicuous area. It is called a "hop-out" or "catch-out" because that is literally where train *hoppers* "hop" or "catch" a train.

[14] Many crusties acquire prepaid phones from local programs that supply phones to the homeless and/or working poor. For example, in Yolo County, California anyone can apply for a phone through the "Free Cell Phone Program" but, they must meet specific criteria in order to qualify. Once they have cell phones, crusties can buy additional minutes, texts, and data plans at reduced or no cost, depending on local services provided. In some instances, as was the case with a few of my interlocutors, they have phones that their families had purchased and maintain for them in order to keep in touch. Family-supplied phones are typically used by younger crusties when traveling and living away from family. In other instances, enterprising crusties will have bought a discount phone and manage plans from money earned panhandling and/or working temporary/seasonal jobs. Before the 2020 COVID pandemic, they would charge their phones in fast food restaurants or cafes, businesses that offer both access to free wifi and charging stations near customer seating.

[15] Money goes fast when you have to feed yourself and your interlocutors, as well as provide them with alcohol, cigarettes, car rides, and cover charges at venues, not to mention your own personal travel budget (gas, car maintenance, motel stays, etc.). They fully exploit any and all perceived economic status difference. At several points I had to explain I was nearly out of money because I am but a lowly graduate student operating on meager research funds. This is part of a culture of sharing resources, I noticed they shared food, water, cigarettes, drugs, and gear amongst themselves. I just happened to be the person with the most perceived resources to share.

them at the hop-out in Austin, Texas they "disbanded": one of them traveled west, hopping a train simply out of frustration and their confessed inborn need to constantly move forward; the other two hitched rides back to their "hometown" of San Antonio, ultimately hopping trains and hitching rides to reach Detroit not long after that. I cannot say when, where, or with whom each of them traveled after our parting but I was aware that they had continued to travel by observing their social media content.

Their actions, their transiency, can be directly contrasted with a homeless man who permanently resided under that overpass whom they referred to as a "homebum," or a bum with an established territory that stays put calling a certain location "home." Homeless people tend to stay in areas they feel familiar with and safe in; traveling crusty crust punks make it a point *not* to stay in one place for very long. The furthest the homebum would travel was across the street to beg or steal at a grocery store, only moving his belongings a few feet away if he felt threatened by other homeless individuals or after occasional confrontations with police. By contrast, all of the traveling crusties I have met throughout the years continually travel all over the country, rarely staying in one city, let alone the same specific location in a city, for more than a few days at a time.

During my 2012 fieldwork I connected with more than a dozen research participants in Austin, Texas. However, I have only maintained ties to the individuals from the Austin hop-out, as well as a few others from the greater North American crust punk music scene. Because many individuals are transient, online social networking is the only means to remain in contact with research participants beyond extended field excursions. This is the only form of "community" within this population, so to speak. They use social media to keep up with each other, track bands on tour or live music performances, as well as to stay in contact with family members.

Social networks become less about networking and more about virtual signposts to reach fellow transient individuals. Like my research in 2012 most recent work with crust punk on the West Coast utilizes both online sources of evidence, such as the social networking sites Facebook, Tumblr, and Instagram, and anarchist forums, such as anarcho-punk.net, alongside extended ethnographic field research in the translocal crust punk scene surrounding the San Francisco Bay Area in California, as well as up and down the West Coast. One of the problems with studying transient individuals is that they often employ tactics that work to conceal their presence and their movements from authorities (Scott 2009). Typically, they do not announce their presence in a given location on social media unless they want to (re)connect with friends or find fellow travelers. That can make it difficult to track and/or locate transient individuals for in-person socializing and research.

Crust punk in general is translocal due to the transient nature of certain members of its fan base as well as the occasional local performances and touring schedules of bands. I consider the crust punk scene as "translocal" because specific bands are typically associated with a particular locale (their home city/town/county/state), but they also tour regionally and/or nationally. To study these practices, I spent a great deal of time living out of my car,[16] being transient, and following my research subjects anywhere and everywhere they chose to go. Furthermore, any "local" crust punk music scene is hardly exclusive in nature. For instance, during my fieldwork, I found that crust punk bands often shared venues with a wide variety of other "punk" bands. Many, if not all, of the concerts I attended on the West Coast featured

[16] I lived out of my car to stay as mobile as possible. While I would have liked to have been able to stay on the streets and hop trains like my interlocutors, I did not want to risk the legal ramifications of sleeping rough, trespassing, loitering, or the many other criminal codes that crusties routinely break in their everyday existence.

shared bills between different punk bands, as well as touring "headliners" and less established local opening acts.

Over the course of four months in the Summer/Fall of 2018, I traveled between Sacramento, Santa Cruz, and the San Francisco Bay Area (all in California) as well as to Portland, Oregon, and Seattle, Washington. The only transient crusties I had the opportunity to spend time with were two men and one woman all in their early twenties. They had train-hopped from Chicago, Illinois, in the hopes of reaching Los Angeles, California. They had arrived in Oakland, California, after having hopped several different trains over many days trying to find the correct southbound rail. While at the hop-out, they hitched a ride with a van-dwelling drug dealer from outside Sacramento to downtown Oakland. They heard Leftover Crack (a New York crust punk band) was performing a concert that evening at the Oakland Metro (an Oakland live music venue that caters to punk and metal) and decided to "spange"[17] in order to purchase tickets.

Outside the venue, I rolled them cigarettes and they offered me swigs from their stolen handle of Sailor Jerry Rum (they boasted that they shoplifted it from a local market nearby). I learned that one of them was originally born and raised in East Los Angeles, and he was trying to "come home" to see his mother, who was ill. He had not been back to the family home in several years, having spent most of his time living on the streets of Chicago and traveling. The other young man and his girlfriend were too busy drinking and smoking marijuana with the owner of the van to coherently interact with, so I could not talk to them at any length. Intoxication is a common state for traveling crusty crust punks. Crusties' propensity for intoxication adds to the

[17] To "spange" is to beg for spare change, it is a portmanteau of "spare" and change" in to "spange." It is pronounced like change except the "ch" is replaced with "sp," taken from the word spare.

complexities of doing fieldwork among this population; it's hard to interview people who prioritize inebriation over all else.

Towards the end of my extended field excursion, during a week-long stay in Seattle, Washington, there were no shows being performed at all. I waited, checked and double-checked the local online punk forums featuring upcoming shows but, nothing. There was a distinct absence of crust punk music and crusties in Seattle during my time in the city[18]. During this time, I returned to California and engaged in intermittent informal interviews with crust punk fans and immersed myself into the local crust punk scenes of Northern California. I also monitored several social media accounts of traveling crusties lest any of them made their way to California or Oregon. In almost every case, I would miss them by days in varying locations across Northern California and Oregon because they would post the day of or succeeding their presence. One traveling crusty I follow on Instagram irregularly travels up and down the West Coast between Los Angeles and Portland with stops in Eugene (OR) and Eureka (CA). Likewise, a traveler I have followed for many years from Texas came to California, spending only a few weeks traveling between the San Francisco Bay Area and Bakersfield. It was not until after the fact that he posted his presence in San Francisco for the Hardly Strictly Bluegrass Festival, held annually at Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. He had only come to make money illegally selling beer to festival goers; once the festival was over, he did not post again until arriving in Bakersfield, where he squatted in abandoned mobile homes and various other shelters, sometimes camping in the desert.

[18] I mention this because I had previously lived in Seattle from 2005-2007 and had befriended crusties while attending music performances across the city. This was before any of us had cellphones and the current ubiquity of social media, so I have no idea what became of them.

Towards a Theory of Transiency

Transiency poses a unique set of problems for ethnographers. Some of the problems that my ethnographic experience illustrates, such as access to and maintaining contact with research participants are, of course, inherent problems of all ethnography. But transiency challenges conventional ethnographic theories and methods, and, I would argue, troubles our own subjectivities as ethnographers. To examine how transiency challenges dominant ethnographic paradigms and methods, I will address the literature on ethnographic method, discourses of mobility versus transiency, as well as the marginalization of transience. In order to clearly define the implications of transiency on ethnography I will break down these terms — transiency versus mobility — into a set of multiple, interconnected issues. I will begin with a discussion of transiency as an assemblage of everyday practices, which both shapes the lives of individuals and in turn reinforces and shapes larger cultural paradigms and societal norms. Following that discussion, I will be addressing the meta-methodological implications of ethnographic studies that study transiency or transient subjects.

In the Introduction of *No Pie in the Sky: The Hobo as American Cultural Hero in the Works of Jack London, John Dos Passos, and Jack Kerouac* (2001) Frederick Feied parses early uses of the terms "hobo," "tramp," "vagrant," and "bum." He notes that in popular usage these terms are used interchangeably, and that the precise definitions change over time, all four terms always revolve around an individuals' relationship to work and to the home. It is my observation that all transients are homeless but not all homeless are transient. For instance, as Feied points out, hobos are not tramps or bums because they aspire to work instead of simply drinking or begging around town (2001). The same cannot be said of today's crust punks, crusties, and crusty crust punks; crusties and crusty crust punks do not aspire to work, instead choosing to

drink, do drugs, and beg on street corners and in intersections. By the 1920s the idea of hobos and tramps had been transformed through their association with working individuals to include the notions of "migratory," "seasonal," and "casual labor" (DePastino 2003, 181). "These new terms placed the hobo squarely in the labor market and, in so doing, emphasized the role of modern wage relations in the making of hobohemia's[19] peculiar counterculture" (181). For my purposes, I recognize that the terms "tramp," "hobo," and "bum" are interchangeable. This is not the case with my definition of the terms crust punks, crusties, and crusty crust punks. If it simplifies it in the mind of the reader, crusties and crusty crust punks can be mapped onto existing cultural notions of the tramp and bum, essentially traveling ne'er-do-wells, whereas crust punks are the stationary working class, conforming to social norms of mobility.

In *Liquid Modernity* (2000), Zygmut Bauman argues that we have moved from a "solid" conception of modernity built upon humankind's use of hardware to a "fluid" or "liquid" version of modernity based upon software. This shift from solid to liquid, he argues, has changed our ways of life, unmooring us from familiar structures of real life in favor of the unstructured remoteness of digital life. While Bauman's aim in *Liquid Modernity* is to examine the human experience in modernity, I have found his notion of liquid versus solid to be a useful tool in thinking about the transient experience of crusty crust punks situated in an otherwise solid world. Bauman offers the metaphor of liquid interacting with solid — water flowing over a stone, for example — to think about our current modern circumstance. He explains,

> "liquids, unlike solids, cannot easily hold their shape. Fluids, so to speak, neither fix space nor bind time. While solids have clear spatial dimensions but neutralize the impact, and thus downgrade the significance, of time (effectively resist its flow or render it irrelevant), fluids do not keep to any shape for long and are constantly ready (and prone) to change it; and so for them it is the flow of time that counts, more than the

[19] "Hobohemia" was termed coined by sociologist Nels Anderson in the 1920s to denote the cultural aspects of being a "hobo" (Depastino 2003).

> space they happen to occupy: that space, after all, they fill but 'for a moment'" (2002, 2).

Transiency, like liquidity, is amorphous. It challenges the way we engage with time-in-space. Transient subjects occupy space "but for a moment." Bauman also describes the way in which contact between liquids and solids can be a useful metaphor. "Fluids travel easily. They 'flow', 'spill', 'run out', 'splash', 'pour over', 'leak', 'flood', 'spray', 'drip', 'seep', 'ooze'; unlike solids they are not easily stopped – they pass around some obstacles, dissolve some others and bore or soak their way through others still" (2). Transiency is fluid; transient subjects flow through environments that conventional occupants would consider to be fixed or solid. Transients are not easily stopped, and they change the non-transient subjects and subjectivities they come into contact with, eroding, dissolving, or saturating them. Furthermore, as Bauman points out, fluidity and the shaping or changing of solids is not an attempt to eradicate solidity, but rather bring about "new and improved solids" (3). Transiency does just that, it has flowed since before modernity, will continue to flow, and in the process has the potential to reveal "deficient and defective solids" (3). For the purposes of my argument, those "deficient and defective solids" are our existing ethnographic theories and methods, along with our own solidified notions of what it means to be transient, which is reduced to being mobile. However, to be mobile is to be fluid, moving through space freely, roving and wandering as we wish. But this perception of mobility as fluidity is fixed with concomitant associations that constrain it to the stationary world in which we live.

Transiency, as *a set of discrete and continuous acts*, challenges ethnographic ways of knowing and practice, as well as modes of ethnographic representation. I define transiency this way based in part upon Judith Butler's concept of performativity. Transiency is discrete because the movement, the doing, of transiency occurs then ends, the moment is ever-fleeting, it is not

continuous movement. Yet, *transiency* consists of the continuous act of being transient; without continually returning to a transient state one, would become fixed, defined only by a singular discrete act. Butler theorized gender as both performed and under the constraints of performativity (Butler 1993, 1997). The difference between performance and performativity can be thought of in terms of agentive versus structurally mandated acts, voluntary versus involuntary (Taylor 2008). As Butler puts it, "performance as bounded 'act' is distinguished from performativity insofar as the latter consists in a reiteration of norms which precede, constrain, and exceed the performer and in that sense cannot be taken as the fabrication of the performer's 'will' or 'choice'; further, what is 'performed' works to conceal, if not to disavow, what remains opaque, unconscious, unperformable" (Butler 1993, 234). In other words, there is a choice in performance, a willful act in which the performer has determined to present to the world their intention(s), whereas performativity is itself predetermined in its presentation to the world. In this way transiency can be conceptualized not as a singular set of behaviors that "transient" individuals perform but rather, as a set of performances, which both resist and mis/construe the typical construction of transiency as something done and not the doing of transience. This highlights two distinct lines of inquiry for understanding transiency and transient subjectivities: (1) on the level of individuals, at a phenomenological level: the doing of transiency, and (2) at the systemic levels of local, state, and global structures; structures that both create economic precarity and punish transient individuals.

Transiency versus mobility, like the differences in performance and performativity, can be mapped onto class distinctions. Transiency can be considered performance and/or performativity, whereas mobility is only ever manifested as a performance of privilege, for example the comings-and-goings of a jet-setting cosmopolitan. Butler formulates gender

performativity as that which "cannot be theorized apart from the forcible and reiterative practice of regulatory…regimes" (1993, 15). She goes on to explain that the agency that individuals may appear to have within those regimes can never be misconstrued as voluntary acts of performance or the enactments of a "choosing subject" (ibid.). In my formulation the continuous acts of transiency can be thought of as the practices that happen under those "forcible and reiterative…regimes," not of gender hegemony, but of fixed/mobile hegemony. This cosmopolitan mobility enabled by a rootedness in a world of fixity that is at once performance and a form of voluntary consumerism is the determining regime. Transients are not consuming movement in the way that cosmopolitans consume national or international travel. This fixed, non-transiency then becomes the regime enforcing a hegemony over transiency. The identification of a "transient" subject is preceded by an identificatory process, which is required by the norms of non-transiency, creating mobile subjects (cosmopolitans) but denying personhood to transient individuals. Transiency exposes the constructed nature of non-transient norms at those boundaries wherein transient subjects are deemed as criminal and delegitimated, failing to count as members of society. They are othered because they do not fit within the regime of fixed/mobile subjectivity.

Mobility can be considered as a performance of privilege, as a 'solid' existing, non-transient individual carries out the same discrete acts as a transient. Mobility, however, lacks the component of continuity, which at once points to the performativity of transiency, as well as the solidification of privileged mobile subjects. In this way, transiency could be configured as not cosmopolitan, but also not *not* cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitanism creates global subjects, citizens of the world, who are encouraged to embrace differences under a banner of universal humanity (Appiah 2008). Cosmopolitanism is based on the idea that all human beings should embrace their

humanity and view themselves as part of a single community. However, as other scholars of cosmopolitanism have pointed out, migrant minorities and those othered by class and/or race distinctions have a different perspective of the cosmopolitan; they do not necessarily feel welcomed as part of a global community within local experiences. Schiller and Irving in *Whose Cosmopolitanism?: Critical Perspectives, Relationalities, and Discontents* have found that "equations of mobility and cosmopolitanism or of subaltern positioning and cosmopolitanism [are] too readily made" (2015, 3). Instead, they identify "multiple and discrepant 'actually existing cosmopolitanisms' [both] elite and subaltern" that leave room for the grey areas between mobility and cosmopolitan as well as ideas about the relationship between local concerns and global community (2015, 28). In my formulation, transients are a version of subaltern cosmopolitans; they are not citizens of the world as such, but they move through the world in the similar ways to cosmopolitans, just without the privileges and rights afforded by them. Neither do transients bring with them their differences for the consumptive practices of neoliberal cosmopolitanism when settling (or rather, not settling, discussed further below) in a new location. Rather, transiency is the result of falling beneath rather than rising above one's culture as it is for the cosmopolitan. This perceived falling beneath creates subordinate mobile subjects that have the potential to reveal the specificity of a false universal humanity that is integral to cosmopolitanism.

Transiency challenges two intersecting preconditions: time in space. Beginning with Malinowski (1922), ethnographic inquiry required extended fieldwork. Ethnographies, multi-sited or otherwise, often highlight the length of time a researcher has spent in the field, and with the depth of the ethnographer's understanding of that field site. Transiency by its very definition challenges notions of extended experience. Unless you, as ethnographer, are willing to move and

to be transient with your interlocutors, you become the fixed point in space around which transient subjectivities move. With whom, where, and for what fleetingly brief amount of time do ethnographers have to research in a physically shifting field, or with participants who refuse to stay put? Transiency disrupts notions of time-in-space. Unlike conceptions of general homelessness, wherein individuals are assumed to reside in a set of fixed locations, e.g., alleyways, shelters, and parks, transient individuals rarely stay in one place for long. For example, after four days at the same location the train-hopping crusty crust punks in Austin, Texas, felt the need to keep moving, never staying in one place for much longer. One of my interlocutors boasted that he left home when he turned eighteen and had been traveling for seven years. He rarely stayed in one city, town, or camp for more than one week. His transiency reflected both his desire to explore greater North America, as well as a strategy to avoid being arrested for vagrancy.

Many urban and suburban centers have penal codes making different forms of "vagrancy" illegal,[20] essentially criminalizing many homeless and transient's very existence in society. One of the members of the traveling group I spent time with during my fieldwork in 2012 could no longer "spange" (beg for spare change), or "fly a sign" (beg with a handmade placard, in the nearest intersection) after being issued a ticket by local law enforcement. Similarly, each of the individuals in the group had both stories and actual citations as proof of various crimes ranging from trespassing or loitering to panhandling, and even for an unregistered dog. They keep their citations as badges of honor or trophies, and as ways to share in the lifestyle of vagrancy shared with other transient crusty crust punks. The citations also come in handy

[20] The term vagrant is often used interchangeably with homeless and/or transient. However, as I have pointed out one can be homeless and *not* transient, while it is more likely that transient individuals are homeless.

should they encounter different police officers for the same violations; they can present their citations to show they have already been served. All of my interlocutors had been issued citations, bench warrants, or arrested for violating local ordinances. There are advantages to being transient, however. It means possibly never having to pay your fine or serve time in jail if you continue to elude the police. This is not always the case, however, as I have seen many crusty crust punks post online about voluntarily turning themselves in to serve their sentence so that they can do it on their own terms and avoid further prosecution should they be apprehended in the future.

The criminalization of transients' strategies of survival reveals what is at stake for non-transient culture in general. As Randall Amster points out in "Ethnography at the Margins: Vagabonds, Transients, and the Specter of Resistance" (1999), "vagabonds [and] transients… challenge widely held notions of place/space and time through acts of "indeterminacy and nonfixity," "immediatism and spontaneity" (1999, 136). Transiency becomes the very act that uncovers the hidden construction of a world of fixed places, spaces, people, and time. Fixity creates foundations and boundaries; borders that, once crossed, place people at the margins (or beyond). Homelessness and thereby homeless transiency strike at the heart of this ideological problem because home is *the place* that defines a person's fixed existence. In *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates* (2009), John Adams points to the home as a site of contested legality. In the late 18th and early 19th century, the printing of books and sheet music happened primarily in people's homes (Adams 2009). With a shift to industrialization, printing, stocking, distribution, and selling moved from homes to factories, printshops, and warehouses. Laws at that time in the US privileged the home as a site of individual sovereignty, so that, police could raid places of business without warrants but not people's homes. These laws

persist; it is still unlawful for one's house or property (home or business) to be unlawfully searched or seized. Transients, vagabonds, and nomads are outside the law because they do not possess the one piece of property (a house/home), which would both protect them under the law and *subjugate* them within dominant discourses of permanency, legality, and normativity. This is the hegemonic power of the regime of fixedness/mobility (discussed above) at work, creating real life consequences for transient individuals and shaping society as a whole around the primacy of place and fixity.

What does all of this mean for an ethnographer or ethnography of transiency? It exposes the ontological disparity between subjectivities of fixity with the construction of transiency as a symbolic marker of Otherness. "Transiency" becomes marked as the non-normative Other as contrasted by concepts of fixed, stationary, placedness, for which there is no marker, except "permanency." Yet, even permanency as a marker of power starts to weaken when considered under the same rubric as transiency: a set of discrete and continuous acts. Furthermore, the formulation of binaries such as performativity/performance, transiency/permanency, transiency/mobility, homed/homeless point to issues of class bias that are already fraught within the dynamic of researcher and research subject. The implication for ethnography of transiency is thus: as ethnographers we must be mindful of our theoretical and methodological underpinnings as ontologically and epistemologically opposed to those of transient subjects. At first glance, this may appear to be the same as highlighting the need for self-reflexive positionality. But that is not enough; the only way to overcome those differences is to become transient, which in many cases is difficult if not impossible and does not guarantee results. Additionally, I would argue that it has ramifications for existing ethnographic theories and methodologies, such as the construction of "a field," field methods, scope, scale, interpretation, and representation. The construction of a

field is where I will turn my attention next, because like the construction of transiency in relation to fixed/mobile subjectivities, "the field" implies *a place*, a notion that, as I have shown, is challenged by transiency.

Ethnographic Sitedness

The construction of a "field" for transiency is based upon existing concepts of what a field constitutes. As Roger A. Berger notes in "From text to (Field)Work and Back Again: Theorizing a Post(Modern)-Ethnography" (1993), "we need a way to evoke more explicitly that which ethnographers carry in with them…into the 'field'" (1993, 178). As non-transient, non-homeless ethnographers, likely funded or employed by an academic institution, we carry ideologies about our purpose, our selves, and our preconceived constructions of a "field." Berger rightfully points out that "our normative sense of the 'field 'functions to hide the power that produces the 'field. 'To put it another way, the 'field 'is the figuration of western hegemonic power" (178). He goes on to briefly discuss the etymology of the term "field" in order to challenge the historicity of both anthropology as a discipline but also those "theoretical concepts and ideological practices" that inform contemporary ethnography.

Constructions of a "field" are also the bases for claims of ethnographic authority and presupposed ethnographic methodologies. Clifford Geertz has offered two assertions that reflect on both our construction of a field and our imagined insertion into it: the importance of "being there" (1988), and that "anthropologists don't study villages (tribes, town, neighborhoods…); they study *in* villages" (1973, 22). While Geertz was correct to assert these claims for ethnography, transiency troubles both what it means to "be there," and who or what we study if we study *outside* villages, on the peripheries and in margins. I would add, that even the

construction of marginality and ethnography at the margins reflects our own unchallenged ideologies of "center/periphery."

In my previous research, my interlocutors have expressed a belief that those of us with "permanent" residences are marginal, that the world is theirs and that the rest of us live at the edges of a larger world, confined to relatively small boxes on increasingly smaller plots of land. Their belief that "normal" non-transient people are prisoners to their material immobility reminded me of the way Zygmunt Bauman in *Liquid Modernity* (2000) takes Foucault's discussion of the panopticon as a useful example of reverse flows of power. Foucault used the idea of a panopticon, which is a prison with a tower at the center around which all the cells are located in a circle. The ability for the watching guard in the tower to see any prisoner at any particular moment is the trap. The prisoners cannot see or communicate with each other, only the guard in the tower can see the prisoners. The power lies in the permanent visibility of the prisoners by the tower, whether or not the guard in the tower is, in fact, watching. We (the non-transient researchers, the permanent residents) become the prisoners confined to our cells (our fixed places) while the surveillants (the watchers, those transient individuals) are free to move at will. Unlike the panopticon, however, we have discursively rearranged the hierarchy of power to favor the inmates. Power resides instead in the very fixedness to a place — the home, the workplace — as opposed to the confinement that subordinated the prisoners in the panopticon. This could also explain the seemingly invisible nature of transient individuals, like the prisoners looking to the tower we cannot see the guard, but the guard can see us.

What does it mean to "be there" when there ceases to be a "there" there? Transiency creates an ethnographic impossibility of multiplicities. "There" is no margin, only margins. How then do we attend to these margins? Multi-sited ethnography has become one way in which to

address this issue. As George E. Marcus explains in, "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-sited Ethnography" (1995), "to do ethnographic research, for example, on the social grounds that produce a particular discourse of policy requires different practices and opportunities than does fieldwork among the situated communities such policy affects. To bring these sites into the same frame of study and to posit their relationships on the basis of first-hand ethnographic research in both is the important contribution of this kind of ethnography, regardless of the variability of the quality and accessibility of that research at different sites" (1995, 100). Marcus also pinpoints several inspirations for multi-sited ethnography in "post-modern" theories such as, "Foucault's power/knowledge and heterotopia, as well as Deleuze & Guattari's rhizome" (102). Perhaps the most useful of these for an ethnography of transiency is the rhizome. Deleuze and Guarttari use the term "rhizome" to describe approaches to theory and practice that allow for multiple points of representation and interpretation across a non-hierarchical structure. Rather than follow the model of a tree, with the roots that supply the trunk which supports and feeds the branches, the rhizome spreads out horizontally, like grass. The rhizome has no beginning or end, it is all one unified multiplicity. This allows for a perspective that takes into account the ambiguous nature of transiency as well as the in-between-ness of transient life. For Marcus, "multi-sited ethnographies define their objects of study through different modes [of construction] or techniques" (106). He offers seven constructs for possible objects of study: (1) follow the people, (2) follow the thing, (3) follow the metaphor, (4) follow the plot, story, or allegory, (5) follow the life or biography, (6) follow the conflict, and (7) the strategically situated (single-site) ethnography. (106-110). To explain two of these briefly, to follow the people, Marcus uses the example of Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), where the "procedure is to follow and stay with the movements of a particular group of

initial subjects" (Marcus 1995, 106). Likewise, I have employed a similar construction of following the metaphor when previously researching apocalyptic, post-apocalyptic, and dystopian discourses in crust punk music and culture. While it is not my intent to offer a rubric for the study of transiency or transient individuals, the use of Marcus 'modes of construction for objects of study could be useful theoretically, however impractical the following of (transient) people may be in actual practice.

Another more recent approach has been the theorization of "unsited" ethnography. Similar in many ways to multi-sited ethnographic theories and methods, unsited ethnography attempts to address the unlocatability of objects of study. Both multi-sited and unsited theories open the possibility for the use of flow as a base from which to begin inquiry. Marcus addresses the use of Arjun Appadurai's 'scapes, and how Appadurai's ideas contributed to defying older anthropological practices that located culture in specific places. Despite this advancement in anthropological theory, Appadurai and similar scholars' discussion of flows do not offer models of multi-sited ethnographic methodologies. Rather, theories of flow highlight the ways in which "multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography" (Marcus 1995, 105). Imagine, if you will, tracing the flow of transient individuals along a rhizomatic structure, where the connections become focus rather than the nodes. Connection among sites has become a focus of ethnographic theories that seek to disrupt sitedness as a priori to ethnographic inquiry.

Sverre Molland, in "Tandem Ethnography: On Researching 'trafficking 'and 'anti-trafficking'" (2013), notes that "sitedness has become increasingly relativized within

[anthropology]…regarding the role of methodology and ethnography in relation to mobility" (2013, 302). Molland's project is human trafficking and the anti-trafficking organizations that have appeared in response. For Molland, trafficking, like the examples of transiency I gave at the beginning of this chapter, is "difficult to locate and access" (302). He proposes "tandem ethnography" that "allows a methodological oscillation between the policy domain of anti-trafficking and the social world of mobility, sex commerce and the recruitment within it. By ethnographically exploring social worlds…from strategic positions, a space opens up where a social phenomenon can be illuminated from different angles" (302). Similarly, Molland does not treat "ethnography and fieldwork as epistemologically pre-conditioned on sites and places – which creates problems for the study of mobility" instead he frames "the ethnographic encounter as an *unsited field*. Molland argues that unsitedness does not label physical locality as unimportant, but rather that it necessitates a comparative method, so that "the field – or fieldwork – is not primarily a question of space but a cluster of comparisons" (305). Methodologically, "such an endeavor is neither about creating neat taxonomies for comparisons nor to ensure a form of holism, but to apply variation as a device for tracing a phenomenon…in its different manifestations" (306). Molland's framing of unsitedness and comparative methods could prove useful in tracing transiency as phenomena of discrete and continuous acts in the crusty crust punk community.

Many of the correctives that multi-sited or unsited ethnographic theories offer are addressed to the changes in scope or scale of ethnography. Whereas earlier ethnographers were content to focus on geographically bounded locations such as villages, islands, and reservations, the introduction of globalization has challenged the breadth and range of ethnographic practice. In "Ethnography on an Awkward Scale: Postcolonial Anthropology and the Violence of

Abstraction" (2003), Jean and John Comaroff offer several methodological operations that mobilize the individual constructs espoused by Marcus, while allowing for the ambiguity of Molland's ethnographic unsitedness. The Comaroffs take as their objects of study discursive flows. For their ethnography on what they have called, "zombies and the global zombie economy," this allowed them to "take off *not* from theory or from a meta-narrative, but from the situated effects of seeing and listening" (164). They suggest ethnographic operations that begin with mapping the phenomenal landscape "on which any discursive flow is grounded" (168), following traces of those discursive flows, which involves "mapping the extensions of the phenomenal landscape" (169), and tracing the "passage of a discursive flow over time" (170). What these methodological operations allow for is a transparency of constructivism as was noted by Marcus in his discussion of multi-sited ethnography, as well as a comparative method as presented by Molland in an approach to unsitedness. Both of these concepts could be useful to ethnographers of transiency depending on the particulars of their approach and movements of their research participants.

For my ethnography of transient crusty crust punks I used both multi-sited and unsited approaches when considering my "field." For instance, while doing fieldwork in Austin, Texas during the summer of 2012, I realized that there were a handful of specific locations that acted as nodes between which my crusty interlocutors and I traveled regularly. What started outside a converted warehouse venue moved to an underpass that allowed opportunities for train hopping. From that location my interlocutors and I would also travel to local businesses on foot as well as in my car back to the original venue for another show. We also branched out to other locations such as a church donation center which supplied homeless individuals with items such as clothing, backpacks, and other necessities for living on the street. Upon my return to Austin,

Texas, I realized that the seeming unlocateability of my interlocutors was due to my own approach which had narrowed to multiple field sites. While finishing fieldwork in Austin, and on the West Coast (2016-2019), I realized that it was the flow of my transient interlocutors, across sites but also virtually, online, that became my ethnographic field. For this project being able to switch between a multisited and unsited approach has allowed me to respond to the movements of my transient subjects while simultaneously tracing discursive flows concerning politics, music, everyday life, affect, and emotion in and around the crust punk music scene.

Ethnographic Mis/Representation

Ethnography enters discourse at two levels, (1) in reproducing discourses of ethnographic theory and method, and (2) by creating and recreating discourses, both vernacular and institutional, concerning research subjects and subjectivities. Many foundational ethnographic texts, such as *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Malinowski 1922), establish and reinforce what has become a standard set of methodological and theoretical ideologies. Post-positivist ethnographies have wrestled with questions and approaches of representation that challenge those ideologies. As Brown (2004) notes, contemporary ethnographic discourse itself has become unmoored from its fixed positivist incarnation. Creating a "polyphonic discourse" that is "deeply informed by the postmodern critique of its positivist predecessor" (2004, 299). While these critiques have expanded ethnographic methods, they have only spurred the production of an increasing number of texts that are as methodologically vague as their predecessors. Dialogism and self-reflexive positionality have become the responses and apologies for the colonialist ethnographic operations of the past.

Even in the face of postmodern correctives, ethnographic representation of transiency remains problematically positivist. Discourses of homelessness, hobos, tramps, vagabonds, and

transients continue to perpetuate the kinds of representations problematized by postmodern critiques. Moreover, existing representations are either discursively bound by historical context or take as their object of study the socio-ecological causes and misfortunes of transiency and transient individuals. In *Hobos, Hustlers, and Backsliders* (2010), Teresa Gowan identifies three discursive logics that continue to shape our understanding of homelessness: "as moral offense, as pathology, and as a product of systemic injustice or instability" (xxi). I argue that those logics are continually represented in both scholarly and vernacular texts, ethnographic or otherwise. Similarly, many, if not all, ethnographic accounts of homelessness, hobohemian, and vagrancy ignore or subsume transiency within those discursive logics. Within a discourse of homelessness, I identify three representational operations that shape ethnographic texts: romanticization, characterization, and problematization. The latter can be defined by the logics proposed by Gowan as well as sociological approaches to the study of homelessness, in that, homelessness, or transiency, is always already posed as a "problem" (Potter, 1934). Romanticization and characterization are often interconnected, posing a unique contradiction between an idealized life of homelessness, i.e., rugged independence and individualism, with ascribed identities based upon negative connotations of *being* without a home (Parcell 2011). Characterization is the operation that constructs a "homeless person," as opposed to a person without a home. Furthermore, "homeless people" are then subsumed under the rubric of problematization that would attempt to classify them as either morally offensive, pathological, or products of a failed system. In my own ethnographic research, I often have to push back against the perception that crusty crust punks, and/or crusties, are automatically characterized as homeless, morally offensive, free spirits, traveling, as they like, when they like with no responsibilities.

To understand this discourse, and those logics, it is necessary in part to examine those texts, which helped to establish this discourse. Two of the earliest influential authors on homelessness and vagrancy are Jacob Riis and Nels Anderson. Both men had extended careers as tramps, or "hobos." During the late 1800s both men traveled from city to city or farm to farm looking for work. By the 1920s both men had found more permanent work as journalist and sociologist, respectively (Depastino 2003). Riis 'work *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) was an early photojournalism socio-cultural critique chronicling the tenements of New York City. *How the Other Half Lives* was perhaps the first exposé that created not only a new visibility of the underclass, but also prompted city officials and academic scholars to investigate this "new problem" of vagrancy (Depastino 2003). Anderson published *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* in 1923 based upon his fieldwork in Chicago and his own life on the road only years earlier. By defining the differences between tramps, bums, and hobos, Anderson's work continues to shape our conception of homelessness and transiency. For example, he identified their differences based upon propensity for work, hobos representing the homeless subculture that actively traveled the country looking for work opportunities. The differences between these characters can be seen in the ways in which we continue to think about homeless and transient individuals. So that, a hobo is a character problematized as a product of an unstable system (the need for temporary or seasonal labor) and romanticized as a "modern" frontiersman (traveling West to explore new frontiers of opportunity).

In *Citizen Hobo: How a Century of Homelessness Shaped America* (2003) Todd Depastino traces the formation of what it has meant and still means to be a vagrant. Experiences of poverty have certainly changed since the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, discourses surrounding extreme poverty, such as homelessness and transiency, have changed little if at all.

New terms, such as "houselessness," and "the new homeless" have arisen to identify structural problems, attempting to dislodge previous vocabularies from their sedimented meaning. It is within these same discursive logics that contemporary sociological and ethnographic texts seek to intervene. As Depastino notes, "because homelessness is always a cultural category, an ascribed condition that does not necessarily define or dominate the experiences of the very poor, the new scholarship failed to reach definitive conclusions about what exactly homelessness was and what made people susceptible to it" (2003, 254). So, even though the scholarship of the 1990s "expressed sympathy for their subjects, the same cultural politics that had governed representations of homelessness in the Gilded Age continued to hold sway in the late twentieth century" (266).

In *Braving the Street: Anthropology of Homelessness* (1999) Glasser and Bridgman approach homelessness in similar ways to earlier sociological texts. They wrestle with defining what homelessness is, and identify "new" systemic problems, also including a chapter that addresses the experiences of individuals. At the core of the monograph, however, is the same appeal, not only to social understanding, but also for social change, which dominates discourses of problematization. More recent scholarship, despite efforts to the contrary, often reproduces the same cultural politics and discursive logics. In an effort to identify and problematize these logics, Gowan (2010) focuses her attention on a discourse of work among the homeless in San Francisco, California. Although her research focuses on the construction of meaning surrounding work as recycling collectors, her focus on the activity recreates the character constructions previously exemplified by Anderson. This characterization has the tendency to divide her interlocutors among those who recycle for work, those who do not work at all, and those who strive for better ways to make money, however precarious that may be. By focusing on her

interlocutor's relationship to work, and defining them as such, she is reproducing the narrative of these people being products of a failed system and characterized as intrepid survivors. In contemporary contexts the system that failed is no longer America but rather neo-liberal globalization.

These logics persist in large part because of the postmodern critique of ethnography. This is partly because many ethnographers continue to ignore the tendency "toward political solidarity with the Other 'without concealing what we learn about ourselves in the process'" (Hanson 2004 in Brown 2004, 311). Fundamentally, ethnographers dealing with homelessness and/or transiency have not adequately challenged their own positionality as fixed, rooted in a discourse of placedness. Likewise, critical ethnography's call to not just speak *of*, but to speak *with* the Other is rarely answered. As much as she strives to speak with her interlocutors, Gowan (2010) speaks of and mostly for them, despite her inclusion of lengthy field vignettes and organic detail. To her credit, Gowan focuses on understanding homelessness in San Francisco both from the bottom up and top down. However, she fails to challenge the logics that dictate the characterization and problematization of her research subjects and impetus for the work itself.

If problematizing homelessness and transiency recreates biased logics should we not be asking if, and for whom, transiency is a "problem?" How we ethnographically represent transiency and homelessness might be radically changed if we ceased to assume that there is a problem to fix and began recognizing the agency of these individuals. Equally, by contextualizing our ethnography within a problematized schema we inadvertently perpetuate mis/representations of transient subjectivities. In what ways can we begin to think through appropriate representation of transiency?

In *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography* (1988), John Van Maanen offers three versions of representation that are indicative of past, present, and (possibly) future modes of ethnographic writing. The way in which these modes construct and represent the author, the object of study, and the field experience reflect established norms of ethnographic writing as well as possibilities. Van Maanen calls these three modes "realist," "confessional," and "impressionist" (1988). The realist mode of writing will be most familiar to those acquainted with early anthropological texts. Realist texts feature a noted absence of the author and the doing of fieldwork, as well as an air of authority epitomized by the works of Boas, Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard, and Mead (to name but a few). The people and culture represented in those texts are depicted in the "ethnographic present," a description not situated in time but rather, represented as eternal and unchanging. The texts of Anderson and Riis are in the realist mode. The authenticity and authority of Anderson's and Riis' texts rests on the shoulders of the names attached to them; the "great" men who had once lived a vagabond life.

The confessional mode is one that many ethnographers have become familiar with in the wake of postmodern criticism. Unlike the realist mode, confessionals prominently feature author and fieldworker, apologies and reflexivity, as well as details of field experience. The confessional mode also represents the ethnographer as interpreter or translator. The author/fieldworker becomes the mediator for their audience's understanding of the ethnographic Other. The ethnographic vignette at the beginning of this chapter is very much in the confessional mode. Teresa Gowan's use of a confessional mode in *Hobos, Hustlers, and Backsliders* (2010) breaks with established sociological modes while neglecting to represent her experience and that of her interlocutors outside the logics I critiqued above.

The impressionist mode is similar in many ways to the confessional, with stylistic differences. For instance, in the impressionist mode the *doing* of fieldwork, as opposed to the doer or what has been done, is represented. The impressionist mode takes dramatic recall as its form, requiring no framing or commentary. There is no interpretation and events are represented in ways that appear transparent and are offered in a concrete manner. In this mode the story should stand on its own and invite the audience to relive moments of fieldwork. The only pitfall of the impressionist mode is that Van Maanen calls for the characterization of the subjects in the story. The danger lies in adequately representing interlocutors not as "types" of characters, but rather people with "names, faces, motives, and things to do" (1988, 105). Texts employing impressionist modes are few and far between. Lacking in analysis and overly narrative, impressionistic ethnography resists academic authority. Each of these modes has its uses and at times may prove useful in representing transiency and transient subjectivities. Despite their respective strengths and weaknesses most ethnographic writing blurs the lines, employing these different modes within a single text. While the impressionist mode of writing may not meet the full requirements of academic rigor it may offer a way of writing about transiency that places the burden of possible bias on the audience, as opposed to the ethnographer. In this dissertation I use both the confessional and impressionist modes when writing about my interlocutors. I do this to reflect both on my experiences in the field as well as represent those moments of my interlocutors lives that I have witnessed. However, I keep my impressionist anecdotes as short and to the point as possible to avoid the pitfalls of that style of writing.

Examining cases of self-representation could be helpful in understanding experiences of transiency and transient subjectivities. I will take two such cases, one an underground punk novella romanticizing a life of transiency and disobedience, the other an online collection of

photographs, podcast episodes, and user submitted content formerly under the heading of LATFO.com.[21] The first case of self-representation of transiency is *Evasion* (2003) an autobiography/memoir written by an author who chooses to remain anonymous. The book begins as ambiguously as it ends, in an assumed middle of transient life. The chapters of the book are numbered counting down from five to one; it quickly becomes obvious that they are counting down to nothing. Nothing but the next in a series of mis/adventures, hopping trains, stealing a boat, dumpster diving, and shoplifting. There is no narrative plot to the book, only a premise that the author will keep moving, both in the text and presumably after it has been put down. The content instead revolves around journal entries, blocks of text revealing snippets of life, here, there, and sometimes in between. Because this is not an ethnographic text, the writing employed is often informal and evocative, making it affectively powerful and ripe for interpretation.

The second case is a web page run by a transient individual who has become something of an Internet celebrity. LATFO.com featured both author- and user-submitted photographs as well as author-created commentary. The creator of LATFO.com has also created a sister page consisting of audio podcasts and related photographic evidence featuring various "guests." Similar to the ways *Evasion* (2003) romanticized a transient lifestyle; LATFO.com celebrates the rambunctious, goofy, antics of "oogles." LATFO stands for "look at this fucking oogle." An "oogle" is a person who is typically homeless, transient, and sometimes associated with crust punk subculture. The moniker began as a derogatory term for a homeless, transient, unwashed,

[21] Currently LATFO.com is hosted by tumblr.com and is found at "lookatthisfuckingoogle.tumblr.com, there is also latforadio/tumblr.com. The addition of "radio" is to highlight the recent inclusion of podcasts to the LATFO domain. The exact URL often changes but a cursory Google search for "latfo.com" will direct you to the current web address or associated content. Since the time of this writing, LATFO.com had been abandoned by the its creator and moderator.

uncouth youth, often new and unknowledgeable about their chosen lifestyle. Other Internet definitions describe an "oogle" as a poseur of train hopper fashion and culture. The distinction is sometimes drawn between youth living on the street and the "oogles" who only partially participate in homelessness and transiency. Many of the photographs featured on LATFO.com depicted young men and women engaging in drinking, train hopping, squatting, and/or general physical antics. Train hopping figures heavily in the depiction of "typical oogle" behavior as well as a general appearance of filth and indecency. There were several "before and after" photographs depicting the aesthetic change associated with adopting "oogle" life ways. These were meant to parody the methamphetamine awareness posters featuring before and after pictures chronic drug users, done in part to mock and at once acknowledge the drug culture within transient lifestyles.

Despite its celebratory tone, LATFO.com represented an insider look at a culture of transiency. The photographs serve as documentation of trains hopped, places passed through, and the brief time spent with friends, new and old. While these depictions have the potential of reproducing existing biases and logics, they are distinct from other works in that they are made by and for transient individuals. Unlike the photographic evidence collected by Jacob Riis of New York City tenements, LATFO.com featured proud (although sometimes humiliating) depictions of individuals celebrating their individuality and culture. Much in the same way that impressionist modes of writing attempt to represent a lived reality, photographs and video have the potential to present unbiased representations of transiency. Perhaps documentary film has the most potential for representation, at once realist and impressionist, placing the authority back in the hands of the subject and the burden of interpretation on the audience.

Conclusion

Transiency poses a unique set of methodological and theoretical problems for ethnography. Bauman's metaphor of liquid and solid offers a new way to conceptualize what transiency is and what it does. I have argued that transiency should be defined as a set of discrete and continuous acts and understood as ontologically and epistemologically different from and challenging to non-transience. I have modeled my argument on Butler's theories of performance and performativity. I have approached these issues by addressing theoretical and methodological ethnographic literature, and by examining historical and contemporary texts addressing discourses surrounding transiency. Additionally, I have offered several theoretical and methodological suggestions for consideration by contemporary and future ethnographers of transiency. I continue to wrestle with the implications of transiency in my own ethnographic "field" and how to construct or consider the different "fields" in my study of crust punk. This is a call for others to critically engage, not only transiency, but also our own unexamined constructions of what it means to do ethnography and be ethnographers. As this chapter has shown, despite adequate preparation for ethnographic inquiry, it can be nigh impossible to study those who resist localization and engage in tactics to remain elusive.

Chapter Two – Crust Punk and Precarity

"Do They Owe Us A Living? Of Course, They Do!"[22]

Crusties, crusty crust punks, and crust punks live precarious lives in their respective social settings. Crust punk's ties to precarity go back to the origins of the music and the local scenes in 1980s Britain and the United States. In this chapter, I will explain two analytical approaches of understanding "precarity," while highlighting the subjective and political nature of living precarious lives and understanding the economic contexts for those lives in the everyday choices people must make. I will go on to offer a brief history of the nascent crust punk music scene in the late-1970s to early-2000s, including major players in both the United Kingdom and the United States. I do this to show not only the precarity within which the scene emerged, but also to trace foundational narratives that to this day play a role in maintaining subcultural knowledge and scene participation. Crust punks and crusty crust punks alike are aware of these integral bands, their history, their music, and in what ways they have shaped the contemporary scene. It is not a distinct and concrete set of musical features that defines crust punk as a genre, but rather the precarity and thereby the crustiness of the bands that gives meaning and identity to the genre.

In order to understand the content and source of crust punk political knowledge it is necessary to consider where and in what circumstances crust punk as a concept originates and

[22] The title for this chapter is taken from the Crass song "Do They Owe Us A Living?" from the 1978 album *The Feeding of the 5000* (Crass Records). The chorus of the song consists of the line, "do they owe us a living?" Followed by, "of course they do, of course they do!" In an interview with Steve Ignorant (vocalist for Crass), he explains the meaning behind the lyrics as, "I did mean 'a living.' Not money, but that they owed us a quality of life. The way that people still live in poverty and wars, and all the young men in war. I think that's what it is about" (Verducci 2011. https://www.punknews.org/article/41744/interviews--steve-ignorant-crass).

what the lives of crust punks are like now. It is the precarious social and economic conditions within which the scene arose, as well as more recent historical moments of precarity, that provide crust punk a context for anarchist political epistemologies. Crust punk is a performance of agency in the face of precarious conditions. It is at once a performance of precarity, through the performing bodies of musicians caught in choices of poverty, as well as being bound to precarious lives through ties to transiency, squatter culture, and associations with the poor. I have previously argued that the two lifestyles, transient crusty crust punks and stationary crust punks, are integral for the perpetuation of the scene (Roby 2013). Crusties act as the living, embodiment of crust punk ideals, dropping out of society, and leading a "Do-It-Yourself" life, literally being "crusty," while non-crusty crust punks maintain the financial and subcultural viability of the scene. Crust punks attend live performances regularly, buy band merchandise, and participate in the scene more broadly. However, without crusties and crusty crust punks, crust punk would lose its very "crust," which is its defining feature. The crustiness of crust punk is a critical piece of the genre's history, legitimacy to bands and fans, and *the* characteristic that binds together an otherwise amorphous music genre.

Economic Precarity: Choosing Poverty

In her article, "Performativity, Precarity and Sexuality Politics" (2009), Judith Butler re-examines the role of precarity and how the idea expands upon her original notion of gender performativity. Gender norms and precarity are interconnected through power relations, "since we know that those who do not live their genders in intelligible ways are at heightened risk for harassment and violence" (2009, ii). Precarity highlights the situation of people "exposed to injury, violence and displacement" while at the same time revealing the unintelligibility of "those who are at risk of not being qualified as a subject of recognition" (2009, i). As I pointed out in

my discussion of the performativity of transiency, those individuals who live lives on the periphery are at risk of not only violence but also of incarceration and even death. Their very existence is an affront to lived norms of civility. Crusties, in other words, simply do not live intelligible lives. Like many homeless or street-dwelling people, crusties do not qualify as subjects for recognition and when they become acknowledged in everyday life they are written off as aberrant youth,[23] experiencing "just a phase." Crusties' lifestyles of houselessness, transiency, and scavenging challenge societal norms of home, living, and work.

> "Performativity has everything to do with 'who' can become produced as a recognizable subject, a subject who is living, whose life is worth sheltering and whose life, when lost, would be worthy of mourning. Precarious life characterizes such lives who do not qualify as recognizable, readable, or grievable. And in this way, precarity is [the] rubric that brings together women, queers, transgender people, the poor and the stateless" (Butler 2009, xii-xiii).

In economic terms, crusties and crusty crust punks can be thought of as a subset of "the poor," either as the laboring bodies of the working class or as the destitute, under- or unemployed, that have attempted to opt out of their perceived economic precarity in favor of a different form of living (albeit marginalized and precarious in other ways). Why work several jobs to scrape by to pay for an apartment that you never get to enjoy because you're working all the time just to pay for a roof over your head? Why work for a paycheck that will feed you only on ramen, other highly processed cheap foods, and dollar-menu fast food options? Why not drop out of 'normal' society and the constraints of work and home life? Many, if not all, of the traveling crusties and crusty crust punks I have spoken to about their early lives and family backgrounds admit to various levels of poverty and overwhelming economic precarity. As young

[23] In my experience crusty crust punks are typically "young" people between the ages of eighteen and thirty. If one reaches thirty and is still living a crusty lifestyle they are considered quite "old."

adults, many of them actively choose to leave or run away from home lives that offer neither economic opportunities nor emotionally stable environments for self-actualization and improvement.

If transiency exists within a performative state of repeated enactments, it also creates the conditions by which transient subjects are eligible for personhood. “Non-compliance calls into question the viability of one’s life, the ontological conditions of one’s persistence” (Butler 2009, iv). These crusties are in such a position that dropping out of society, hopping trains, eating out of dumpsters, and begging for spare change is a welcome break from the everyday cycles of precarity always already in play around vulnerable bodies. They find themselves as already the rubbish of society, so they conclude that it is better to live life on their own terms.

The same can be said for non-crusty crust punks, as it would be easy to consider them as merely working class, however this would be a mistake. David Laing in *One Chord Wonders: Power and Meaning in Punk Rock* (2015), a seminal study on punk rock in the 1970s and early-1980s, writes that, “most punk rockers had working class backgrounds [but], that majority is not overwhelming enough to justify the claim that punk is fundamentally proletarian” (168). Laing goes on to point out that a sizeable minority also came from the middle class and/or had been ex-college students, finding that as many as one third of those punks surveyed had been college students of some kind (2015). In my own research, I found that although the majority of my interlocutors do come from working class backgrounds, it would be an oversimplification to consider crust punks as part of the proletariat. Indeed, some of my research participants at the time of our interviews were or had been college students. But having a college education no longer means what it did for economic prospects as during Laing’s study on punk. Many college students find themselves in even more precarious conditions after having gone to college,

incurring huge amounts of student debt, than if they had not chosen to make that potential investment. Instead, all of the young (and not-so-young) people I spoke with in local crust punk scenes and online could be considered part of what is called the "precariat." As Guy Standing (2011, 9) points out in, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*, "In Germany, [the term precariat] has been used to describe not only temporary workers but also the jobless who have no hope of social integration." This is an apt description of both the temporary and the transient nature of crusty work economy as well as the economy more broadly conceived. It points to the failure or the closing-off of possibilities for many of these individuals to truly integrate into society whether they chose to live a crusty life of transiency and temporary work or they attempt to better their lives by working and/or going to college.

Not every crust punk is crusty, however; many of them work at jobs or careers that enable at least the bare minimum of socially acceptable subsistence. But even then, the seemingly standard 'norm' of working, having a home, a car, a life, is precarious, when at any moment a health emergency, a car breakdown, the death of a loved one can derail a carefully constructed minimum standard of living. The crust punks in those living situations can be considered part of what scholars have come to call the precariat. The term "precariat," "could be described as a neologism that combines an adjective 'precarious' and a related noun 'proletariat'" (2011, 7). Members of the precariat are both working class yet, not *not* working class because they lack the labor security and work-based identity typically associated with the working class (ibid.). The precariat resides at the bottom of social class and labor relationships. In the 1980s, French sociologists used the term to describe temporary or seasonal workers (ibid.). However, temporary or seasonal workers enjoy a modicum of stability from contract to contract, season to season, year to year, that the precariat lacks. "One defining characteristic of the

precariat is distinctive *relations of production*: so-called 'flexible' labor contracts; temporary jobs; labor as casuals, part-timers, or intermittently for labor brokers or employment agencies. But conditions of unstable labor are part of the definition, not the full picture. More crucially, those in the precariat have no secure occupational identity; no occupational narrative they can give to their lives" (Standing 2014).

Many of the crusty crust punks and crust punks I spoke to are part of the precariat. They work temporary, unstable jobs. They identify sometimes as working-class laborers, others as classless, and at other times as street hustlers, getting by on whatever work they can find, begging and shoplifting, and/or money-making schemes. Like the temporary, ephemeral gig economy into which their fates are thrust, crusties and crusty crust punks can swiftly swap positions to either be part of the unemployed or approach work on an as-needed basis. When they are employed, they acknowledge that they are not crusty in the sense that I defined earlier, because they are employed and non-transient yet identify with the downtrodden, low-income, precarity of crustiness. They may work as volunteer firefighters, as cutters, trimmers, or packagers in the marijuana industry, short order cooks, construction day-laborers, pet day care or dog walkers/sitters, fishmongers, meat cutters, even as migrant seasonal agricultural labor. In my online ethnographic research, I noticed a group of crusty crust punks who would travel to the Northern Midwest for the annual beet harvest. The harvest attracts a good number of both crusties and crusty crust punks because they can live for free on the farm properties and earn hundreds, if not thousands, of dollars in a matter of weeks or months. In addition to the beet harvest, crusties will travel north along the East Coast for the marijuana and CBD harvests.[24] For

[24] On both the West and East coasts, the burgeoning legal marijuana and hemp industries are supplying temporary, well-paid gigs as harvesters. While the West Coast enjoys an economic boom of recreational marijuana farms, various states across the country have only legalized

example, one of my interlocutors traveled from coastal Florida north to Vermont with a then-romantic partner, connecting with an already established network of farms and harvesters. They lived on the farm, in fields, or outbuildings for several months while working on the crop. After the harvest, they traveled freely around New England enjoying the summer weather, reconnecting with fellow travelers, until eventually settling temporarily in Pittsburgh where the young man worked, for a brief but indeterminate time, as a restaurant dishwasher. For some crusty crust punks, temporary or seasonal work is their only source of income beyond panhandling, shoplifting, busking in street bands, and dumpster diving.

Crusties, too, overlap into the precariat yet maintain their identity as that of the *lumpenproletariat* – which as Stand (2011) describes in Marxist terms are, "the jobless who have no hope of social integration, whereas the precariat are the precariously positioned proletariat" (ibid. 9). Crusty crust punks seek work only when it suits their needs. For instance, when they want to rent an apartment or an extended-stay hotel room, purchase a car for faster and freer travel, or accumulate funds for extended or overseas travel. Here are two examples of this taken from my online ethnographic research. One, a crusty crust punk, worked the beet harvest in 2018, in order to save money to travel to the US Virgin Islands for several months. During her time in the Caribbean, she squatted and lived an "island life," enjoying the cheap and easy access to food and drink while enjoying the free beaches and handouts from wealthy tourists. Most recently, she joined the aforementioned young man in Vermont for the hemp harvest as well as a brief stay in Pittsburgh. She worked the beet harvest only in order to earn money to travel, then lived on handouts and off the grid. A second example is a man and a woman traveling together

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medical marijuana as well as hemp products such as CBD (cannabidiol, a non-psychoactive cannabinoid). States with a strict prohibition on marijuana products often still allow CBD products to be legally produced and sold under applicable licenses.

who stopped in a coastal town of Florida so that the man could work as a fishmonger and the woman at a pet day care center. Both worked only long enough to earn enough money to buy a cheap used car. At which time they continued their travels, heading north to the Carolinas and as far as Boston, Massachusetts.

Unlike their crusty counterparts, crust punks typically work to support themselves in a single location, scraping by to pay rent, bills, food and drink, as well as a modest entertainment budget. Some crust punks work as many as three or more jobs at any given time in order to sustain a precarious, yet "stable" living situation. Many of the crust punks who work multiple jobs do so not only to make a living but also to support their participation in local scenes. This is part of a DIY (do-it-yourself) independent work ethic that extends from the punk scene into everyday life. Many of the most financially precarious scene participants purposefully maintain an economic life of precarity in order to support the scene financially and fund a sort of autonomous lifestyle, either by participating in a band, screen printing band merchandise, selling band merchandise, creating a "distro" or distribution network, creating and running a record label, writing, editing and/or typesetting fanzines, promoting and booking concerts, radio/podcast hosting, or through a combination of all of the above. In his article on the Indonesian underground music scene, Sean Martin-Iverson (2012) examines the ways in which young people establish autonomous community networks and value independence in the context of precarious lives in neo-liberal, conspicuous-consumption driven urban Indonesia. It is the opposition to neoliberal forces that gives music fans a sense of independence and autonomy both within the underground scene as well as from the prevailing culture industry in Indonesia. DIY scenes, such as in Bandung, are responses to corporate and capitalist modes of production. "A small hardcore community exists at the margins of the underground scene, with strict

commitments to non-profit production and performance" (Martin-Iverson 2012, 386-87). The same can be said for North American crust punks; they too exist on the peripheries of underground punk and metal scenes. Unlike the scene in Indonesia, nobody that I have encountered tries to profit substantially from the scene. While the scene may not make them a living, it is still one of many ways people can earn compensation in the form of money, drink tickets, or a free hot meal while still participating in the scene. Participation in the scene can vary from performing in a band to selling merchandise like t-shirts, patches, compact disks, cassette tapes or even vinyl records to providing support for bands by acting as booking agent/manager, to running a record distribution center or an online merchandise shop. However, within the moral economy of the crust punk music scene, profit should never be prioritized over the maintenance and promotion of the scene, and those who are seen as only participating in order to make a profit are quickly dispelled and disavowed.

This approach is what Steven Threadgold has called "choosing poverty" in his article on DIY cultures in Australia (2018). "Young people investing themselves in DIY cultures have to negotiate the complex but normalized nexus of employment, unemployment and underemployment to make ends meet, while maintaining space in their lives to pursue their creative and artistic passions" (Threadgold 2018, 156). The same can be said of the crust punk scene in the UK and USA, the value placed on autonomy and independence is both a response to precarious lives as well as an embracing of precarity to further the values of creativity, DIY, and autonomy. By "choosing poverty" crust punks and crusty crust punks create opportunities for themselves to participate in the scene, while in some instances also gaining alternative means to address precarious situations. "Their ideas of being successful are not expressed in material terms but are contingent upon a future where they continue to have the opportunity to invest

themselves in their interests, even if that means living in relative poverty" (2018, 168). Some crust punks make precarious livings by producing and selling goods and services that are peripheral to the punk music scene, for instance, selling homemade crafts and art on Etsy or producing podcasts and utilizing their subcultural capital to draw attention to other interests and creative endeavors. Other interests range from skateboarding, taxidermy, and homesteading[25] to flying drones and selling drone parts and merchandise rebranded as uniquely "punk" by the former host/webmaster of "LATFO.com" (see Chapter One).

It is in a similar precarity that crust punk music and culture emerged in 1980s Britain. Working-class youths in Britain at the time embraced "the dole,"[26] as flexible wages and precarious jobs combined to create high unemployment. In some ways, being unemployed authenticated "their disdain of the lousy jobs on offer, a rejection caught by pop bands such as UB40" short for "Unemployment Benefit form 40" (Standing 2011, 45). This was not a widespread occurrence except in working-class areas, but it affected youth attitudes towards work. It was in these circumstances that young punks chose to drop out of society, live in squats, and refuse to work. This response to precarity is the foundation of crust punk lifestyles and music. When faced with the choice of living on "the dole" or working precarious jobs, punks chose to be crusty, they chose punk and embrace poverty, reveling in their precarity while exposing it for everyone to see as dirty, smelly, disheveled crust punks.

[25] Squatting is when a person or persons illegally occupy an abandoned or unused building. Homesteading is typically done on land that is owned or rented for the purposes of living off-grid in variety of structure types (from tents to cabins to modern day homes) while farming and/or raising livestock for the purposes of being as self-sufficient/self-sustaining as possible.
[26] "The dole" is short for the doling-out of unemployment benefits in the UK after the First World War.

Crust Punk: The Expressive Resources of the Precariat

I will now turn to a discussion of the establishment of crust punk expressive resources, including musical and lyrical content, iconography, and fashion situated within the precarious lives of crust punks. I do this to show that crust punk is defined by crustiness (and thereby precarity) and that crustiness is represented and reproduced through a musical style rooted in a combination of punk and heavy metal. My discussion of crust punk will include an introduction to punk, heavy metal, and what is called "crossover," a blend of punk and heavy metal. This section is not meant as an historical account of crust punk bands and styles (for a detailed historical account of crust punk development and how it relates to contemporary scenes see Roby 2013). Rather, I will present exemplary cases to show the development and relationship between crustiness and crossover sound. I argue that crustiness, as representative of precarity, is expressed in a variety of ways within the crust punk music scene, chief among them musical style. For instance, crust punk musical style has always been a part of what is called "crossover," the blending of metal and punk musical styles. Crossover music has become indicative of crust punk so much so that present-day crust punk bands no longer have to participate in a culture of squatting to qualify as authentically "crust" enough. Musical style is only one of the many attributes that are expressive of "crustiness." Everything from musical style and lyrical content, production values, musical equipment, political beliefs, iconography, fashion, and most importantly – lifestyles of precarity – express precarity and thereby crustiness. As I have previously outlined, the crusty, transient/squatter lifestyle is integral to crust punk, and that is true of both bands and fans. The lifestyle of crusty (dirty, transient/squatter) punks is the "crust" of crust punk, but crustiness is expressed in myriad other ways through musical associations,

fashion, and iconography. The crusty lifestyle of transiency has in turn affected crust punk music production to include unique expressive resources.

Dick Hebdige saw punk style as the bringing together of disparate styles such as glitter-rock, American garage rock, 60's "mod" fashion, R&B, northern soul, and reggae (1979). Punk scholars agree that one of the first bands to be considered "punk" were the Sex Pistols (Hebdige 1979; Laing 2015; Sabin 1999; Savage 1991). Many other bands have followed in their footsteps, and today that "original" punk style is still very much a part of popular culture around the world. Several important events happened in punk subculture that have influenced crust punk. First, punk quickly became incorporated into the "mainstream" by way of what was called "new wave," a slicker, more palatable version of punk aimed at marketability (Peterson 2009; Roby 2010). Second, the incorporation of punk into pop culture led to a backlash of punks attempting to reclaim ideological authenticity resulting in the creation of what is now commonly referred to as "hardcore punk." Hardcore punk, sometimes shortened to simply "hardcore," emerged in the United States and United Kingdom between the years 1979 to 1982 (Peterson 2009; Roby 2010; Waksman 2009). Hardcore punks sought to differentiate themselves not only from new wave but also from the nihilistic, glamorous, self-destructive punk of the Sex Pistols (Blush 2001; Roby 2010; Peterson 2009; Waksman 2009). "Punk gave lip-service to 'Do It Yourself '(D.I.Y.) and democratization of the Rock scene, but Hardcore transcended all commercial and corporate concerns" (Blush 2001, 275). DIY became an important aspect of hardcore punk; it became the dominant ideology of not only fashion and style (Hebdige 1979), but the means of production and distribution (Blush 2001; Duncombe 1997; Thompson 2004; Waksman 2009). The difficulty in discussing hardcore punk lies in the multitude of local scenes around which it initially arose. Early hardcore bands could be differentiated based on their

unique locale, such as originating on the East Coast versus West Coast of the United States and refined even finer to identification with the cities from which the bands' hailed. This is true in both American and British contexts (Blush 2001; Glasper 2004, 2006, 2009; O'Connor 2002; Peterson 2009; Roby 2010; Waksman 2009).

The discrepancy between American and UK hardcore are important to note for this discussion. The difference between the two resides in political ideology: while bands from both sides of the Atlantic were overtly political in their lyrical and iconographic statements, UK hardcore bands were aligned with what is known as "anarcho-punk." The UK hardcore bands considered anarcho-punk, are Crass, Flux of Pink Indians, and the Subhumans (ibid.), but also Discharge, the Varukers, Disorder, and Chaos UK (Von Havoc 1984). American hardcore bands most closely associated with anarchist politics were Black Flag, Dead Kennedys, and Minor Threat (Gosling 2004). "The selection of the British examples, with the exception of Crass, is a little trickier than the US examples, as a number of UK bands from this period can be seen to have a similar profile" (Gosling, 169). Crust punk began in Britain, and it was from the anarcho-punk scene that bands took their inspiration, so much so that many of the bands considered the first wave, or proto-crust, are associated with UK hardcore, anarcho-punk, and/or crust punk genres and scenes. Crustiness, as a display of precarity, was originally associated with the squat scene in the United Kingdom, transiency (in particular, train hopping) is part of the uniquely U.S. American crusty crust punk lifestyle.

In addition to being influenced by the UK hardcore punk scene, crust punk musical style also incorporated heavy metal elements. Between the years 1977-85 punk and heavy metal began to merge together into what is called "crossover" (Waksman 2009). The crossover sound, that is, heavy metal mixed with punk, actually begins with the band Motörhead, specifically their release

Overkill in 1977 (ibid.). Heavy metal comes from a much different background than early punk; heavy metal has its roots in the blues, specifically blues-rock and progressive rock, of the 1960s and 70s (ibid.). See Appendix B for a family tree showing the relationship between heavy metal, punk, and crossover. Steve Waksman in *This Ain't the Summer of Love: Conflict and Crossover in Heavy Metal and Punk* (2009) points to four key features of Motörhead that lend them a "punk credibility" of sorts: (1) the band members, bassist/vocalist Lemmy Kilmister in particular, formed the image of the band around the outlaw biker aesthetic; no frills and street tough, as opposed to the glitz and glam of heavy rock at the time. This is especially important for associations with hardcore punk that eschewed the overly glamorous fashion-oriented style espoused by early punk. Hardcore punk favored an orientation based on the ordinary, jeans and t-shirts, instead of Mohawks and fishnets (Blush 2001; Roby 2010; Peterson 2009; Waksman 2009). (2) Motörhead was met with poor reviews and little support by major record labels, necessitating the release of albums through independent record companies. (3) The name itself, "motorhead," is slang for a speed freak, or amphetamine addict. Amphetamine has ties to the working class, it was "essentially [a] *proletarian* drug" (Parsons and Burchill 1978 in Waksman 2009). (4) Most importantly it was Motörhead's signature sound, which drew a "mixed audience" of punks and rockers through "their aggressive use of noise, in the form of volume and distortion, the effects of which were heightened by the fast tempos at which the band played" (Waksman 2009).

Although Motörhead planted the seeds for metal/punk crossover as early as 1977, it was not until the second wave of punk in Britain in the 1980s, known as UK hardcore, that punk bands began incorporating heavy metal expressive resources into their sound and style. The same trend was happening in the US at the same time with drastically different results. By the 1980s,

heavy metal had already begun to splinter into multiple subgenres; the most significant of these developments was what became known as thrash metal. Thrash metal itself was a result of the blending of hardcore punk speed and ferocity with the heavy metal sounds originating in Britain marked by the sound of bands such as Black Sabbath, Motörhead, Diamond Head, Saxon, Iron Maiden, and Venom. Thrash metal bands such as Metallica, Slayer, Megadeth, Exodus, and Anthrax essentially created a new sound, modeled on the crossover sound of British heavy metal and American hardcore punk (Weinstein 2000). The flow of punk across the Atlantic was not as influential; for the most part American hardcore developed relatively autonomously from UK hardcore, more specifically British anarcho-punk (Glasper 2004, 2006, 2009). Similarly, burgeoning thrash metal bands had more impact in their American context than on the punk scene in England until the mid-80s. By that point, American hardcore bands, such as D.R.I. (or Dirty Rotten Imbeciles), Cro-mags, Agnostic Front, and Suicidal Tendencies had begun incorporating more heavy metal aesthetics into their music, creating what is now known as "crossover thrash."

In the UK, hardcore punk bands were doing the same thing as their American counterparts, however, with a different set of expressive resources. Bands such as Amebix and Antisect were blending together the sound and rhetoric of anarcho-punk bands such as Crass, Flux of Pink Indians, Discharge, and the Varukers with the (British) heavy metal sound of Motörhead and Venom (Glasper 2004, 2006, 2009; Von Havoc 1984; Wikipedia 2020). Despite their sonic differences, the two bands that are most often cited as the originators of crust punk are Amebix and Antisect (Von Havoc 1984; Wikipedia 2020).

Rising Crust

Amebix and Antisect share key characteristics for the development of a set of crust punk expressive resources. Both bands participated in squatting in the UK in the early to mid 1980s; Amebix having squatted primarily in Bristol, UK and Antisect in the London squat scene. Both bands also feature unique approaches to combining punk and heavy metal musical resources. Amebix combined post-punk and heavy metal, while Antisect incorporated elements of heavy metal music into their anarcho-punk style. Both bands released recordings through DIY and independent scene-specific record labels. Additionally, they both grew to popularity as part of the 1980s UK hardcore/anarcho-punk scene, being recognized as essential for generating crust punk music and culture.

Amebix are widely considered the godfathers of crust punk. Amebix came out of the anarcho-punk scene in Britain in the early to mid 1980s. And, although they did not consider themselves anarcho-punk, they were definitely punk, they admit to not being able to play their instruments well when brothers Rob and Chris Miller, aka the Baron and Stig, first formed the band initially called The Band with No Name in 1978 (Glasper 2006). They actively squatted in various places in Bristol, sometimes sharing space with other crust punk bands (Roya, n.d.). And, while the band members disavowed their initial involvement with anarcho-punk and/or crust punk (not considering themselves political as such), their lyrics represented a keen awareness of their precarious circumstances living as crusty squatters in 1980s Bristol, UK. As Rob Miller (vocalist and bass player) points out, songs like “Drink and be Merry” feature the negative aspects of living precariously but also the positive side, “that things can be very tough around you, but you must still seize the day and make the best that you can from it” (ibid.). In other

words, in the face of abject poverty and dystopia Amebix suggests that the listener "drink and be merry/For tomorrow we may die." The lyrics are:

"Drink and be merry/For tomorrow we may die
It's better to laugh/Than it is to cry
My cup runneth over/With blood and not wine
The last was the flood/ It's fire this time

I took a walk on the beach/No sand dunes just oil
Dead gulls and dead fish/Were trod underfoot
The sky was tinted/With yellow and black
And the air smelt/Like Dachau today

The fields were littered/With the dying and dead
Nothing grows here but decay
The village bell tolls/a priest vomits blood
Another life's wasted away

Down in the square/the party goes on
The doomed sit down to their last feast
They gorge themselves on the recently deceased
The heat of the day/the foul smell of decay
As they wait/For the inferno to be unleashed

So, drink and be merry/for tomorrow we may die
It's better to laugh/than it is to cry
Live for life's sake/don't let life pass you by
There's more worth living/Than meets the eye

So drink and be merry/For tomorrow we may die"

While Amebix songs like "Drink and be Merry" might not seem overtly political, they express the material realities of living as a crusty squatter in 1980s UK. It is through the lens of environmental degradation, disenfranchisement with society, and general ennui that they depict their apocalyptic worldview. These sentiments have been expressed numerous times among my crusty crust punk interlocutors.

Amebix were musically and lyrically different from other UK hardcore punk bands at the time. They took musical inspiration from post-punk bands like Killing Joke, Joy Division, and

Bauhaus (Pavel 2012) along with British heavy metal like Motörhead and Black Sabbath (Glasper 2006; Pavel 2012). This give Amebix a unique crossover sound unlike many of their peers in the UK hardcore/anarcho-punk scene. They combined apocalyptic imagery of black and white landscapes in their album and merchandise art, narrative-like lyrical content inspired by post-punk bands, and the DIY ethos of punk with the raw power of metal performed by Motörhead. In doing so, Amebix created a sonic template of sorts for nearly every crust punk band to follow. Their album *Arise!* (1985) is held as the epitome of crust punk, particularly Amebix-brand crust punk. *Arise!* (1985) features a blend of dark, apocalyptic imagery in the lyrics and iconography, distorted guitar sound, mid-range heavy thumping bass, Rob's grizzly vocal delivery, and poor production value, that create an icon of crust punk sound. *Monolith* (1987), the bands only other LP, released two years after *Arise!*, is hailed as a monument to crust punk sound by many (Von Havoc 2009).

Ironically, Amebix were never interested in making anarcho-punk or crust punk music (Glasper 2006). They were much more interested in trying to recreate their favorite post-punk sounds while living as squatters. The fact that they are now pigeonholed into being the godfathers of crust punk is both a blessing and a curse. As Rob "the Baron" Miller points out in an interview, Amebix, and many of the bands coming out of the same scene at the same time, simply did the same things that they did: played the music they wanted to play, sang about topics that interested them without regard to larger political implications, and lived their lives the way they wanted to live. It was only after several years of removal and distance before the meanings attributed to the band, the sound, the lyrics, and the iconography would come to stand for what is considered the Amebix model, the basis for crust punk (Rob Miller interviewed by Pavel 2012). This is in contrast to the crust punk bands that came after Amebix and Antisect that were

explicitly political, picking up on the themes expressed by early crust punk purveyors and deliberately including them as part of the crust punk package. The layers of meaning the crust punk community have sedimented upon Amebix has created fixed conceptions, not only of what the band is, but also what crust punk can and should be. So much so that, after a twenty-year hiatus and return to making music, the band's most recent release, *Sonic Mass* (2011), was met with mixed reception, with many fans decrying the album as "not what they expected" or that it "doesn't sound like Amebix" in online forums, blogs, and music websites. One possible explanation for fans' backlash is that the band no longer lives under precarious conditions, as Stig (guitarist) remarks, "we aren't like we used to be, when we just practiced a couple of times a week in the squat" (Dunlap 2011). Another possible explanation is that the production value of the music on *Sonic Mass* (2011) is more sophisticated and polished when compared to the band's earlier output. The recording sounds professional with good separation of instruments and voice in the mix, solid performances captured, and an appropriate, industry-standard loudness level. Rob attributes the differences between the quality of Amebix's earlier recordings and *Sonic Mass* (2011) to the fact that "nowadays we are playing with a professional drummer, who is also a producer and engineer. Roy [the drummer/producer/engineer] has brought a lot more focus and discipline into the way we are writing as well as understanding the landscapes that we were always trying to portray [in the music]" (Reflections of Darkness 2012). *Sonic Mass* (2011) is precisely the type of album, the sound, the music, and the production value that Amebix would have created in the mid 1980s, if they had had the technical and musical proficiency, as well as the money to do so. However, *Sonic Mass* (2011) still features post-punk sensibilities combined with a metal-punk crossover sound to create a uniquely Amebix album.

Antisect is perhaps the best band to contrast Amebix, since the two are often cited by crust punks as being crucial to the establishment of crust punk sound (Von Havoc 2009; Wikipedia 2020[27]). Antisect initially played in a much more straight-ahead punk style, specifically the anarcho-punk style of UK hardcore as codified by bands such as Discharge, the Varukers, UK Subs, all by way of the anarchist politics of earlier anarcho-punk bands like Crass and Flux of Pink Indians. In fact, their first album *In Darkness There Is No Choice* (1983) was released by Flux of Pink Indians' independent record label Spiderleg Records. That first album is still considered an anarcho-punk mainstay, but the sound is much closer to a grittier, more distorted version of anarcho-punk made popular by the band Discharge. It is actually on their second release, the two-song EP *Out from the Void* (1985) that Antisect set themselves apart from the UK hardcore scene by mixing anarcho-punk with metal influence. The differences between the two albums are significant, while the distorted guitar sound did not change, the guitar playing changed from stereotypical three-chord punk to chugging metal riffs. Along with the change in guitar technique both the drums and the vocals took on a more metal quality, the drums having switched from a syncopated D-beat to a straight snare/bass metal style of playing. The vocals also took on a growled, gruffer, performance, as opposed to the slack-jawed, snotty, snarl of stereotypical punk delivery.

Unlike Amebix, who took inspiration from post-punk, Antisect exhibit only heavy metal and anarcho-punk influences. And, although Antisect's lyrical content reflects the bleakness common in UK hardcore, there is no trace of the "dark" hardcore or post-punk apocalyptic imagery as expressed in Amebix's music. Instead, Antisect relies on anti-war imagery and vague

[27] I use Wikipedia as an online, vernacular source since it is created by volunteer creators. I cite Wikipedia in tandem with other sources for accuracy as well as to support my own personal knowledge of information.

"us against them" themes that had become well established in anarcho-punk. *Out from the Void* (1985) consists of two parts "Out from the Void Part I" on Side A and "Out from the Void Part II" on Side B of a 7-inch Extended Play (EP) vinyl record. The album is presented one continuous whole, with neither "part" or song labeled on the back cover. Instead, the lyrics to "Part I" are presented in the left column with the lyrics to "Part II" presented in the right column of the back cover. The lyrics in both parts are vague, referencing feelings of fear, anxiety, and aloneness, as well as being trapped in by an oppressive system. The lyrics of both parts switch between positionalities blurring the lines between hatred of self and hatred of others, despite being in second person point of view. It is unclear if the "you" mentioned in the lyrics is meant to be the listener or the "you" the band and listeners are deriding. This is especially true of the lyrics in "Part I." The lyrics to "Out from the Void Part II" seem to be focused outwardly:

"Caught in the web of the shit you create/Seen it before, yet you still take the bait
Hope/Future/Poisoned by fear

Secure in the vacuum that sits in your mind/Too fucking frightened to see what's outside
Hope/Future/Poisoned by fear

Down in the depths of the void you remain/Breaking the rules but still playing the game
Hope/Future/Poisoned by fear

Anguish/Screaming/Tears shed make whirlpools in rivers of blood
Along in the crossfire/Fear tearing at your heart
Close your eyes/Nothing is seen/Except the darkness

Desperately you cling/To your illusions of security found in layers of "wealth"
Turning away from the carnage/But you'll never escape/'Cos it's real
Close your eyes/Nothing is seen/Accept the Darkness[28]"

[28] The line "accept the darkness" is as it is shown on the original record sleeve, however, it sounds more like "except darkness" on the recording. There are discrepancies between the lyrics as they were printed on the record sleeve and how they sound, but this could be due to the poor production value of the recording or to last minute changes in performance.

Musically, *Out from the Void* (1985) is "metal played by punks," with metal-like guitar riffs featured heavily throughout both Parts I and II. The album features poor production value, dirty, gritty, overly distorted guitar, and a grizzly, semi-growled vocal delivery. Two bands, two albums, Amebix's *Arise!* (1985) and Antisect's *Out from the Void* (1985) would set the tone for crust punk, inspiring countless bands in their wake. Although both bands were initially relatively short lived (Amebix 1978-1987; Antisect 1982-1987) two other bands, Hellbastard and Deviated Instinct, came out of the same UK hardcore scene and solidified the crust punk crossover sound, style, rhetoric, and iconography.

Developing a Crust: Metal Played by Punks

The bands that would take inspiration from Amebix and Antisect would go on to solidify crust punk expressive resources. "Crust punk" was not a term associated with Amebix and Antisect during their most influential early-period careers. The first time the term "crust" was used in print was on Hellbastard's 1986 demo *Rippercrust*. The term "ripper" in the title stands for "ripping" or thrashing metal style, while "crust" indicates their identification with the anarcho-punk culture squatting and being crusty. *Rippercrust* (1986) has become indicative of the crossover sound of UK hardcore and heavy metal that has become the basis of crust punk. Hellbastard took inspiration from Amebix, Antisect, and Discharge, as well as the heavy metal of Hellhammer and Venom. They combined the sound of heavy metal with the lyrics and politics of anarcho-punk bands (Glasper 2009). "Hellbastard were always punks playing metal, as opposed to metalheads playing punk" (Scruff interviewed in Glasper 2009, 183).

The same year that Hellbastard released *Rippercrust*, the band Deviated Instinct released their demo entitled *Terminal Filth Stenchcore* (1986). The term "stenchcore" referenced the "core" of the UK hard-"core" punk scene, while "terminal," "filth," and "stench" referred to the

band's bleak, morbid, and dirty sound along with their crusty look and bodily odors. *Terminal Filth Stenchcore* (1986) means "terminal," or deadly, crust punk style. Deviated Instinct's musical style was born out of the precarious existences lived by band members along with their musical influences and embodied practices. Being crusty was a choice, it was an embodied way of representing poverty and precarity; as described above, crust punks let everyone know exactly who they were through their look and often smell. Deviated Instinct were inspired by many of the same bands that Hellbastard mention, such as Venom, Motörhead, Hellhammer, as well as Amebix and Antisect (ibid.). Like Hellbastard and many bands at the time, Deviated Instinct were directly aligned with the anarcho-punk scene, incorporating anarchist political beliefs with the sounds of heavy metal music. As Leggo, the vocalist for the band puts it, "metal *was* a big influence, we loved the music, but hated all the rather childish Satanic, cock-rock ideas that came with it…" (2009, 286). Instead, they mixed the sounds of heavy metal music with the politics and punk bravado of anarcho-punk to create a new crossover sound that came to be known as crust punk.

Hellbastard's vocalist/guitarist Scruff says, "A lot of people say we started the crust-punk [sic] genre, but whatever…if they want to say that, I don't mind, but I'm certainly no Malcolm McLaren,[29] claiming I invented something I didn't. We all knew something was up though when *Smash Hits* [a teen pop music magazine] had this free sticker booklet with it one week, and one of the stickers said, 'No Crusties Allowed!'" (Scruff interviewed in Glasper 2009). Crust, or crusties, was established in the imaginary of British popular culture by the mid 1980s, what makes this significant is that crustiness had become synonymous with not just dirty, unwashed

[29] Malcom McLaren was the Sex Pistols' original manager and promoter who apparently claimed to have invented punk rock.

people, but particularly punks that were part of the squat movement in Britain (as well as the rest of Europe and the US) at the time. This close association between crust punk and squatter culture is what made Amebix "crust punk" before there was a name for it. Amebix spent a majority of the life of the band squatting in Bristol, UK. Likewise, as part of the anarcho-punk scene, Antisect spent time squatting in various locations in London, as well as while touring Western Europe. Part of Deviated Instinct's style, which they called "stenchcore" centered on the fact that the band was formed when two members moved from one squat into another, connecting with Leggo, who would become the band's vocalist, which would solidify the bands style around their collective stench. All the foundational bands of crust punk embodied anarcho-punk political practices, such as squatting, while combining both heavy metal and hardcore punk musical styles. Those two attributes: squatting (being crusty) and playing crossover music formed the basis for crust punk music and culture.

The connection between squatting and playing a crossover style of metal and punk was so strong that it was *the* determining factor for inclusion in the growing 1980s UK "crust" scene. For example, the band Axegrinder, who emerged from the same scene, at the same time, as Hellbastard, was accused of not being crusty enough by other scene participants (Glasper 2009). "Musically [Axegrinder] were initially influenced by Frost, Hellbastard, [Black] Sabbath, Antisect (*Out from the Void*-era), while lyrically…coming very much from the anarcho-punk perspective: anti-war, anti-religion, vegetarianism, etc." (335, 2009). Axegrinder played crossover style music which was influenced by both metal (Black Sabbath and Frost) and UK hardcore like Antisect and the "Rippercrust" of Hellbastard. However, they were not considered "crusty" enough not because of their musical influences but because they did not live in a squat, they actually rehearsed, and they refrained from getting "blind drunk" before performing live

(339, 2009). In short, Axegrinder did not reflect the lived precarity that had become tied to authentic crust punk; they did not "choose poverty" by crusty crust punk standards. However, by today's standards, Axegrinder are regarded as integral part of early crust punk. In spite of being accused of not being crusty enough, the band, although short-lived, is an influential part of modern crust punk sound precisely because of their crossover style.

Crust punks' approach to fashion was a result of the squatter lifestyle coupled with the biker, street tough, sartorial aesthetic performed by Motörhead as part of their "not quite punk," "not quite metal" image. Crust punk fashion was equally informed by UK hardcore punk style, the biker-look of bands like Motörhead and Venom, as well as pragmatism of the squatter lifestyle. It is important to note that elements of this style were also featured by Amebix and Antisect. Amebix in particular had a unique metal/punk crossover look that defied trends in UK hardcore, while referencing Sex Pistol era punk and the Motörhead biker image. Antisect on the

other hand are often seen as bringing to the fore the all-black dress-code introduced by anarcho punk band Crass. For an example of this see Figure 4 and 5 below.

Figure 4 - Crass live wearing all black[30]

[30] Crass live. Unknown author and date. https://punk.fandom.com/wiki/Crass

Figure 5 - Antisect live wearing all black[31]

Just as the fashion and iconography of crust punk was being conventionalized so was the sound. Deviated Instinct and Hellbastard both have the overly distorted guitar, bass-heavy, wall of sound and noise similar to that used by Motörhead and Venom, which is combined with the dense textures and atmospheres favored by Amebix. They both also play in a very heavy metal style, with palm-muted guitar riffs and heavy metal drum patterns reminiscent of Antisect's *Out from the Void* (1985) EP (or Extended Play). Both Deviated Instinct and Hellbastard also feature the gruff, growled vocal delivery, however, Deviated Instinct's earlier releases featured two vocalists, Leggo (vocals) and Mid (guitar/vocals), with Mid offering a snarling snotty mid-range

[31] Antisect live. Unknown author and date. https://64.media.tumblr.com/tumblr_m1i166oqso1r5x2sjo2_500.jpg

punk counterpoint to Leggo's low-pitched roar. Bands were finding innovative ways to utilize both metal and punk expressive resources to create the crossover sound of crust punk music.

By the early to mid-1980s, heavy metal's landscape was undergoing drastic changes, mostly in the United States. American bands, such as Metallica, Slayer, Exodus, Anthrax, and Megadeth, were combining the sounds of New Wave of British Heavy Metal (or NWOBHM; a style of heavy metal originating in the UK featuring the second generation of heavy metal) bands with American hardcore punk speed and ferocity. While many of the NWOBHM bands that inspired American heavy metal in the 1980s were influenced by British punk and hardcore, their American progeny would further the punk influence, creating what is now known as "thrash metal." The term "thrash" began as a signifier for the increase in speed and tempo utilized by both metal and hardcore punk bands. Bands like Metallica and Slayer pushed the envelope of heavy metal speed, citing hardcore bands as influencing their sound in interviews and even recorded covers of their favorite hardcore songs. During this time period in the 1980s many hardcore and metal bands in America were essentially doing the same as their British counterparts, blending existing hardcore punk and heavy metal expressive resources to create something new. Just as British hardcore bands, like Discharge, had inspired crust punk bands like Deviated Instinct and Antisect, American hardcore bands influenced the scene in the United States. Crossover thrash became the American counterpart to British crust punk. Both genres mixed the latest developments in heavy metal style with the most recent developments in hardcore punk to create a crossover subgenre with unique aesthetics. Not every American band followed the same trends, however, and the relatively obscure at the time, British hardcore scene influenced one band in particular: Nausea.

American Style Crust

The band Nausea began life in 1985 amidst the squat scene in New York City. Because of their lifestyle of living in a squat, the band featured a quickly changing cast of musicians and singers. Nausea's earlier line-up was influenced by anarcho-punk bands like Crass, UK hardcore such as Discharge, the heavy metal sounds of Black Sabbath and Venom, as well as crust progenitors, Amebix (Nausea 2004). By the time the band solidified their line-up and style, their sound was equal parts "Discharge, Crass, Black Sabbath, Slayer, and Pink Floyd" (ibid). Nausea stood apart from the other hardcore and metal bands in the United States. Their sound was heavier and more metallic than their American hardcore contemporaries, but it was also slower, darker, and more anarcho-punk influenced than many of the crossover and hardcore punk bands at the time. Unlike their American contemporaries, they took cues from the British hardcore and crust punk scene rather than from American hardcore bands. For instance, they emulated Crass's use of dual vocalists, originally featuring Neil Robinson (later replaced by Al Long of Misery) and Amy Miret. Their politics also emulated the British anarcho-punk scene more so than American hardcore bands by focusing explicitly on anarchism. Nausea expressed their anarcho-punk influences by promoting anarcho-punk subject matter ranging from environmental issues, economics, war, human extinction, commercialism, animal rights, and veganism or vegetarianism. This collection of political concerns set crust punk apart from the other trends in hardcore punk from the mid-1980s through the 90s. Hardcore bands, particularly in the United States, espoused a similar but different set of ideologies much more concerned with personal responsibility and empowerment, emotions, and what is known as the "straightedge" movement. Straightedge has a long and complicated history but can be summed up succinctly for the purposes of this discussion as a movement within punk that is concentrated around sober

living[32]. In their view, straightedge punks view the world with clearer heads, unencumbered by chemical intoxication. The important difference between straightedge and crust punk is simple: crust punks drink and do drugs, straightedge punks abstain from alcohol, drugs, and in some cases even sex. Nausea were not straightedge punk, they were squatting, crusty crust punks.

Nausea's first record release coincided with the creation of Profane Existence, a punk collective formed in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Profane Existence was put together by local Minneapolis punks for the initial purpose of funding and distributing the music of the burgeoning American anarcho-punk/crust punk/hardcore scene. Nausea's first LP, *Extinction*, was not released until 1990 on vinyl. By this time however, Nausea had created a name for themselves by touring extensively with other New York hardcore bands and aligning themselves with the squat movement in 1980s New York City. *Extinction* (1990) melds crossover thrash guitar riffs with dirge-like introductions. However, Nausea was not afraid to show the breadth of their musical influences. For instance, the song "Sacrifice" breaks into a ska/reggae style mid-section seemingly at odds with the rest of the song's crossover style. Overall, however, Nausea created hardcore punk music, in the vein of early British crust punk, with thrash metal playing techniques, such as palm-muted 16th notes punctuated by power chords. *Extinction* (1990) set the stage for more experimental, open-ended, inclusive generic resources in crust punk. Throughout their career Nausea pushed the sonic boundaries of what crust punk could be considered. They were, and still are, one of the most influential crust punk bands to have come upon the scene, a name that has become as ubiquitous as Amebix in modern crust punk.

[32] For more on straight edge punk see Ross Haenfler's book *Straight Edge: Clean-living Youth, Hardcore Punk, and Social Change* (2006) and Francis Stewart's *Punk Rock is My Religion: Straight Edge Punk and 'Religious Identity'* (2017).

With the creation of the record label and distributer Profane Existence, a different form of hardcore had an outlet. Modeled after anarcho-punk collectives in Britain, which were started by bands like Crass and Flux of Pink Indians, Profane Existence gave American crust punk bands the opportunity to share their music with a broader audience (Thompson 2004). The band called Misery, from Minneapolis, Minnesota took inspiration from fellow American crust punk like Nausea. Misery combined the politics and rhetoric of anarcho-punk with an updated crossover crust punk sound. Misery's music exhibits thrash-metal influence, featuring down-tuned guitars playing in a more "metal," technically oriented fashion, as opposed to the power chords of many hardcore bands at the time. Misery became one of *the* defining crust punk bands in Minneapolis in the mid to late-80s. This time period, between the late-80s and early-90s, would mark the rise and dissemination of crust punk music in the United States. The early 1980s saw regionally defined hardcore punk scenes wax and wane in places like New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., and California. However, by the late-80s there was a rise in regional crust scenes across the United States.

Rolling Out the Crust

Crust punk as a musical genre became associated with scenes that coalesced around regional record labels, distributors, bands, and fan infrastructures. In the Midwest (Minnesota/Wisconsin) there was Misery and Destroy!; in the Northeast (New York City and Boston), Nausea and Disrupt; in the southern United States, Antischism; and in northern California, the early work of Neurosis. Many crust punk bands in the late-80s in the United States existed alongside and in conjunction with the larger network of hardcore punk scenes. Profane Existence quickly became just one of many hardcore punk distributors and scene contributors. Multiple record labels, 'zines, and collectives, like Havoc Records, Prank Records,

and CrimethInc, cropped up around the United States. An underground infrastructure was created to support the burgeoning crust punk and hardcore bands that followed the decline of the more traditional hardcore punk scenes based around New York, Boston, California, and Washington D.C (for more on the hardcore punk scene see Blush 2001). Bands no longer needed to be from a squat to make claims of crust punk authenticity. Similarly, it is at this point in history that train-hopping and transiency surpass squatting as a key part of the crusty crust punk lifestyle in the U.S. A band's involvement in the growing scene as well as use of appropriate anarcho-punk/metal crossover musical style became the defining feature of crust punk by the mid to late-1980s. The associations between crustiness and crossover had become solidified by that point in history.

At the same time as the United States was experiencing the explosion of hardcore/metal crossover, further changes were happening in Britain regarding the crust punk crossover sound. By the mid-80s hardcore punk in Britain was evolving into what is now called "grindcore," extremely fast hardcore punk with the incorporation of death metal techniques. Death metal evolved from thrash metal, featuring increased technical virtuosity, musical complexity, and speed. The vocal techniques of low, guttural, often incomprehensible delivery, along with down-tuned, mid-scooped guitar tone,[33] focused around the melodic and pentatonic minor scales originated with death metal musical style. Grindcore blended the playing techniques of death metal with the political leanings of hardcore punk. Many crust punk bands from the 1980s are seen as forebears of the grindcore genre. In fact, the relationship between modern crust punk and

[33] Mid-scooped guitar tone refers to the practice of guitar players setting their amplifier tone controls so that the mid-range frequency is lower, or scooped, when compared to the bass and high frequency controls. It is referred to as "scooped" because it resembles a smiley face shape on a graphic equalizer. This can be achieved by either simply lowering the middle frequencies or boosting both the low and high frequencies.

grindcore is still a matter of distinction based on an individual's personal definition. Some bands, such as Extreme Noise Terror, choose to simply call themselves a hardcore band, forgoing labels such as crust punk, grindcore, stenchcore, and others, in favor of clarity and a desire to avoid categorization. The British crust punk band Doom (sometimes seen stylized as "DooM") play a punk-inflected version of grindcore that recalls the "punks playing metal" of earlier crust pioneers Hellbastard and Deviated Instinct. The music played by Doom sounds like hardcore punk with the speed of thrash, and the down-tuned, overly distorted guitars of death metal. They were inspired by earlier anarcho-punk bands, like Discharge, as well as anarcho-punk like Rudimentary Peni and Crass "with added bits of thrash" from Napalm Death and MDC. Doom "mixed anarcho-punk ethics with a much less metallic Discharge-influenced punk-style sound" to create a crossover sound that blurred the lines between crust punk and grindcore (Glasper 2009, 26). Unlike the emerging grindcore style, however, the guitar technique follows the use of power chords in fast succession, as was typical for British hardcore punk at the time, only faster. Doom's vocal sound is reminiscent of the earlier crust punk bands like Deviated Instinct, with a lower pitched growl and a cleaner mid-range shout. What sets Doom apart from their predecessors, however, is their utilization of metal/punk crossover speed. Doom's 1989 EP *Police Bastard* showcases the difference between the dirge-like heavy metal chug of a band like Deviated Instinct and the speed and intensity of what was to become grindcore.

During the same time period bands like Doom were pushing the sonic boundaries of hardcore and metal in the United Kingdom. Extreme Noise Terror along with Napalm Death helped popularize, not only the grindcore sound, but also what would become the latest in crust expressive resources. Napalm Death encapsulates what it means to be "grindcore," a term that was used to describe their specific brand of hardcore that utilized break-neck speed (often 180

plus beats per minute), “blast-beat” drum-patterns, “grinding” guitar distortion, and death metal style guttural vocal delivery. Grindcore, like crossover, is a combination of the latest heavy metal musical progressions and UK hardcore punk lyrics which express radical political ideologies. See Appendix B for a diagram outlining the relationship between genres like grindcore, thrash metal, crossover, and crust punk. Napalm Death emerged from the same British hardcore scene as Extreme Noise Terror (E.N.T.) paying tribute to Discharge, Crass, and others. What makes E.N.T. a crust band and not a grindcore band is the fact that, unlike many grindcore bands, at the time they did not evolve into the “cleaner” more technically precise metal-oriented style of playing as evident in the performance techniques of groups like Napalm Death. Bands such as Napalm Death and Carcass began their careers in the UK anarcho-punk scene playing UK hardcore style music. However, as the bands’ technical proficiency and interests outside of anarcho-punk progressed, their sound took on a more death metal sound, sonically separating them from the existing hardcore and crust punk scene. In addition, while Extreme Noise Terror helped create the grindcore sound, Napalm Death pushed the envelope of speed and song brevity to new heights. Most Extreme Noise Terror songs’ duration ranges from a minute to four minutes. In stark contrast, the sheer speed and succinctness of Napalm Death earned them the Guinness Book of World records for shortest recorded song ever for “You Suffer” from *Scum* (1987), lasting only 1.316 seconds (Grow 2009).

By the mid-1990s crust punk as a genre had exploded with surfeit expressive resources. At this point, any variety of heavy metal, from the blues-heavy groove of Black Sabbath to the intense speed and style of death metal, could be crossed over with hardcore and/or anarcho-punk. The sheer diversity in expressive resources available to emerging crust punk musicians had evolved to include a host of descriptive names and identifiers specifying lineages across metal

and punk. Crust punk bands from the mid-1990s onward could pull inspiration from and emulate the sounds and styles of any of the previous incarnations of crust punk that came before them. Some bands continued the trend of constantly shifting and transgressing previously established genre styles, others crystallized around the expressive resources found in earlier forms, still others blended multiple crust punk expressive resources to create their own unique sound. The evolution of crust punk in the 1990s follows the same pattern as earlier crust punk, bands combined the latest sounds from extreme metal with hardcore punk aesthetics, ideologies, and performance practices.

Just as early crust pioneers, such as Deviated Instinct and Hellbastard, blended then current heavy metal with anarcho-punk, contemporary bands incorporate everything from death metal, grindcore, and/or black metal. Black metal expressive resources include raspy, high pitched screeched vocals, tremolo-picked guitar melodies and an emphasis on Satanic themes and bleak or grim atmospheres over guitar riffs and virtuosity. The first band to experiment with black metal techniques was Black Kronstadt, a crust band from Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. The band recorded only a few EPs and one LP. Their 1996 LP, *The Free Spirit*, consists of lyrics informed by anarcho-punk political ideology mixed with the sounds of anarcho-punk and crust punk with moments of black metal tremolo picked guitar lines. Members of Black Kronstadt would go on to form Iskra,[34] the band that many contemporary critics and fans attribute to creating what is known as "blackened crust," the term "blackened" is used to denote

[34] Both band names, Iskra and Black Kronstadt, are references to Bolshevik/Anarchist history. Black Kronstadt is a reference to the Kronstadt rebellion of 1921, during which Soviet sailors and civilians rebelled against the local Bolshevik government demanding various reforms, such as the inclusion of socialist and anarchist groups in soviet councils. The term "Black" affixed to Kronstradt is meant as an identifier of "blackened" crust as well as the symbol of the anarchist black flag. Iskra (in English: "The Spark") was a Russian underground anti-Tsarist newspaper (1900-05) that advocated for political freedom and socialist revolution.

the influence of "black" metal in their music, hence "blackened crust" punk. Iskra's brand of blackened crust punk has garnered much more attention than that of Black Kronstadt because of their self-titled 2004 release by Profane Existence which reached a much larger fan base. For all intents and purposes, they are an anarcho-punk band playing in the style of early black metal. Iskra has two vocalists (as inspired by anarcho-punk band Crass), both perform in a high-pitched, raspy, unintelligible, black metal style.

Other contemporary bands verge on crossing generic boundaries. Many contemporary crust punk bands, such as Mass Grave from Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, play a style of crust punk associated with grindcore. What keeps Mass Grave from completely becoming a grindcore band is their inclusion of other musical styles such as doom[35] and black metal. Many of their songs incorporate slow, groove-heavy breakdowns, interrupting the fast-paced onslaught of blast-beats and grinding guitar. Similarly, the band Stormcrow from Oakland, California, played a contemporary style of crust punk that sounds so much like death metal they once performed at extreme metal festivals and concert venues, such as the Maryland Death Fest, as readily as if they were a death metal band. These examples show that crust punk has become divorced from specific local scene developments and generic conventions yet, can be described in those terms because of the scene specific qualities created in early more isolated circumstances. The diverse crossover sound of crust punk is a direct result of continued evolution of both parent genres, as well as developments within crust punk itself.

[35] Doom metal is a genre of metal that emulates the slow tempo, blues rock style of certain songs by some of the earliest heavy metal bands such as Black Sabbath. Doom metal has evolved to incorporate metal aesthetics from death metal but remains true to slow tempos, blues-based guitar riffs fixated on minor pentatonic scales, and lyrics that feature themes dealing with death, dread, fear, and a feeling of impending "doom," hence the name of the genre.

Folk Punk: Crust, Unplugged

Just as some bands were combining extreme metal styles with hardcore or anarcho-punk to create crust punk, others decided to completely disregard genre conventions in favor of more practical music making approaches to fit with their lifestyles. Since the beginning crust punk has been intimately tied to lifestyles of squatting, and crusty embodied practices. Crust punk as a genre originated with bands like Amebix, Antisect, Hellbastard, Deviated Instinct, and Nausea, all of which participated in localized squat scenes. American crusty crust punks, however, live different lifestyles that emphasize both squatting and more importantly a culture of traveling and transiency. Because of their lifestyles traveling, squatting, and extreme poverty, many crusty crust punks cannot or do not attempt to buy electric instruments, find rehearsal spaces, and/or establish bands in the typical punk rock format. Instead, traveling crusty crust punks, already well-versed in busking and performing with acoustic instruments on the street combined their musical talents with their love of crust punk music to create "folk punk." The crust punk version of folk punk bands are not to be confused with the folk punk music made by bands like The Pogues in early 1980s Britain who combined punk rock with "folk" music in the form of Irish traditional fiddle tunes and song styles. Those folk punk bands play a mixture of electric instruments with amplified "folk" instrumentation such as fiddle, tin whistle, accordion, and/or any instruments associated with traditional musics from around the world. For example, The Pogues blend Irish traditional folk music with punk rock by mixing Irish Traditional tunes (or the approximation of those types of melodies) played on tin whistle and accordion with the rock band instrumentation of guitar, bass, and drums. Similarly, the band Gogol Bordello combine brass instruments, accordion, and fiddle playing eastern European, melodic minor-style motifs over punk rock and ska arrangements to create a "gypsy punk" sound influenced by the

founder's Romani heritage and background. In contrast, US American crust punk folk punk bands do not incorporate traditional or "folk" music as a style, rather they only use acoustic "folk" instruments because they lack amplified instruments and have no other means of making typical punk rock music.

Folk punk, as played by crusty crust punks, grew from the practice of busking by transient crusty punk musicians. They utilize acoustic guitars, banjos, mandolins, washtub bass, accordion, washboard (as percussion), and any or all instruments that do not require amplification. Crusty crust punks combined crust punk crossover musical leanings with "folk" performance practices to create a new musical style. The band responsible for popularizing these crusty "folk" punk expressive resources is Blackbird Raum. The members of Blackbird Raum all met each other through the Santa Cruz squat scene, all of them having been crusty crust punk transients. Blackbird Raum initially began as a revolving group of squatters and anarchist punks, who would participate in music-making when in each other's presence, which depended upon individuals 'transient lifestyles. Blackbird Raum eventually coalesced into a coherent band with members playing banjo, mandolin, accordion, washboard, and washtub bass. They combine a crust punk intensity with Americana-influenced folk inspired by jug band style music.

Caspian (vocals, banjo, washtub bass, and fiddle) explains that they had met The Sour Mash Hug Band while hopping trains, traveling from Oakland, CA to New Orleans, LA. They were inspired by the sound and style of The Sour Mash Hug Band but, "wanted to sing about [their] life squatting, the books [he] was reading, [his] weird ideas, politics. [And, that he] wanted to incorporate themes from underground metal and punk music" (Carnes 2013). Mars (mandolin and vocals) realized after meeting the Sour Mash Jug Band and hearing about Caspian's experience traveling with them that as travelers and squatters they themselves could be

"super excited about the idea of being able to include music in our lives in a more serious way" (ibid.). Zack (accordion and vocals) attributes the people and cultural environment of Santa Cruz for helping establish the band because otherwise, "the music was too folky to be punk, but too angry and abrasive to fit in with a more new-age scene" (ibid.).

Blackbird Raum's specific lifestyle choices forced them to embrace acoustic instruments and folk musical stylings. Zack, explains that they "played acoustic because we didn't have electricity, we didn't have vehicles to haul huge amps and drum sets around, we couldn't afford electric instruments, and we needed to busk to make ends meet. It's hard to busk with an electric guitar" (ibid.). Necessity really is the mother of invention in the case of folk punk. In many ways, the accessibility afforded by musicians to be able to create their own "folk" punk music harkens back to the DIY principles originally associated with punk rock. Anyone with any instrument and a voice can create "folk punk," and many do. Blackbird Raum quickly gained celebrity status in the underground crust punk scene, garnering attention for their unique blend of crust punk with folk aesthetics. They also opened doors for a variety of musicians under the rubrics of "punk," "folk," "crust," and "anarchist." Currently there is an abundance of folk punk bands and solo acts, so much so, that they have splintered into their own scene, one now distinct yet still related to local crust punk scenes.

Folk punk music, like crust punk, is a bricolage of styles. For instance, folk punk artists run the gamut from the harsh, fast, sounds of crust punk to more sedate singer-songwriter artists akin to Bob Dylan and other "folk" artists from the 1960s. Bands like Hail Seizures play a version of crust punk, hardcore punk, and their own unique interpretation of extreme metal on guitars, cello, violin, and drums. The cello, violin, and guitar riffs allude to punk and extreme metal, with tremolo-picked guitar and tremolo-bowed passages on violin that mimic death and

black metal performance techniques executed in tandem with fast, intense rhythms on a snare and bass drum. This is in contrast to the singer-songwriter style employed by Pat "the Bunny" under different monikers such as Pat "the Bunny" or when he appears with a variety of recording musicians, some featured in multiple bands, others only in certain groups, and operating under names such as Johnny Hobo and the Freight Trains, The Sad Joys, and Wingnut Dishwashers Union. Pat "the Bunny" also has played in Ramshackle Glory, his younger brother's anarcho-punk band. Like Blackbird Raum, these bands all featured a variety of musicians performing saxophone, banjo, guitar, drums, cello, trumpet, washtub bass, piano, clarinet, harmonica, accordion, bass guitar, and vocals. Instruments such as piano are not mobile, but some bands will travel make do with keyboard-related instruments, like the melodica. It's surprising what musicians are able to carry while being transient. For instance, the broomstick, string, and washtub that make up a washtub bass can be strapped to a backpack when traveling. Unlike strictly acoustic acts such as Blackbird Raum and Hail Seizures, however, Pat "the Bunny" and associated groups did not shy away from using amplified instruments and the group Ramshackle Glory, although closely associated with folk punk, did not play acoustic instruments but are still considered "folk punk."[36]

Some folk punk bands conform more closely to the crusty crust punk model of strictly acoustic instruments because of their lifestyle and access. But even though these bands prefer to

[36] This can be likened to when Bob Dylan "went electric." Bob Dylan had established himself as an acoustic folk musician, some of his fans were confused and even furious that he switched to playing electric guitar with a full rock-style backing band. The same has happened in folk punk, some bands, even though they play electric instruments, have become considered "folk punk" despite breaking with accepted folk instrumentation. Some folk punks argue that they are still "folk" despite their use of electric instruments and amplification, others qualify them as something else entirely. The same can be said of Bob Dylan, was he still "folk" after going electric? In my opinion, it is a highly contested matter that is not my determination to make.

play unplugged, they incorporate an assortment of musical styles. Blackbird Raum was influenced by jug band music, whereas Dayz N 'Daze[37] playing with nearly the same ensemble sound more like emo,[38] punk, and indie music. Meanwhile, groups like Profane Sass, feature singer-songwriter compositions originally performed on the street for busking purposes. Folk punk currently has become such a catchall phrase in the scene that many bands like Andrew Jackson Jihad are considered folk punk despite the fact that they typically play amplified instruments in conjunction with acoustic guitars, double bass, cello, and keyboards. Like crust punk, the lifestyle, the lyrical subject matter, and anarchist politics are more important for determining whether a band or singer is "folk punk" than the actual genre conventions that they integrate into their sound. I have included a brief discussion of it here because those folk punk bands associated with the crust punk music, crusty crust punk lifestyles, and anarchist politics have become integral to the overall crust punk scene.

Conclusion

The term "crust" stands in for an identifier of lived experience, of being crusty, living in a squat; to be called a crust punk is to wear precarity on your sleeve. Many crust punk bands and fans call themselves "crust punk" for political reasons. The crust punk scene has a specific genealogy and aligning oneself with that culture and those everyday practices differentiates a crust punks and crusty crust punks from hardcore punks or extreme metalheads. Crust punk differs from those musical genres and scenes because of its blend of "crossover" style musical characteristics as well as political beliefs, performance practices, and embodied knowledges.

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[37] Dayz N' Daze can be represented as "Dayz N Daze" or "Dayz N' Daze," however I have never seen it 'correctly' punctuated as "Dayz 'N' Daze" as of this writing.
[38] "Emo" punk is a punk subgenre related to hardcore punk that focused on personal and emotional song content. Similarly, indie music is a style of rock that developed independent of major record labels, sometimes also referred to as "alternative rock."

Crust punk, specifically the shortened version "crust," has become an adjective in the musical world to signifying a collection of "crossover" styles characteristic of crust punk. The term "crusty" means to be physically crusty reflecting the precarious lives lived by punk adherents, but that crustiness is represented through a distinct set of musical criteria. For example, the black metal band Darkthrone's last three albums have sounded more crust punk than black metal by utilizing punk-like guitar techniques and featuring an absence of metal-style guitar riffs, while incorporating d-beat drum patterns, as well as lo-fi recording and production style. Darkthrone drummer Fenriz admits that punk has influenced him as much as metal. This has given rise to all sorts of descriptors, such as "crusty black metal." This is an example of metalheads playing punk, a reversal of "punks playing metal" as was the case with early crust punk bands like Hellbastard and Deviated Instinct. Bands and fans alike will add "crust" to their descriptor to set themselves apart from but still show affinity for multiple genres and scenes, identifying with the crossover aspect of crust punk.

"Crusty" anything and "crust punk" relies on the identification with crossover musical aesthetics and squatter or transient lifestyle practices that were established by bands like Amebix, Deviated Instinct, Hellbastard, as well as Nausea. Now, however, "crusty" or "crust punk" is characteristic of surfeit expressive resources and styles that transcended the original associations between UK hardcore/anarcho-punk and heavy metal. For example, the contemporary crust band Necrot from Oakland, California utilizes crustiness to delineate their specific style of death metal. The band's music does not sound or conform to crust punk generic attributes by "crossing over" punk and metal styles. They do not sing about anarcho-punk themes, nor do they sound particularly "punk." For all intents and purposes the band is just another death metal act and is perceived as such by the metal and punk scenes. But, the band looks and presents as "crusty," the

band members dress and look like crusty crust punks, with torn jeans and dreadlocks, that reflect their own precarious lives struggling as an underground death metal band in the Bay Area.

As I have shown, “crust” is a signifier for the precarity experienced by crust punks and crusty crust punks alike. That precarity is expressed through the crossover sounds of crust punk music as well as lifestyles of squatting and/or transiency. Precarity is the condition under which crust punk music was created and that same precarity is represented through a variety of expressive resources. The next chapter will turn to the role of affect and emotion in crust punk performatives. Precarity shapes crusty crust punk and crust punk affective responses to the world around them in unique ways, creating a dystopian worldview that is then expressed in crust punk musical and lyrical content, iconography, and fashion.

Chapter Three – Affect and Emotion in Crust Punk

In this chapter I will address the relationship between the affective and emotional underpinnings for what I have previously called "dystopian performatives" (Roby 2013). My previous research focused on reading apocalyptic and dystopian tropes in crust punk music and through ethnographic encounters in the Austin, Texas crust punk scene. While I do not wish to abandon that line of inquiry, I came to the realization that I had overlooked crucial aspects of apocalypticism and dystopian imaginaries — namely, affect and emotion — critical to understanding *how* crust punks know what they know. In this chapter I posit that it is crust punks' affective engagement with the world that allows apocalyptic rhetoric and dystopian performatives to emerge. That apocalyptic rhetoric reflects their worldviews and reproduces through performance key components of crust punk political epistemology. Those performatives continually shape the emotional entanglements of the world for crust punk scene participants, which in turn shape their political epistemologies (vernacular anarchism) that I will address further in the following chapter. In short, this chapter examines *how* crust punks know what they do and situates their precarious lives within discourses that frame the world as dystopian and apocalyptic. I will begin by briefly explaining my theory of dystopian performatives and the apocalypse in crust punk music and the scene. I subsequently situate those performatives within theories accounting for perceptions of the world: social imaginaries and structures of feelings. Using structure of feeling, I will engage with two different theories of affect and emotion, forming my own theory of the way affect and emotion circulate in the everyday lives of crust punks. Extending that framework, I will then explore representations of affect and emotion in crust punk lyrics.

The Trope of the Apocalypse and Dystopian Performatives

Crust punk enters a popular cultural terrain crowded with apocalypses. Many movies and television shows portray the apocalypse, doomsday, Armageddon, or the end-of-days. The films and shows that readily come to mind are the *Mad Max Series* (1979; 1985; 2015), *The Road Warrior* (1981), *Waterworld* (1995), *The Postman* (1997), *28 Days Later* (2002), *Children of Men* (2006), *28 Weeks Later* (2007), *I am Legend* (2007) *The Road* (2009), *Oblivion* (2013), as well as television shows like *The Walking Dead* (2010-), *Jericho* (2006-2008), *The 100* (2014-2020), *Daybreak* (2019-), and *Z Nation* (2014-2018). In these films and television shows, many of them part of the horror, including zombies, or vague portrayals of a post-apocalypse world, the remaining survivors and/or what is left of society soldier forward, always in a suspended state of post-apocalyptic dystopia. In the collective imaginary of crust punk, *dystopia* is portrayed as poverty stricken, primitive, violent, often environmentally polluted, and run by a corrupt few with absolute power, much as it is in Hollywood post-apocalyptic movies.

For some crust punk bands apocalyptic themes are so important that their music is categorized specifically as "apocalyptic crust." Crust punk lyrics often employ variations of apocalyptic jeremiads in their song texts which focus specifically on fantastical interpretations of the world as apocalyptic. The theme that a majority of these bands revolve around is the idea that the human race, in its consistent embrace of warmongering, will bring about the end of society, enabling an opportunity to reestablish a new political and cultural landscape. This is what I have previously identified and called "the trope of the apocalypse" in crust punk lyrics and iconography (Roby 2013). Everything from the song texts to album covers, and even the choice of fashion that crust punk's use to mark themselves as "crust punk" call attention to apocalyptic or post-apocalyptic tropes in popular culture. For example, see Figure 6 for an example of the

costume worn by Mel Gibson in Mad Max, a popular post-apocalypse film, as compared to the dress and style of seminal crust punk band Deviated Instinct as seen in Figure 7. Notice how the leather jackets are nearly identical, and that the individual in the middle of the photo, Malcolm "Scruffy" Lewty, is wearing a bullet belt. With the exception of actual weapons, the members of Deviated Instinct in Figure 7 look as if they could exist in the same fictional post-apocalypse universe as Mad Max, just in 1980s UK instead of the desert wasteland depicted in Mad Max (which was filmed in Australia).

Figure 6 – Still from Mad Max showing apocalyptic style[39]

[39] Mad Max film still. Unknown artist. Undated. https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.pinterest.com%2Fpin%2F433307953968963 89%2F&psig=AOvVaw1DOMGfhKXaLpzlqgXRqxu0&ust=1609189675237000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CAMQjB1qFwoTCLCRlMOJ7-0CFQAAAAAdAAAAABAD Accessed 12/21/20

Figure 7 – Deviated Instinct in crust punk apocalyptic attire[40]

J. L. Austin speaks of the performative utterance as one that *does* something (Austin 1975). The trope of the apocalypse is a performative: it does something in the world, it allows the reframing of the world as dystopic/dystopian. I view apocalyptic rhetoric and dystopia as a performative concept in crust punk. The dystopian performative in crust punk performances, through the ensemble of signs, allows the reframing of the world as dystopic/dystopian for crust punks and crusty crust punks. As performance studies scholar Jill Dolan explains, "as a performative, performance itself becomes a 'doing' in linguistic philosopher J. L. Austin's sense of the term, something that in its enunciation *acts* — that is, performs an action as tangible and effective as saying 'I do' in a wedding ceremony" (Dolan 2005, 5). In doing so, performatives become those moments in performance(s) and the ensemble of signs that both do something in the world and enable interpretations of the world.

In her book *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater* (2005) Dolan theorizes what she calls the "utopian performative." "Utopian performatives describe small but profound

[40] Deviated Instinct. Unknown artist. Undated. https://www.last.fm/music/Deviated+Instinct/+images/931ee83411ae4e4bb82a430b6511c465 Accessed 12/20/20

moments in which performance calls the attention of the audience in a way that lifts everyone slightly above the present, into a hopeful feeling of what the world might be like if every moment of our lives were as emotionally voluminous, generous, aesthetically striking, and intersubjectively intense" (5). To operationalize what she means by utopian performatives, Dolan offers detailed discussions of moments as both an audience member and performer. Those moments bridge the gap between performer and audience, performer and performer, and individual members of the audience. What is unique about the utopian performative is that, "in their doings, [they] make palpable an *affective* vision of how the world might be better" (6, italics mine). It is through affective work that performatives reveal possibilities of interpreting the world in the present and future as utopian or dystopian.

Dolan posits that "utopian performatives spring from a complex alchemy of form and content, context and location, which take shape in moments of utopia as doings, as process, as never finished gestures toward a potentially better future" (8). Both Dolan's concept of utopian performatives and my theory of dystopian performatives extend Austin's notion of performative utterances. I argue that in crust punk, dystopian performatives take place in moments of dystopia as doings, and through the trope of the apocalypse as process, as the gradual *ending* of the world instead of the abrupt *end* of the world. For Dolan, "thinking of utopia as processual, as an index to the possible, to the "what if," rather than a more restrictive, finite image of the "what should be," allows performance a hopeful cast, one that can experiment with the possibilities of the future in ways that shine back usefully on a present that's always, itself, in process" (13). Similarly, I treat dystopia as processual, "as an index to the possible" that both points to an imagined future and to the present that is "always, itself, in process" (13). The processual nature of the apocalypse can be interpreted as an embodiment of praxis, a concept most associated with

Marxism, and eloquently defined by Madison as, "the creation of alternative ways of being and courageous engagement with the world in order to change it" (2012, 67). The only difference between Madison's definition of praxis and the ways in which crust punks, in relation to the trope of the apocalypse, embody it is the lack of necessary "engagement with the world in order to change it" (67). Instead, crust punks feel all they need to do is be patient and wait, as the world will enforce the necessary change, allowing them the opportunity to bring their "alternative ways of being" to the cultural fore in a post-apocalyptic environment (67). Change will come through the inevitable process of apocalypse (i.e., environmental degradation, collapse of economic and political systems, pandemics, etc.). The apocalypse may be bad for the world but it opens up possibilities for crust punks to enact their alternative ways of being, which presents utopian opportunities.

Dolan recognized that "[u]topian performatives exceed the content of a play or performance" and that "spectators might draw a utopian performative from even the most dystopian theatrical universe" (Dolan 2005, 8). The dystopian performative in crust punk also opens the possibility for creating hope for a utopian post-post-apocalypse, however, they primarily enable the interpretation of the past, present, and future as dystopic. The crust punk imaginary is not restricted to a post-apocalyptic existence. Rather, crust punks feel that they already live in a dystopian society, however, without the burden of a completely collapsed infrastructure but still crumbling. The apocalypse is not a future event, it is the eventful present. The apocalypse is both an inevitable future fraught with destruction, but also the everyday for many crust punks. Similar to Dolan's concept of utopia as process, dystopian performatives and the trope of the apocalypse offer hope in the aftermath of destruction. So, while the future may be dystopic, there is greater hope that change can occur in the post-apocalyptic future, as

opposed to the current dystopian society, which can and will only end through the coming of the apocalypse.

The trope of the apocalypse is found in both crust punk lyrics and iconography, and it serves a dialogic function in the music scene. It both presents and represents aspects of the apocalypse and dystopia. As Dolan explains, "the very present-tenseness of performance [concert or recording] lets audiences [listeners] imagine utopia not as some idea of future perfection that might never arrive, but as brief enactments of the possibilities of a process that starts now, in this moment" (2005, 17). So too, crust punk performances happen in present moments, enabling the interpretation of the current moment as dystopic, as well as the imagining of the coming apocalypse. In continuous exposure to crust punk music listeners repeatedly experience that moment, "brief enactments" that are reified every time they attend a concert or listen to a CD, tape, or mp3.

Dystopian performatives are just one way to examine the content and source of political thought in crust punk music and lyrics. Dystopian performatives produce and reproduce perceptions of a world in apocalypse shaping and focusing crust punk epistemologies rooted in precarious existences. In addition to the dystopian performative aspect of crust punk music there is what Harris Berger has called "affective overdrive" at work in fueling crust punk political ways of knowing (2011, 13). Affective overdrive is a kind of "sonic and affective saturation," one in which "the music can even fill one's awareness to such an extent that, while listening, it becomes impossible to think about or feel anything else" (13). The key here, is that affect overdrive determines, even if for a brief moment, the thoughts and feelings of listeners. To listeners unfamiliar with this music, it may seem to only represent rage and aggression. But, upon closer analysis, we see distinct political stances shaped by affective impressions of the

world, represented in vivid lyrics. Affective overdrive effectively pushes the listener towards a reorientation to the world. The emotional content of the song establishes a direct line both away from objects of contempt and towards anarchist politics in crust punk culture.

The attitudes of hatred and contempt found in crust punk lyrics are directed at perceived evils in the world, not just a group of people but actions and the affectively constituted materiality of existence. In his book *Arguing the Apocalypse* Stephen O'Leary examines apocalyptic discourse, identifying it as a means for "societies to define and address the problem of evil" (O'Leary 1994). The evils that crust punk focuses upon are capitalism, pollution, as well as human and animal rights violations. O'Leary gives us the foundation for a theory of apocalypse in three topoi or common themes across apocalyptic discourses: time, evil, and authority (1994). Time in crust punk imaginary can be thought to stand still, in that the apocalypse is always and already prefigured in existence, either as an ongoing unfolding of apocalyptic events or as an inevitable nuclear holocaust. Evil is a mélange of cumulative factors whether they be corporate degradation of our natural environment or looming nuclear destruction, they will bring certain end to the present world in which we live. Authority in crust punk apocalyptic rhetoric is built upon history, the trope of the apocalypse has no authority except in the collective memory of crust punk stemming from themes of nuclear Armageddon as identified in anarcho-punk. Thinking about crust punk in these terms helps to identify where it is coming from, its present state of affairs, and its future trajectory in the minds of crust punks and crusty crust punks. To be clear, my formulation of dystopian performatives allows the interpretation of the past, present, and future as dystopic. The apocalypse becomes both the dystopian present currently in progress as well as an inevitable moment in the future. Not only do crust punks interpret the present as dystopian and envision a post-apocalyptic future, but also

prefigure the post-post-apocalyptic as a moment filled with utopian possibility. This process, from present to post-apocalypse to post-post-apocalypse *affects* everything in crust punk ranging from the physical, embodied, everyday experiences to the ideological and political imperatives displayed by crust punks and especially crusty crust punks.

It is within this discourse surrounding tropes of the apocalypse and dystopian performatives in crust punk imaginaries, that it is possible to see how affect and meaning are both created and recreated in crust punk everyday performance. Charles Taylor defines the social imaginary as:

> "the way ordinary people 'imagine' their social surroundings, and this is often not expressed in theoretical terms; it is carried in images, stories, and legends. But it is also the case that theory is usually the possession of a small minority, whereas what is interesting in the social imaginary is that it is shared by large groups of people, if not the whole society...the social imaginary is that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy" (2002, 106).

Through music, lyrics, "images, stories, and legends" crust punks and crusty crust punks carry the apocalypse and dystopian performatives that allow them to imagine the world as apocalyptic and dystopic. I use the term "imaginaries" as opposed to Taylor's singular "imaginary" to highlight the simultaneous multiplicity of experience(s) within the crust punk scene. It is not hard to conceive of multiple imaginaries, informed by a plethora of similar, yet affectively and physically distinct, structures of feeling that inflect crust punk (and/or crusty crust punk) imaginaries.

Crust punk social imaginaries are organized by concomitant *structures of feelings*. Raymond Williams describes a structure of feeling as "a fusion of the objective and the subjective; it is 'as firm and definite as 'structure' suggests' even though it is 'based in the deepest and often least tangible elements of our experience'" (Williams 1969, 18, quoted in Savran 2012, 4). Building on Williams' work, David Savran (2012) discusses the way in which

jazz in the 1920s "represented far more than a new musical style. For the producers and consumers of culture, jazz was the portal to a new world" (4). And that, "[j]azz functioned...as a force around which coalesced...a structure of feeling" (ibid.). So too, crust punk music and culture exist both within a contemporary structure of feeling, while simultaneously creating crust punk structures of feeling within which operate sets of crust punk (and crusty crust punk) social imaginaries. I use the plural terms "structure*s*" of "feeling*s*" to highlight the multiple structures at work in both the larger working-class American and British cultures and the structures at play in local and global crust punk scenes. Because I place emphasis on the differences between crust punks and crusty crust punks within the scene, I believe it would be an oversimplification to refer to just one structure of feeling or imaginary in crust punk writ large. For example, the apocalypse and the dystopian performative are both a part of crust punk and crusty crust punk experience. However, the work that the apocalypse and dystopian performatives do changes depending on perspective (either crust punk or crusty crust punk). It is possible to envision differing structures of feelings existing for a middle-class fan of crust punk as opposed to a precariously positioned crust punk choosing poverty in order to support the scene. Similarly, a working-class crust punk, although precarious, does not necessarily possess the same crusty imaginary as a crusty crust punk. Dystopian performatives and apocalyptic rhetoric create and reinforce both structures of feelings and imaginaries in and around the crust punk scene.

Social imaginaries and structures of feelings are just two ways to theorize large-scale affective and emotional perceptions of the world. I argue that to understand those terms better it is useful to theorize the possible circulation or transmission of affects in order to account for the ways affects shape imaginaries and the *feelings* in structures of feeling. Theresa Brennan in *The Transmission of Affect* (2004) questions how it is that one can feel the atmosphere in a room, or

how it is that "one person can feel another's feelings" (1). To understand "*how* one feels the others' affects," one "has to take account of the physiology as well as the social [and] psychological factors" at work in creating the atmosphere in the first place (1). While I cannot account for the individual physiological or psychological factors in crust punk directly, I can address the social nature of transmission: the music itself and scene participation, as well as crust punks' (and crusty crust punks') perception of and participation in the world. This is not to say that affects do not impose physiological or psychological aspects upon crust punks. Much the opposite: I can speak from personal experience in the field (as mentioned in Chapter One) that living a crusty crust punk lifestyle of transiency, poverty, and homelessness highlights the materiality of existence and corporeality of the body. This materiality determines affect and either enables transmission of affect or excludes those bodies unable or unworthy of affective inclusion in the scene. As discussed in the Chapter One, if you have not lived the crusty crust punk lifestyle, if you have not been crusty, you can only appreciate on a purely intellectual level what it means and how it feels *to be crusty*. Due to material differences in the lives of crust punks (crusty or otherwise) there is an affective weight that comes with perceiving the world as apocalyptic and dystopian and living their version of crustiness, whether that means a life of transiency or choosing poverty. That affective weight is one of the ways in which crust punks come to know the world, directing them towards specific political epistemologies.

Affect and Emotion in Crust Punk Everyday Life

First, it might be helpful to define what I mean by "affect" and "emotion." For my purposes, I have come to theorize affect as that physiological, bodily, corporeal sensation, a "feeling" but not something identifiable. Likewise, I have come to consider emotion to be the acknowledgment or recognition of that feeling, for example, the multitude of (unidentifiable and

unregistered) affects that can lead one to "feeling" happy, joyful, sad, tired, depressed, angry, frustrated, etc. I came to these understandings by consulting critical theory scholars that deal with trying to talk about these phenomena. This is not an easy task because, it seems, that the more I researched *what* exactly affect was, the more contrasting definitions of affect and emotion I encountered. I will discuss the approach taken to affect and emotion taken by two critical theorists, Brian Massumi, social theorist, and Teresa Brennan, psychoanalytic theorist, who have captured ways to think about affect and emotion that are relevant to my discussion of crust punk.

Brennan defines affect as "the physiological shift accompanying a judgment" (5). She contrasts affect, not with emotion, but with feeling or discernment. "In other words, feelings are not the same thing as affects. What I feel with and what I feel are distinct" (5). Feelings in this respect, refer to "the proprioceptive capacities of any living organism—its own (proprius) system of reception" (5). For Brennan, "emotions are basically synonymous with affects (if more an evidently physiological subset), [and] moods and sentiments are subsets referring to longer-lasting affective constellations" (6). Brian Massumi, in "The Autonomy of Affect" (1995) offers a slightly different perspective on affect and emotion. For Massumi, affect is the "intensity" felt by the body, emotion is the cognitive assessment of that affect, or closing of the affect. "An emotion is a subjective content, the socio-linguistic fixing of the quality of an experience which is from that point onward defined as personal. Emotion is qualified intensity" (Massumi 1995, 88). This would seem to mean that Brennan's definition of feeling and Massumi's definition of affect almost coincide. Massumi's assertion that emotion is the qualification of intensity (here read as affect), is the same as cognitive, not necessarily a physiological, shift accompanying a judgment. The distinction between the two is where to place affect and emotion. For Brennan,

affect is both bodily and cognitive. For Massumi, the body experiences affect, while emotion is the cognitive qualification of affect.

What is similar between Massumi and Brennan is that affect is seen as energetic. As Brennan asserts,

> "affects have an energetic dimension. This is why they can enhance or deplete. They enhance when projected outward, when one is relieved of them; in popular parlance, this is called 'dumping.' Frequently, affects deplete when they are introjected, when one carries the affective burden of another, either by a straightforward transfer or because the other's anger becomes your depression" (2004, 6).

This is a useful notion in considering the social aspect of the transmission of affect in crust punk. Crust punks (and crusty crust punks, especially) could be seen as the precarious under-class, constructed through and positioned by the dumping of affect upon individuals determined as undesirable by those both inside and outside the crust punk scene. Within the scene (the group), however, the flow or transmission of affect operates differently. To explain with Brennan's example, how does emotion alter the atmosphere of a room? In order to understand how it affects a room is to understand how we read the room. For example, when we enter a room our first impression is bodily; we do not read discernments in the room, we are corporeally imposed upon by the materiality of the room created by other bodies, but also by the substance and form of the room, and by the affect that is everywhere and in the room. In this regard, it is less a transmission of affect, no longer a projection of affect but, clouds or networks of affects in circulation. A person can project an emotion, but they can only experience their own affect, and upon registering that affect — that affectation disappears. Brennan's concept of affect as energetic flows is similar to Massumi's notion that affect is autonomous. As Massumi argues:

> "Affects are *virtual synaesthetic perspectives* anchored in (functionally limited by) the actually existing, particular things that embody them. The *autonomy* of affect is its participation in the virtual. *Its autonomy is its openness*. Affect is

> autonomous to the degree to which it escapes confinement in the particular body whose vitality, or potential for interaction, it is. Formed, qualified, situated perceptions and cognitions fulfilling functions of actual connection or blockage are the *capture* and closure of affect. Emotion is the intensest (most contracted) expression of that capture—and of the fact that something has always and again escaped" (1995, 96).

For Brennan the differences between affect and emotion is projection, for Massumi it is about escape. For Massumi affect is everywhere, in Brennan's argument it is energy. While both theorize using different terms and different meanings of the same terms, they essentially are searching for the differences between the bodily material sensation of what I will call affect (after Massumi) and the cognitive and judgmental aspect of that feeling, which I will refer to as emotion. This is where I conclude that Brennan's argument for defining affect as feeling with discernment separates out, unnecessarily, the physiological nature of affect. Similarly, by aligning affect with emotional discernment Brennan undercuts the very materiality she argues for in theorizing transmission of affect as operating by a mechanism of entrainment.

Brennan posits that two possible mechanisms of transmission are olfactory and auditory entrainment. To use her example of pheromones, it is the physiological or unconscious registering of pheromones that would point to affect, as opposed to discernment, since we are hardly ever cognizant of being aware of pheromonal presence, but rather something we become attuned to in our embodied reaction to a given experience. In other words, you do not know the pheromones are there, but they affect you nonetheless. In this sense, Massumi's definition of affect works more smoothly in understanding what is transmitted. Because what is transmitted is virtual, it is not until that intensity, that feeling, has been captured that we are even cognizant of an emotion (i.e., the cognitive and judgmental aspect of that feeling) let alone the transmission of emotion.

Massumi points out, “Intensity” or what he considers affect, “is asocial, but not presocial—it *includes* social elements, but mixes them with elements belonging to other levels of functioning and combines them according to different logic” (91). This could be one way of understanding feelings in structures of feelings. This points to both the structural elements shaping those affects and the affects themselves. Feelings in this way would not be Brennan’s “feeling with” but the embodied feeling, the affective potentiality of life (2004). Because of affect’s unnameability—our inability to identify affect and name a distinct affect—it is impossible to talk about what exactly goes on in the affective lives of crust punks and crusty crust punks. But, it is possible to talk about the emotions of crust punks and crusty crust punks. I can speak from my own personal experience doing ethnographic fieldwork (as discussed in Chapter One), that there is a profound affective shift in living a life on the streets, begging for spare change, dumpster diving, and trying to hop trains, as compared to the normative life of sedentary, housed people. For crust punks and crusty crust punks this affective engagement in the world is captured, the resulting emotion is acknowledged, then that emotion is redirected back at the world. This redirection is what Sara Ahmed points out as relational: “Emotions are relational: they involve (re)actions or relations of ‘towardness’ or ‘awayness’ in relation to such objects…the attribution of feeling to an object (I feel afraid because you are fearsome) is an effect of the encounter, which moves the subject away from the object. Emotions involve such affective forms of reorientation” (2004, 8). Crust punks, in particular crusty crust punks, reorient themselves away from a world they affectively and emotionally experience as dystopian and apocalyptic.

This reorientation is represented through crust punk music, song texts, iconography, everyday performances, dystopian performatives, and anarchist political stances that inspire

lifestyle choices. It is the affectual encounters in and with the world that shape and inform the emotionally charged expressive resources of crust punk through both music and scene (lifestyle). Crust punk sounds dirty; the aesthetic is bass frequency-heavy, grinding distortion, with chugging guitar riffs that feature minor pentatonic and/or melodic minor scale structures and power chords, pummeling drum rhythms, and rumbling bass guitar, giving the music a morbid and uncompromising quality comparable to death metal. Those aesthetics are a performance of the post-apocalyptic landscapes and dystopian society/culture – the trope of the apocalypse – presented in musical form. The dirty, distorted sounds of crust punk music reflect and present/represent both the process of destruction and the before/after event of the apocalypse. These sounds gain dystopian, apocalyptic, and crusty connotations through association just as the crossover sounds of crust punk came to be linked with the crustiness of crusty, squatting punks.

The circulation of affect in and among crust punks and crusty crust punks happens at more than a person-to-person level. The materiality of their lifestyles shapes affective transmissions and exchanges. Affect then shapes the emotional discernment of the world around them, often in critical ways (hence, the anarchist political stances explained in the following chapter). The discernment or capture of that affect directly informs crust punk imaginaries. Affect also allows for the power of apocalyptic rhetoric and dystopian performatives to determine past, present, and future affective encounters. It becomes a continuous loop of affect, emotion, dystopian representation, which then predetermines the eventual recapturing of those affects as apocalyptic and dystopian.

The crust punk music scene provides demonstrations of this endless loop. For example, Malcolm “Scruffy” Lewty of the band Hellbastard expressed his feelings toward urban dystopia and the positioning of crust punk as a “primitive” and/or “rural” other against the industrialized,

concrete cityscape in an interview featured in *Trapped in a Scene* (Glasper 2009). "The whole ethos of Hellbastard was – is – about the countryside. The whole message from day one was Green…we *hated* London" (187). Similarly, while discussing the lyrics for the Hellbastard song "Outside Claustrophobia" (from the 1986 album *Rippercrust*) Lewty describes his view of the city: "I don't just see a city when I visit London, I see the homeless in the alleyways, the used syringes in the gutters - I see between the cracks. And I feel hemmed in even when I'm outside" (187). These quotes expose an affective positionality towards everyday life that becomes the basis for dystopian performatives and emotional discernment among crust punks. To "hate" London is to capture a distinct set of affective engagements with the materiality of the world that in turn repositions perceptions of the city. Lewty affectively perceives "between the cracks" and discerns or emotionally interprets London as a claustrophobic *feeling*. That feeling is then represented in the lyrics to "Outside Claustrophobia" by the lines "outside, a world full of hate/a world filled with fear." Those lyrics are supported by a driving rhythm at fast tempo on the guitars and drums that capture the claustrophobic feelings of anxiety and agitation.

Affect and Emotion in Crust Punk Music

A defining characteristic of anarcho-punk is anti-war, anarchist, and anti-capitalist rhetoric in lyrics and iconography. Stemming from the theme of nuclear holocaust, as found in early anarcho-punk, the trope of the apocalypse has become central in crust punk. Early anarcho-punk precursors to crust punk, such as the bands Crass and Flux of Pink Indians, played upon popular fears from the Cold War-era threat of imminent nuclear assault, particularly in the United Kingdom. Later, crust punk bands in both Britain and the United States used similar apocalyptic rhetoric to express concerns, not just about nuclear devastation, but also, environmental destruction, famine, suburban sprawl, and dystopic urban environments seemingly

filled with concrete, decay, and the inhumanity often associated with the modern condition. This apocalyptic sensibility imbues everything from the sound of the music, lyrical content, iconography, and fashion, to structures of feelings, and imaginaries in crust punk. I argue that crust punks' affective, emotional, and critical engagement with the world should be read as a type of sensibility. In this case, an apocalyptic sensibility, one built upon the perceptions of the world as apocalyptic and dystopian. In order to be appropriately affected by this music, determined in part by affective overdrive and dystopian performatives, one comes to possess an apocalyptic/dystopian sensibility. That sensibility allows an insider's understanding of the affects the music is meant to express.

An example of that affective overdrive and apocalyptic sensibility is conveyed in the music and lyrics to Stormcrow's "Enslaved in Darkness." The dystopian performative in this example is shaping perceptions of both the apocalyptic here and now as well as the future the lyrics describe. As discussed earlier, the lyrics can be interpreted as being both in the present tense as well as a jeremiad warning of the future. The opening power chords give the impression of descending into a doom-laden abyss by outlining a descending minor triad from fifth, third, to root. This is followed by a rhythm played by the guitar and bass that seems to beckon the advancement of time and destructive forces. While the drummer plays a fast regular duple pattern, that, to my mind, imitates the rhythmic sound of militia troops' boots marching on concrete replete with reverberations bouncing off surrounding buildings. The opening phrases lead to an even more chaotic riff in the verse and bridge sections featuring blindingly fast, down-tuned guitars chugging along, creating a feeling of an aural maelstrom sucking in and spitting out chaos and devastation. The overly distorted, down-tuned guitars grind and rumble a blurred triplet pattern featuring an over-driven electric bass sound high in the mix. I interpret this as

symbolic of industrial mechanized sounds, as if tanks themselves were rolling through your psyche, approaching, destroying, and leaving the apocalypse in their wake. Adding to the effect are the guttural death metal vocals spewing forth a tale of apocalyptic horror. The lyrics are as follows:

Nightmares won't come to end/Diseased flesh of man
Grinding gears silence screams/Millions of wasted dreams
Poison clouds block the sun/Apocalypse brought by everyone
Scorched Earth we left behind/Was a solution so hard to find?

Hills of dead lakes of blood/Millions trapped beneath the mud
Drowning in a sea of black/Mother Earth turned her back
Plagued by the terror age/It's us in a cage
Scorched Earth you left behind/Was a solution so hard to find?

Nightmares won't come to end/Diseased flesh of man
Grinding gears silence screams/Millions of wasted dreams
Poison clouds block the sun/Apocalypse brought by everyone
Scorched Earth we left behind/Was a solution so hard to find?

In these lyrics there are all the themes I have previously outlined: a cataclysmic event, an unwillingness to work together to avoid an apocalypse, and pollution; all of which are prominent anarcho-punk and crust punk themes. The apocalypse is figured as an event that has happened while simultaneously depicting an ongoing affair. “Apocalypse brought by everyone” could refer to the ongoing apocalypse, refer to an apocalypse that could happen, or be an “apocalypse” in the past tense. Lyrics speak of disease and horror without end, the grinding gears of statist militia, a ravaged environment, and the complicity of everyone. The song text reflects the idea of a dystopian past, present, and future. The line “nightmares won’t come to end” represents both a past apocalyptic event and the ongoing terror of apocalyptic dystopia. While the “scorched earth we left behind” expresses past, present, and future by figuring a past apocalyptic moment, the resulting dystopia, and the post-apocalypse now inhabited. The lyrics describe the “hills of dead” in “lakes of blood” as well as the “scorched earth” that was “left behind,” yet still a feature of the

future/present of the "apocalypse brought by everyone." In recalling Sarah Kane's play *Blasted*, Dolan suggests, "while violent, dystopic, and nearly unwatchable on stage, [it] might still promote an experience of the utopian performative in certain moments of production" (2005, endnote 18, 174). Similarly, the moment produced by Stormcrow's "Enslaved in Darkness" promotes a dystopian performative experience. By enabling the affective and emotional interpretation of the past, present, and future as dystopic, it allows for the future to simultaneously offer dystopic and utopic possibilities. It presents a horrific, violent picture, while representing new opportunities for social change, through the destruction of a large portion of society, not realizable in the perceived dystopian present.

Another example of the affectively overdriven dystopian performatives in crust punk music can be found in the lyrics to Appalachian Terror Unit's song "We Don't Need Them" from their eponymously titled album (Appalachian Terror Unit, 2015). Unlike the picture of timeless nuclear post-apocalypse painted in Stormcrow's "Enslaved in Darkness" lyrics, Appalachian Terror Unit present a scathing critique of the world in the here and now. The only point at which they break from commentary on the dystopian past- and present-tense in the lyrics is to offer a utopian reprieve for what possible futures might hold. During a spoken word bridge of sorts, the lyrics point to a future in which "we"—the direct audience, the band, and the community of listeners (i.e., those who are appropriately affected)—are called by the emotional charge of the music and lyrics and an enveloping sense of belonging. "We" are called to live free from the oppressive shackles purportedly holding "us" back. Those shackles take the form of abusive police officers, religious con-artists, politicians, to environmentally irresponsible corporations. Notice the lack of refrain or repeated material throughout the song; instead, the lyrics present as a relentless diatribe of our current social system and way of life. The bridge

ends with a call to arms, appealing for the unity and togetherness of listeners everywhere. The text of the spoken-word bridge also appears on the cover of the album, reinforced by the front cover album art itself. This cover art, shown in Figure 8 features what I would call a utopian crust punk Norman Rockwell-esque scene of dirty punks living in harmony with each other and mother earth. That happy scene is contrasted on the back cover by artwork featuring a scene of urban decay. It features a backdrop of toppled high-rise buildings, devoid of structure, concrete turning to rubble. In that debris there are human skeletons grasping at guns, money, and a Christian cross as well as a television set and machinery.

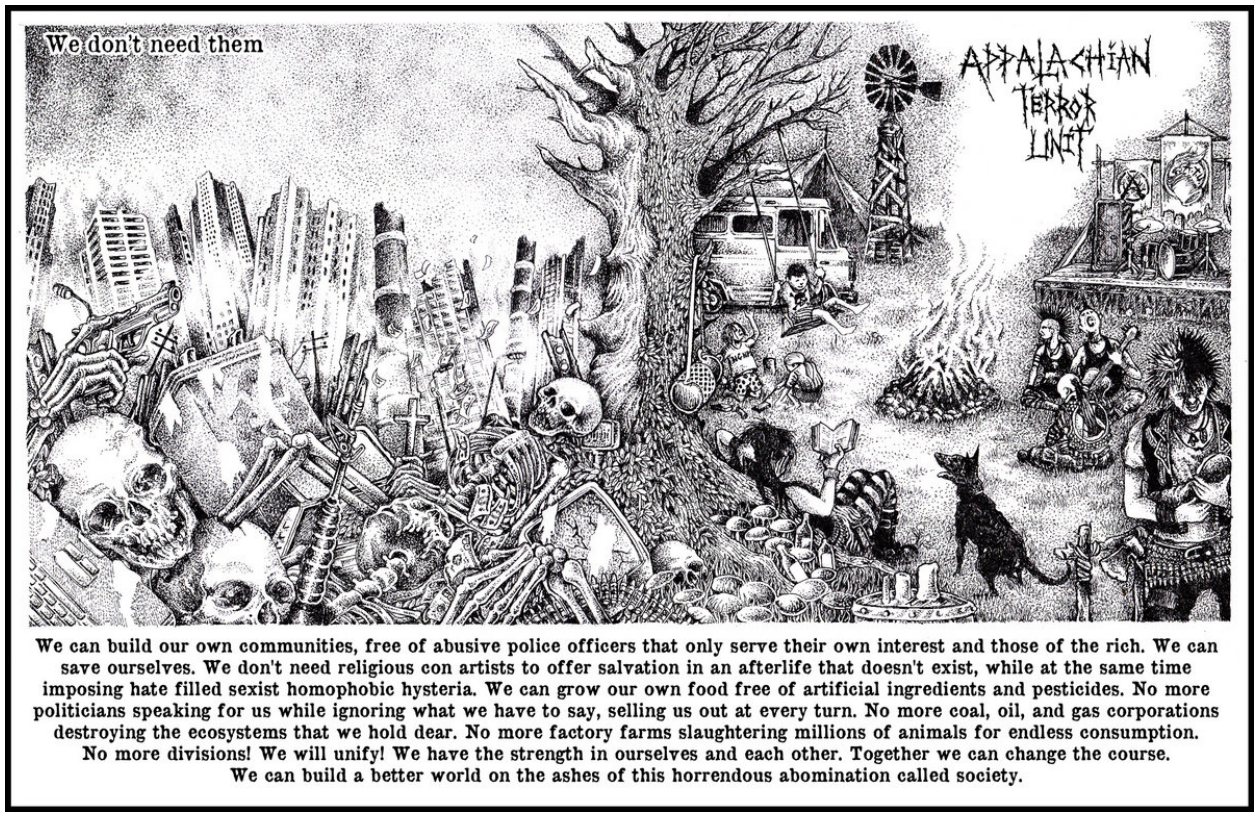

Figure 8 – Gatefold of Appalachian Terror Unit's *We Don't Need Them*[41]

At thirteen minutes and forty seconds, "We Don't Need Them" is Appalachian Terror Unit's

[41] Artist unknown. August 7, 2014. https://appalachianterrorunit.bandcamp.com/album/we-dont-need-them Accessed 12/31/2020.

longest song. I have included the lyrics here because it also represents their most comprehensive writing, including nearly all the topics the band has become known for within the crust punk scene, chief among them environmentalism, as well as critiques of class and wealth distribution.

The lyrics are as follows:

Catastrophic man-made disasters caused by industry
Species wiped extinct trampled under the boot of humanity
Colossal towers dominate the landscape that once was green
Nuclear radiation destroying life in oceans once pristine
Acid rain showers form above our heads
While toxic factory runoff leaches into watersheds
We continue to over populate in numbers we can't sustain
Leaving a barren wasteland for future generations to claim

Reduce mountains to rubble strip-mine the earth
Frack all the land and drill through the dirt
Poison the lakes and poison the streams
Poison the rivers that washout to sea
These aren't just lyrics with bleak imagery
But problems we've created by taking more then we need
Yet we continue to swindle from resources overspent
It's hard to view mankind without utter contempt

How the fuck did we let it get to this state
Where we knowingly jeopardize the ecosystem for shit we create
Exploiting the natural balance for lives of comfort and convenience
So much for being sophisticated animals with a higher intelligence
Destroying the symbiotic relationships life forms have always shared
Will open the doors of the future to a dystopian nightmare
We are not the only species that have the right to exist
The more humans prosper the more we forfeit

Grass between our toes warm sun on our skin
Clean water to drink and air to breathe in
Trees that reach to the sky healthy soil to sow
Sunshine and rain give crops life to grow
The song of the birds travels free in the wind
Howls of the wolf signal the days end
We've taken for granted the circle of life
If we can't all coexist then it all dies

Consumed by greed and blinded by wealth
Arrogant fuckers only think for themselves

Trample over anything that gets in the way
Leaving behind a scorched earth in decay
Scientific advancements used to commit genocide
When the bombs fall there will be nowhere to hide
Middle eastern children murdered by drones
First world lines up to by the newest mobile phone

Politicians owned by relentless industry
Of money hungry bastards who only care for productivity
Pageant elections see who's more apt for the camera
As winds of sorrow circulate to ring in a new era

Proof of climate change that industry denies
Green washing campaigns to help spread their lies
When every politician can be bought for a fee
Laws will always serve the corporate elite

(BRIDGE)
"We can build our own communities, free of abusive police officers that only serve their own interest and those of the rich. We can save ourselves; we don't need religious con artists to offer salvation in an afterlife that doesn't exist, while at the same time imposing hate filled sexist homophobic hysteria. We can grow our own food free of artificial ingredients and pesticides. No more politicians speaking for us while ignoring what we have to say, selling us out at every turn. No more coal, oil, and gas corporations destroying the ecosystems that we hold dear. No more factory farms slaughtering millions of animals for endless consumption. No more divisions! We will unify! We have the strength in ourselves and each other. Together we can change the course. We can build a better world on the ashes of this horrendous abomination called society."

Illusion of freedom to blind a nation
Total control by religious indoctrination
Belief in a god is a game for a fool
Rivers of blood shed over religious rule

In mad conquest for pedestals of power
Little hope left as we approach the final hour
The sixth extinction just over the horizon
Rising tides the earth's final siren

Forced onto a perpetual course
Of something that should never be
An endless secession of workers
Desperately yearning to break free
Yet we all still obediently follow
And willingly drink from their cup of lies
So ready to compromise our beliefs
For the false promise of a better life

Prosper or suffer work just to eat
Evictions foreclosures life on the streets
Paycheck to paycheck trying to get by
Piss on their wealth I just want to survive

We are the ones that hold the true power
It's always been within our grasp
We could storm their castles and boardrooms
The bosses would tremble underneath of our wrath
But we are too easily divided
Stabbing each other in the back
Poor and hungry we will never know unity
As long as we are forced to survive off the scrapes

Once strong and youthful
Out bodies give way to the years of misuse
The scars of labor are bared by the poor
On broken backs that have suffered through years of abuse
Yet we still look into the mirror
And watch ourselves die a little each day
Questioning all of the lost time
How much of our lives did we trade for a wage

After years of exertion have taken their toll
Our bodies grow feeble and our minds grow old
We will get nothing back for the life that they stole
But a kick in the ass as we're thrown out in the cold

After all that they have taken
All the lost years we will never have back
After all we have sacrificed
We are thrown aside to fall through the cracks
Yet we still swear allegiance
And continue to do what we have always been told
Bowing our heads and bending our knee
To a system that represents everything that's wrong

In contrast to the collective "we" evoked by Appalachian Terror Unit, Dayz N' Daze, a crusty folk punk band hailing from San Antonio, Texas, offer a firsthand perspective in their song "I Wanna See It Burn" featuring "crust punk" hip-hop rapper Juicy Karkass. The song simultaneously decries the perceived meaninglessness of the world and emptiness of

contemporary art and music, while criticizing the minimum wage and the precarious lifestyle of crusty crust punks and crust punks alike. Like Appalachian Terror Unit's "We Don't Need Them," Dayz N' Daze lyrics feature a dystopian moment both in process as well as the inevitability of a future apocalypse. However, unlike other songs discussed in this chapter; the lyrics also demonstrate the personal nature of living in a dystopian apocalypse. Jesse, vocalist and primary songwriter for Dayz N' Daze, paints a word picture of the results of living a precarious life and adopting the crust punk dystopian worldview which lead many punks to embrace the punk rock clichés of "sex, drugs, and rock 'n roll." All of the crusty crust punks that I have known throughout my fieldwork have abused either alcohol, drugs, or both, with my interlocutors experiencing the deaths of many close friends, illnesses, or stints in rehab. One of the first crusty crust punks I met while doing fieldwork in Austin, Texas, died from a fentanyl-laced heroin overdose less than five years after our time together. Likewise, the washboard player for Dayz N' Daze has suffered two physical ailments: first, pancreatitis from alcoholism; second, a rare disease, called "cannabinoid hyperemesis syndrome," which causes severe bouts of vomiting in chronic marijuana users.

The lyrics to "I Wanna See It Burn" make it clear why the protagonist would turn to substance abuse given their bleak and abysmal outlook of the world around them. By the end of the song, suicide—the most personal form of annihilation—is contemplated in the portion of lyrics rapped by Juicy Karkass during the breakdown before the final refrain. Juicy evokes Nietzsche's oft-quoted verse, "He who fights with monsters might take care lest he thereby become a monster. And if you gaze for long into an abyss, the abyss gazes into you" (Nietzsche 1886, Aphorism 146). Juicy writes "The emptiness tempts me … I still hear its voice" and "this abyss that I gaze in, And the chasm gazing back is awful hard to distinguish, From the darkness

once the spark inside my heart is extinguished." Perhaps it is the song's protagonist who feels like he has become the monsters he has been fighting and that the futility of that endeavor, which leads him to imagine that "dead or alive, it really doesn't make any difference." The lyrics are as follows:

I wanna see it burn
The wasted mind the plastic world
With all the substance sucked out
What's the point?
Shoveling coal into a furnace
In a vessel with a tear in the hole [sic]
When every forming eye's infected with
Some pornographic nightmare
Growing pissing on the ashes of
The ones who set the stage

(CHORUS)
It seems this realization's esoteric
When art's only about a profit
What's cheap to make and satisfies the rotting mind
When partying and getting laid
Becomes the first priority
The novegoched[42] the cavalcade of tragedy
We're just waiting for the bomb

(verse)
Mainstream, music, television
It's just a distraction (x6)
To keep you from noticing
The innocent buried in your front yard
The fragments of bones
Beneath the white picket fences
Cue the moral guidelines
To fit the current profitable trends
With all the feeling gone
You can barely call it art
The wild ones would never walk into the bullet
But to fit the mold
We would cut our hearts out
Lead the cash cow to the slaughter

[42] I do not know or understand what this word is supposed to be or mean. My guess is that it is as esoteric as the chorus text implies.

We ache for something real

(rapped by Juicy Karkass over the music)
The emptiness tempts me, I feel paranoid,
With millions of noises, I still hear its voice
Try to numb it, avoid it, to kill it, or poison it,
Till it's destroyed but it still doesn't fill up the void
It always feels like something's missing,
But I don't know what it is, and I'm stuck in this tunnel vision,
While there's millions of children still sick and hunger-stricken
I'm just sitting back and waiting for these fuckin' drugs to kick in
As the plot just thickens, the clock is ticking away
And the cost of living is raised, but not the minimum wage,
And I'm so sick of this basement I've been sitting for days in,
With a loaded revolver and this abyss that I gaze in
And the chasm gazing back is awful hard to distinguish
From the darkness once the spark inside my heart is extinguished
So, I'll relinquish my convictions in the face of resistance, I mean,
Dead or alive, it really doesn't make any difference, it seems...

CHORUS x2
We're just waiting for the bomb x3

These lyrics revolve around emotion. Those emotions are the response to affectively engaging in a precarious life. There is an ever-present contempt for the world in which the protagonist lives. Feelings of hate, pointlessness, guilt, paranoia, depression, pity, desire, and fear become the focus in lyrics. The only source of joy is prefigured by either suicide or nuclear annihilation. In this instance, the dystopia is the present moment, there is no past tense in these lyrics and the only hope for the future becomes "the bomb" they are waiting to drop and destroy us all. The singular first-person, focus of the lyrics throughout the entire song position both the vocalists and the listener as the "I" experiencing the agony of dystopia. At least until the very end, when all crusty folk punks are called into this affective entanglement through the use of the collective "we": the last line of the lyrics are, "*we*'re just waiting for the bomb," shouted by the female co-singer/songwriter of the band. This could be seen as a failure of a dystopian performative in that there is no ensuing utopia intimated. There seems to only be dystopian

suffering, then the relief of death, except for the feeling of belonging intimated by that final shared "we." It is both defeatist and dystopian but with an interpersonal bonding formed by a shared worldview. This is not a call to action but rather disillusionment. In that heightened moment the dystopian performative is delivered through the band's performance and the lyrics that draw the listener into their mutual affective experience.

Conclusion

In sum, the trope of the apocalypse and dystopian performatives are both affectively enabled and coalesce around crust punk and crusty crust punk structures of feelings and imaginaries. Dystopian performatives are brought to life in performance both in moments framed as performance and in the performance in everyday life. Within those performances, it is the confluence of signs that enable dystopian performatives to shape affective and emotional interpretations of the world, creating and reinforcing apocalyptic and dystopian imaginaries. Almost anything in the world has the possibility of being read as a dystopian performative. For crust punks and crusty crust punks, the sound of the music, lyrics, and everyday lived experiences all work together to form structures of feelings that both present and represent dystopian performative possibilities. Dystopian performatives in their affective potency prefigure an apocalypse that has at once happened, is currently happening, and is going to happen. Those moments, past, present, and future, emerge both through the process of performance and as the apocalypse as praxis; a process that provides for both dystopian and utopian contingencies. Dystopian performatives materialize in moments of *communitas*, while concomitantly calling into existence such moments, producing an intense intersubjectivity among those moments, which further informs crust punk and crusty crust punk imaginaries. Apocalyptic imaginaries

influence and are influenced by crust punk and crusty crust punk structures of feelings invoked by dystopian performatives.

Chapter Four – Vernacular Anarchist Song: Crust Punk Political Epistemology

Anarchism seems to be everywhere nowadays. As I wrote this dissertation, former President Trump almost daily called for the criminalization of what he labeled as "radical leftist" thought and direct action. Trump's and the press's oversimplification of the "radical left" included Anarchists and "Antifa" (short for "antifascists"), which are frequently demonized on news networks and online social media. This is not the first time the specter of anarchism has been weaponized against Leftists. Anarchism and anarchists have become the boogeyman of US history; examples of targeting include the Haymarket Massacre, the arrest, persecutions, and beatings of the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W., or Wobblies), and the Palmer Raids. The Haymarket Massacre saw eight anarchists convicted of conspiracy for the bombing of a labor rally in support of the eight-hour work day. Wobblies were targeted between 1906-1920 with charges ranging from inciting riots, the printing and distributing of "treasonous," "seditious," and/or "libelous" papers, to vagrancy, and even criminal syndicalism. However, it is clear from the pronouncements of Trump and the press, that most modern Americans have a very narrow and even distorted view of anarchism. In my experience, most people hear "anarchy" and equate it with chaos, violence, and civil unrest. I think that in most people's minds "anarchism" is the random and careless violence they see being perpetrated at protests, including the looting of community businesses; to them, anarchism is, above all, an excuse to behave badly. While anarchist tactics can include creating discontent, protesting, strikes, as well as violent insurrection and property destruction, there are many other means of performing anarchist politics, specifically at the quotidian level. Additionally, anarchists reframe practices such as "violent insurrection" as direct action, "looting" as the re-appropriation and re-distribution of goods or wealth, and "civil unrest" as unpermitted protesting. Current hegemonic political

groups strategically reverse those designations in rhetoric to delegitimize alternative political voices.

The Sex Pistols created a linkage between anarchy and punk rock upon release of their first single "Anarchy in the U.K." In the song, Johnny Rotten sings, "I am an Antichrist / I am an Anarchist," and claims that he does not "know what I want but I know how to get it / I wanna destroy the passersby // 'Cause I, I wanna be anarchy!" But what does he really mean by "anarchy?" It seems that his concept of anarchy has nothing to do with the political philosophy of anarchism (discussed further in the following section under the subheading "Institutional Anarchism") and is more in line with popular images of anarchy as simply chaos, disorder, and misrule. Despite the Sex Pistols' use of anarchy for shock value, other punk bands like Crass promote serious anarchist political values through their musical performances and lifestyles. These bands created what Jim Donaghey called "punk-anarchism" (2013, 140). Focusing only on the early years of punk (1976-1980), Donaghey identifies an "intuitive anarchism identifiable in early punk—i.e., an anarchism developed *in absence of the anarchist political canon*" (2013, 140). I argue, that while that might hold true for early punk bands and fans, in my experience and conversations with crust punks and crusty crust punks in the United States, that is no longer the case. Crust punks and anarcho-punks are aware of the anarchist political canon, and some are even more intimately acquainted with its details. But, as practicing anarchists, they understand that the canonization of certain works gives undue power and authority to philosophy over ways of thinking and knowing grounded in ongoing, lived experiences. Donaghey asks the same question as I ask in this chapter: given punks' tenuous relationship to canonical anarchism, where did they get their political knowledge about anarchism? I would argue that it is through anarchist punk music and the commitment to the crust punk scene and lifestyle, not the literary

canon, that punks come to hold anarchist political beliefs. Those political beliefs are distinct from canonical knowledge. This is not to say that punks do not engage with the literary canon, but that they approach it from a different perspective.

In this chapter, I will examine a different way to theorize alternative anarchist political epistemologies by examining crust punk lyrics. The previous chapters discussing the history and precarity of crust punk, as well as the role of affect, address the "when" (the past, the present, and the future), "where" (originating in the UK and then USA), "how" (affect, emotion, life and music), and "why" (precarity/agency in the face of precarity) of the content and source of crust punk political thought. This chapter examines the "what" of that political content. But, to simply say that the content of crust punk politics is "anarchist" does not do their political epistemology justice. I argue that instead of utilizing existing schisms in anarchist philosophy, such as "collective" versus "individual," or "new" versus "traditional," we should examine vernacular and institutional forms of anarchist political thought and practice in order to understand the political content of crust punk ideas. To do this, I will interrogate different forms of anarchist philosophy in history alongside anarchist expressive culture. Song is just one of the many forms of expressive culture in anarchist history, which also includes visual art, literature, and theatrical performance (Cohn 2014). Songs can provide the rhetoric needed to spur solidarity or offer a poetics of anarchist worldviews. I begin by outlining the complicated relationship between what I call vernacular and institutional forms of anarchism. Following that discussion, I will examine the approaches to music taken by different modes of anarchism in historical versus contemporary contexts, followed by a comparison of the texts of turn-of-the-century anarchist popular song with contemporary (1970s-2010s) anarchist punk songs. I do this to show the relationship between vernacular anarchist punk songs and their institutional counterparts.

Vernacular vs. Institutional Perspectives

Robert Howard Glenn in "Electronic Hybridity: The Persistent Processes of the Vernacular Web" (2008) offers a helpful distinction between the vernacular and the institutional: "Vernacularity can only emerge into meaning by being seen as distinct from the mass, the official, and the institutional" (2008, 194). Similarly, Harris M. Berger and Giovanna P. Del Negro, in their approach to "everyday life," have come to "conceptualize their subject less as a radically distinct object and more 'as an interpretative framework defined in dialectical opposition to the notion of special events'" (Berger and Del Negro 2004, 4 in Glenn 2008, 194). In other words, it is only through the relationship between what is thought of as institutional that the vernacular can be defined in opposition. Vernacular anarchism, in this sense, is concomitant with "institutional" forms of anarchism yet remains distinct in the everyday understanding and enactment of anarchist political principles. Although I am privileging "vernacularity" in this instance, it is important to note the spectrum between what is considered vernacular and its opposite, the institutional.

As Tia DeNora points out, "music may influence how people compose their bodies, how they conduct themselves, how they experience the passage of time, how they feel - in terms of energy and emotion - about themselves, about others, and about situations" (2004, 17). In this way, music has the ability to shape people's everyday lives. By focusing on music in everyday life and how it informs political epistemology, it is then possible to theorize the ways in which a vernacular anarchism is conceptualized in crust punk music and subculture. The vernacular nature of crust punk shapes punk epistemologies through everyday engagement. As Howard points out, "vernacular discourse is discourse that is common to all but held separate from the formal discursive products of…institutions. Associated with the informal expression of the

community…the vernacular is the communal and informal action of many individuals over time" (2008, 494). Similarly, I am arguing for a bottom-up, as opposed to top-down, approach to conceptualizing anarchism. Instead of imposing "institutional" forms of anarchist political philosophy upon punk music and culture, I ask how is anarchism presented in anarchist expressive culture? I argue that it is through the everyday interactions with music and with crust punk culture that is the basis for the vernacularity of "vernacular anarchism."

However, it is necessary to acknowledge the hybridity of vernacularity. In arguing for a hybrid or dialectical conception of the vernacular Howard asserts that,

> "the dialectical vernacular resists a romanticizing or essentializing identification. It imagines agents as individuals or groups of individuals who in any given case may be acting through some institutional and/or some vernacular agency. At its base, the dialectical vernacular imagines a web of intentions moving along vectors of structural power that emerge as vernacular whenever they assert their alterity from the institutional" (2008, 497).

I argue that the vernacular is dialectical in relation to the institutional in the same ways as affect is dialectical to cognition. Affect and cognition point to two opposing ways of perceiving the world: affect relies upon feeling, while cognition denotes rational, ontological thinking. I align institutional anarchism with cognition, because institutional theories of practice extend from ontological critiques of social circumstances. For instance, institutional anarchism utilizes logic to discern the proper mode of action in response to perceived imbalances in power and authority. Vernacular anarchism, on the other hand, entails an affective engagement with the world as described in the previous chapter. For example, the affective entrainment of individuals choosing to become vegan is based on an emotional response to moral dilemmas such as animal cruelty, environmental, or personal health concerns. In psychological terms, this is referred to as the debate between affective or cognitive primacy. This debate argues that,

> "When people see a snake, they are likely to activate both affective information (e.g., dangerous) and non-affective information about its ontological category (e.g., animal). According to the Affective Primacy Hypothesis, the affective information has priority, and its activation can precede identification of the ontological category of a stimulus. Alternatively, according to the Cognitive Primacy Hypothesis, perceivers must know what they are looking at before they can make an affective judgment about it" (Lai, et al. 2012).

However, like the false binary of vernacular versus institutional, the debate between affective primacy versus cognitive primacy is "ill-posed: there is no unique answer" (Lai, et al. 2012). Instead, psychologists identify the primacy of one over the other based upon context. Part of my argument for vernacular versus institutional anarchism relies upon shifts in political philosophy in response to context. In this chapter I compare and contrast anarchist expressive culture somewhat decontextualized from the historical circumstances during which people created these expressive resources. It is outside the scope of this chapter to contextualize the many expressive forms anarchists have employed throughout history. However, I have already shown that shifts in anarchist music culture are concomitant with changes in economic, cultural, and social conditions, specifically the precarity experienced by both crusty crust punks and crust punks.

Institutional Anarchism

Anarchism as a political philosophy arose out of Enlightenment thought, particularly the concepts of liberty and freedom. English philosopher William Godwin (1756-1836) is considered the father of modern anarchist philosophy. Although he never actually used the term "anarchy," he advocated for what we understand today as anarchist formulations of politics and economics. For Godwin, it was law, punishment, and property that needed to be abolished. He critiqued laws and property as those ideas and practices that inhibit the people's liberty. Similarly, French philosopher and politician Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), writing several decades after the French Revolution, argued that the revolution had not accomplished its true goal. Instead,

Proudhon argued that government should be abolished, that any rule is inherently oppressive, and that the rights to property that still existed post-Revolution continued to allow the exploitation of people. Proudhon was vehemently against the communist ideal of state-sanctioned federations, arguing instead that it should be the self-determined association of communities and individuals that would embody a truly libertarian stateless society. Around the same time, Russian philosopher Michael Bakunin (1814-1876) was writing of a type of "Proudhonism" that emphasized social relations. As David Guérin (1970) has shown, Proudhon, Bakunin, and later Kropotkin were arguing for a "libertarian," as opposed to "authoritarian," concept of socialism. These are the schools of thought that spawned multiple anarchism*s*, such as anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-communism, mutualism, anarcho-collectivism, and generally left-leaning anarchism focused primarily on labor, government, and the organization of society more generally. They all reject the idea that a ruling state government (of any kind; local, state, or federal) is necessary to authoritatively control society. At their cores, they are anti-state philosophies, instead theorizing alternative ways (syndicalism, communism, etc.) to organize without "government" as we know it.

In Germany another strain of anarchism arose from philosopher Max Stirner (1806-1856), a school of anarchist thought more concerned with the liberty and self-determination of the individual. Stirner called this "egoism," and he advocated for the freedom of the individual to break with moral standings. Stirner's form of anarchism emphasizes the individual beyond the collective good or community. He argued that it is paramount that individuals take and use, as they will, considering any objects or persons at the disposal of the individual. Although, similar in some respects to the theories of Proudhon and Bakunin, Stirner argued for the free association of what he called the "union of egoists." As Rich Cross points out, "If the contrast between these

two anarchist schools [collective versus individual] is put in its most crude terms—that the collectivists seek to maximize social justice by minimizing exploitation; while the individualists seek to maximize individual liberty by minimizing state power—then the sharp difference in political strategies that each are confronted with becomes clear" (2010, 8). Political strategies might become sharply delineated, but I claim that, like the hybridity of the vernacular/institutional, they are not mutually exclusive categories or strategies.

I argue that the libertarian socialist forms of anarchism have become institutional anarchism. This mode of anarchist theory and practice has become institutionalized through the circulation of a core group of texts, through the routinization of specific types of practice, and a focus on organized forms of collective resistance. I consider the theories and practices that were influenced by Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Stirner to be "institutional" because at all levels they are engaged with or against social institutions such as labor unions, state organizations, or the hierarchies of capitalist production. The irony is that in order to resist or revolutionize the institutions these ideologies challenge they become institutions in-and-of themselves. As Proudhon argued, "anarchy is order." But the ordering of anarchy gives agency only to those individuals willing to participate in organization to create a new order. These forms of anarchism are still prevalent today under the banners of anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-communism, and other anarcho-collectivist political stances. These forms of anarchism seek to bring about a revolution through empowering the working class (similar to revolution as theorized by Marx), in the hopes of over-turning the ownership of the means of production, and eventually the state that sanctions capitalist modes of exchange and ownership. The historical antecedents for these forms of anarchism are the examples provided by anarchists in the Spanish Civil War, the Paris Commune, the Makhno Movement, and the I.W.W., or Wobblies.

I offer this brief introductory history of European turn-of-the-century anarchism to highlight two points: (1) that anarchist thought is based upon the critique of social and individual relations to authority, hierarchy, and/or state. And (2) that even from its inception, "anarchism" has been hotly debated, and remains contextual, whether it is post-Revolutionary France, Russia, Spain, or the United States. Since Proudhon, Bakunin, and Stirner, there have been many additions to anarchist debates, too numerous to list here. But these act as the basis from which all contemporary anarchist schools of thought originate.

I am less interested in tracing the long, winding, often convoluted history of anarchism in the United States than I am in the ways in which anarchism and anarchists have been studied. It is the scholarship on anarchism and new social movements that is most useful for my argument; authors such as Richard Day, Jeff Shantz, Hakim Bey, Laura Portwood-Stacer, Giorel Curran, Jeff Ferrell, Jonathan Purkin, and James Bowen offer insights into such issues as anarchist currents in new social movements, anti-globalization protests, the reclamation of lifestyle politics despite its critique by Murray Bookchin, and anarchist practices in everyday life. For example, Jeff Shantz' study focuses "on several projects, including free schools, squats, communications projects and 'autonomous zones,' in which anarchists have attempted to develop and extend non-authoritarian mutual aid relationships" (2009, 3). In theoretical terms Shantz engages with the works of several anarchists, "including Colin Ward, Paul Goodman, Gustav Landauer, Hakim Bey, and Sam Dolgoff," who he argues "are significant developers of an everyday, or constructive, anarchism" (2009, 3). In order to understand the complex and evolving practices of anarchists engaged in ongoing social struggles, Shantz focuses on a variety of organizational

practices ranging from direct action tactics, such as black blocs,[43] and shorter-term actions, including street reclaiming, as well as more permanent institutions such as free schools and info-shops. Similarly, Laura Portwood-Stacer in her book *Lifestyle Politics and Radical Activism* repositions individual practices cultivated by collective social movements. Her book explores how radical anarchist activists position their own lifestyles within projects of resistance. These lifestyle practices include everything from consumption practices and personal style to sexual relationships, all of which she frames as tools of political dissent.

Vernacular Anarchism

In contrast to organized or institutional forms of anarchism are vernacular or *lived* modes of anarchism. Lived anarchism means embodying a lifestyle that reflects a vernacular understanding of principles as diverse as anti-state, anti-authority, anti-globalization, egalitarianism, animal rights and liberation, vegetarianism/veganism, feminism, anti-corporatism or anti-capitalism, and radical environmentalism. Some of those principles are readily attributable to their origins in "institutional" anarchist political theory. For instance, as I have explained, anarchism has always been anti-state and anti-authority. Anarchist principles have been extended to include anti-globalization and anti-corporatism, or the rejection of governing bodies at both local and global level such as corporations as well as the economic and political system of capitalism, that perpetuates those structures. Similarly, anarchists embrace egalitarianism and feminism, and/or anti-racism, -sexism, etc., stemming from anti-

[43] Black bloc is the proper name given to the all-black-clad "anarchists" made infamous by recent mainstream news. It is not, in fact, strictly utilized by anarchists but also many other leftist political participants, such as "antifa," or antifascists. Black bloc is a tactic used by protesters and demonstrators to take the focus off the individual and place it back on the matter at hand, allowing the group to appear as one large, unified mass. It also works to conceal wearers' identities and hinder criminal prosecution.

authority/government/state which includes social hierarchies. Animal rights and liberation as well as vegetarianism/veganism are an extension of the principle of egalitarianism to the animals we keep as equal beings that deserve to not be exploited or eaten. Likewise, "radical" environmentalism is an extension of egalitarianism to the earth, extending rights to not have natural resources stripped and commodified while natural, non-human, systems are disrupted. In this sense choosing to live on the streets, hop trains, panhandle for money, dumpster dive for food, and generally attempting to "drop-out" of consumer capitalist society can be interpreted as anarchist actions. Furthermore, they are alternative lifestyle choices expressive of embodied anarchist performances informed by music and culture. In *Lifestyle Politics and Radical Activism* (2013) Laura Portwood-Stacer examines a variety of radical activists engaged in "lifestyle activism." Lifestyle politics can be defined as "the whole cultural formation around individuals' use of everyday choices as a legitimate site of political expression" (2013, 5). Lifestyle politics blurs the line between the personal and political, making Portwood-Stacer's argument to rethink "what it means to engage in political activism" all the more appropriate for my argument about vernacularity (5). I conceptualize the ways in which the personal is political as indicative of vernacular anarchism. It is equally about the individual and society, but not to the detriment of the individual possibly exploited in the institution of collective resistance.

Murray Bookchin (1995), in a scathing critique of the lifestyle turn in anarchism, split many anarchists into two factions: those who support a revolutionary approach and those who subscribe to an evolutionary, or processual methods of gradual development in their anarchist practices. The revolutionary approach is one that prescribes revolutionary action or overthrow of the system. The "evolutionary" mode is one in which practices are based on gradual, individual change in the hopes that it influences cultural change. I place revolutionary anarchists under the

institutional mode of anarchism because it involves the express intention of reordering industry, abolishing capitalism, and the consequent overthrow of state power. Evolutionary forms of anarchism include those lifestyle choices that may or may not bring about an eventual dissolution of industry, state, or capitalist authority. Revolutionary anarchist ideology always has a determined outcome, whereas evolutionary anarchism focuses on the here-and-now, reframing daily practices as anarchist praxis. Bookchin criticizes this evolutionary or lifestyle form of anarchism as representing nothing more than "personal insurrection" that is a detriment to social revolution (a key feature in revolutionary/institutional forms of anarchism). But as scholars such as Portwood-Stacer have noted, lifestyle activism is just as useful in challenging the status quo. For instance, Hakim Bey (1985) argues for "temporary autonomous zones," wherein anarchists can structure a space to enact ideals despite not achieving a revolutionary dismantling of state and capital. The most recent and publicized version of the idea of temporary autonomous zones (or T.A.Z.) is the Capitol Hill Autonomous Zone in Seattle, Washington, alternatively renamed the Capitol Hill Occupied Protest. For a brief moment in history the people of Seattle created an area wherein they could live their principles, reflecting their values in their everyday activities.

Pragmatic vs Poetic Song Texts

Even though anarchists argue over the correct form of action for achieving the goal of individual and social autonomy, the one thing they all seem to agree upon is the importance of music in sharing their ideas. Anarchists, like other left-leaning political thinkers, tend to view music as a means for participation rather than persuasion (Cohn 2014). Many early anarchist songs were reworkings of hymns, popular, and communal songs. For instance, Proudhon describes his experience with music as social art:

> "During my captivity at Sainte-Pélagie, in 1849, there were around eighty political prisoners, at a minimal estimate, if one thinks of the thousands of

> prisoners of that sad period. Every evening, half an hour before the closing of the cells, the detainees gathered in the courtyard and sang the *priére*, it was a hymn to Liberty attributed to Armand Marrast. One sole voice spoke the strophe, and the eighty prisoners gave back the refrain, which then was taken up by the five hundred *unfortunates* detained in the other section of the prison…That was a *real* music, realist, applied, a *situated* art, like church songs or fanfares in a parade, and no music pleases me more" (Proudhon in Cohn 2014, 92).

For Proudhon, and other anarchists, song became about expression, shared hardship, but also communal solidarity in times both good and bad. As Cohn points out, "a preeminent strategy of anarchist songwriting is to place dissident contents into just such familiar musical settings" (97). By replacing the words of well-known hymns and popular songs, anarchists could capture a similar communal harmony, both social and musical, that might otherwise be abstracted from the political. This is one way in which earlier anarchist songs leaned toward an emphasis on rhetoric and collectivity. This pragmaticism seems to be used by left-leaning musical creators, including the doctrines described by "communist" composer Hans Eisler who also wrote his own music. As he argues, "the most important requisite of revolutionary music is to divide it into music for practical performance: songs of struggle, satirical songs and so on" (1999, 59). Eisler later contends that in order to achieve a change in the function of music, composers must change their approach to music all together. Eisler's call for shifting the function of music, such as a preference for mass songs and ballads, had already been utilized in popular music by anarchists as early as the mid-1800s.

I argue that chief among these shifts in musical function is what Thomas Turino has called "participatory performance" (2008). In order to attract the masses Eisler called for composing music for the masses, for large group performances that could be organized and participated in by everyone. "Participatory performance is a particular field of activity in which stylized sound and motion are conceptualized most importantly as heightened social interaction.

In participatory music making one's primary attention is on the activity, on *the doing*, and on the other participants, rather than on an end product that results from the activity" (2008, 28). Participatory music making is performed by musicians of varying skill level, the music is accessible to anyone but can also be performed by virtuoso players. In moments of participatory music making the audience/artist distinction is blurred or nonexistent. The form that participatory music takes is typically open, cyclical and repetitive. While there may be improvisation in the music it takes place within a predictable structure, with loose, unscripted beginnings and endings to the music making session. The timing, texture, and tunings of participatory music are usually also loose. And, the music can take on a game-like quality, although without win or lose competition.

Thomas Turino (2008) contrasts participatory music making with presentational music. Presentational music is typically made by trained musicians or "professionals." In presentational music the form tends to be closed rather than open as it is in participatory music. Presentational music is also typically scripted; it is rehearsed, and parts conform to preset mutually understood performance practices and interactions between musicians. The timing, texture, tuning for presentational music are also much more precise when compared to the acceptable variations tolerated in participatory music making. As Turino describes it, "presentational music is a field involving one group of people (the artists) providing music for another (the audience) in which there is pronounced artist-audience separation within face-to-face situations" (2008, 51-52). Despite the separation between artist and audience, the music is meant to move the listener. Early anarchist participatory approaches contrast greatly with contemporary musical models. For example, instead of employing institutional or revolutionary rhetoric many contemporary anarchist musicians favor poetics, which allow for the possibility of poiesis. Similarly, rather

than replacing the words of a hymn or popular song and then singing it communally, anarchist musicians since the 1970s have returned to a "presentational" style of music making. As opposed to fostering collective solidarity through communal song, contemporary anarchist music represents social critiques as well as worldviews, creating possibilities for collective affective entrainment rather than communal solidarity.

The distinctions between participatory and presentational music are not fixed; a great deal of music does not fall neatly into one category or the other. Participatory and presentational music should be thought of as relational just as my distinction between vernacular and institutional anarchism. For my purposes, I will focus on those qualities of anarchist songs that highlight features of participatory or presentational music making styles. Both institutional and vernacular anarchist song can be performed in either music making context with qualities of both equally present. It is those distinct features of either participatory or presentational music making that separate anarchist song through historical context and ideology. Institutional and vernacular anarchist songs do not fit neatly into Turino's taxonomy of participatory or presentational music making. However, I argue that the inclusive nature of participatory music attracted composers, like Eisler, to call for shifts in musical function and performance style. For instance, it is meant to be performed by both amateurs and professionals alike. Because the music is designed with amateur music makers in mind, there is tolerance for variety in timbres and tuning, as well as levels of technical expertise in performance. And, while the forms of the songs may not be open, they utilize well-known simple, repetitive, closed forms that allow anyone to participate.

Institutional Anarchist Songs

The songs I will examine exhibit most, if not all, of the features discussed above in regard to differences in earlier anarchist songs and contemporary anarchist performances. Many of the

songs discussed in this section might have started out as presentational music but were often remarketed for participatory music making. The multiple editions of the Industrial Workers of the World's (or I.W.W., or Wobbly) *Little Red Songbook*, published and republished too many times to count,[44] exemplify this trend. The most recent incarnation of this collection of songs is the *Big Red Songbook* (2007), which features 250-plus songs collected from various versions of the *Little Red Songbook*'s multiple editions. Some song lyrics have changed or have been omitted due to changes in the treatment of women and other non-white races, fitting with the moral evaluation included in contemporary leftist politics. Other songs, however, have endured due to the "traditional" status they had achieved through popularity. Because of the historical setting of these songs, they tend to deal with Wobbly politics or satires that reflect the experience of itinerant, unemployed, or unionized workers. For example, "Solidarity Forever" written by Ralph Chaplin in 1915 for the I.W.W., expressly represents the class and union politics prominent in the era of the I.W.W.'s heyday. Like Proudhon's hymn, the song is sung to the melody of, "John Brown's Body" or "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"; lyrics follow:

"When the union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun;
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?
But the union makes us strong.

CHORUS:
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,

For the union makes us strong.
Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite,
Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?

[44] This is not an exaggeration; the *Little Red Songbook* has been published by so many different individuals and organizations that the shear scope has been lost to history. Archives usually feature various versions of the book featuring different songs determined by time, place, and historical context.

Is there anything left to us but to organize and fight?
For the union makes us strong.

Chorus

It is we who plowed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;
Dug the mines and built the workshops, endless miles of railroad laid;
Now we stand outcast and starving midst the wonders we have made;
But the union makes us strong.

Chorus

All the world that's owned by idle drones is ours and ours alone.
We have laid the wide foundations; built it skyward stone by stone.
It is ours, not to slave in, but to master and to own.
While the union makes us strong.

Chorus

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.
We can break their haughty power; gain our freedom when we learn
That the union makes us strong.

Chorus

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold,
Greater than the might of armies, multiplied a thousand-fold.
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old
For the union makes us strong."

This song's inclusion in the *Little Red Songbook* means that it was for participatory music making. Even though a single author composed it, it became an anthem to union workers and even other unions (the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, or AFL-CIO, have since adopted it as their own song). The song reflects the tension between working and managerial classes, critiquing the latter while positioning the singer(s) or audience as the former. The last verse features revolutionary rhetoric, reaffirming that through organization and change the workers of the world "can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old." By framing the issues as class-based and union-centric, the song features all of the

institutional elements discussed earlier. For example, the song calls for the strength in numbers and the importance of organizing against the upper classes. It also calls for revolutionary change, however vague that might be, placing the impetus on the working class as the determining factor of revolution. This could be read as any of a number of leftist political philosophies, but from an anarchist perspective it fits with anarcho-syndicalist or anarcho-communist ideals, that the underclass will overturn capitalism and build the world anew. This is similar in some ways to the apocalyptic and dystopian rhetoric in anarcho- and crust punk music in that there must be a transformative moment that leads to change. However, the means by which we arrive at cultural sea-change differ. Calling for a "new world from the ashes of the old" is a metaphor for institutional anarchists but, is very real for anarcho-punks and crust punks.

If songs like "Solidarity Forever" focus on unionizing or the importance of organization, other songs like "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" satirize the hardships of being working class and/or unemployed. The song is often attributed to Harry McClintock (although this may or may not be true since he would have been only 15 at the purported time of its composition) in 1897. It was one of the first songs included in the Wobbly's *Little Red Songbook* (first published in 1908). The lyrics of the song respond to critiques of the hobo lifestyle, retorting with informed socio-economic evaluations of the plight of itinerant workers. For instance, the first stanza begins with the question: "why don't you work like other folks do?" That line is answered by posing another question, "how the hell can I work when there's no work to do?" Similarly, another stanza sarcastically criticizes the relationship between employer/employee, "Whenever I get all the money I earn, the boss will be broke and to work he must turn." Or similarly, "Oh, I like my boss, he's a good friend of mine, that's why I'm starving out on the bread line." These short verses repeat around a satirical chorus of "hallelujah, I'm a bum, hallelujah, bum again,

hallelujah, give us a handout, to revive us again." Both "Solidarity Forever" and "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" reveal the dual nature of the Wobbly labor movement, showcasing the need for collective action as well as the plight of working people at the time.

Vernacular Anarchist Songs

In the mid- to late 1970s punk bands began incorporating anarchist rhetoric and ideology. Similar to the institutional anarchist songs of the late 1800s to mid-1900s, this vernacular form of anarchist expressive culture combined both the socialist and the individualist forms of anarchist political philosophy. But, unlike previous generations of anarchist musicians and poets, they were less concerned with the labor movement and organizing as the means to foster revolution. The anarcho-punk bands that emerged during the 1970s were indicative of a "new" kind of anarchism, not concerned with traditional (for "traditional" read "institutional") ways of resisting or challenging authority. As Rich Cross describes in his historical account of British anarcho-punk, "the 'new' and 'traditional' anarchists maintained a wary, and often suspicious, mutual distance" (Cross 2010, 8). The political leanings of anarcho-punks were deemed unorthodox by the traditional old guard, the traditionalists. Anarcho-punks often questioned both the theory and methods upheld by the traditionalist within the anarchist movement. For instance, anarcho-punks were more interested in participating in direct action initiatives associated with organizations like the Animal Liberation Front, squatting, and the counterculture of the punk scene. For many of the stalwarts of the anarchist movement those activities were considered secondary and trivial in comparison with organizing and wildcat strikes taken by industrial workers. Similarly, the anarcho-punks were uninterested in the internal bickering and divisions among traditional anarchists who were pre-occupied with debating anarchist strategy and the intricacies of Trotskyism. This is not to say that they were completely separate, but they were never fully able

to bridge the gap between their two distinct worldviews and political tactics (Cross 2010). Anarchist punks incorporated anarchist political philosophy in new ways, challenging not only what it meant to be a "punk," but also what it meant to be an "anarchist." This shift in anarchist political philosophy can be mapped onto my distinctions between vernacular and institutional forms of anarchist thought. One of the defining features of punk has always been the desire to break away from convention and that is exactly what punk anarchists did. Just as punk rock was a rebellion against the institutions of rock music, punk vernacular anarchism revolts against institutionalized forms of anarchist political thought and ways of knowing.

Out of the anarcho-punk scene a different breed of bands emerged in the early to mid-1980s, these bands became known as "crust punk." Anarcho-punk was a stylistic and rhetorical response to the apolitical messages of new wave punk bands emerging in the late-1970s and early 80s that watered down what it meant to be punk (Dunn 2011). Anarcho-punk rhetoric focused on DIY lifestyles, as well as socio-economic crises happening in both the United Kingdom and the United States at the time. British anarcho-punks had responded to the neoliberal economic policies of the UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1975-1979). Many underground punk bands aligned themselves with the Animal Liberation Front, Earth First!, and other activist groups that advocate direct action, even terrorism. Punks who align themselves with those ideologies and rhetorics are known as *anarcho-punks*. Punks who take those ideologies one step further, refusing to work, living in squats (abandoned buildings), and dropping out of capitalist society almost completely are *crust punks*, a branch of anarcho-punk.

As mentioned earlier, crust punk as a style emerged when bands took the politically motivated rhetoric of anarcho-punk and combined it with the sounds of hardcore punk and nascent heavy metal. Crust punk music combines the sonic markers of heavy metal, such as

overly distorted electric guitars, distorted electric bass, gruff or growled vocal delivery, and heavy metal rhythmic patterns, with the anarchist textual political rhetoric of anarcho-punk. Crust punk, unlike the institutionally informed but mediated anarcho-punk (like Crass), favored an even more vernacular understanding of anarchism. Just as anarcho-punk bands like Crass challenged anarchist tradition, crust punk bands challenged punk tradition by incorporating heavy metal elements into their performances. In doing so, they adopted the lyric style of heavy metal bands which utilizes fantastic imagery, while still stressing the political connections to anarcho-punk. For instance, Crass songs have touched on subject matter as diverse as critiques of issues such as war, economic policy, sexuality, religion, and globalization. Whereas heavy metal bands would address a topic such as war from a perspective of horror, using imagery and symbolism. An example of this is a stanza in Black Sabbath's "War Pigs" (1970), "In the fields, the bodies burning/As the war machine keeps turning" which depicts the atrocities of war without directly critiquing the causes or effects of war on society or individuals or naming a specific conflict. Contrast Black Sabbath with Crass' approach in "Nagasaki Nightmare" (1982) which begins with a spoken word monologue in both Japanese and English that states, "On the 6th of August 1945, Hiroshima in Japan, gained a certain permanent place in history as the first city to be destroyed by a nuclear bomb. As a result of that attack, 250,000 people alone have died. Three days later, on August the 9th, Nagasaki suffered the same fate, accounting for another 60,000 deaths." The lyrics of "Nagasaki Nightmare" directly mention an actual nuclear attack as the nightmarish act of war reminding the listener of that fact in the chorus, "They're always there/High in the skies/Nagasaki Nightmare/Nagasaki Nightmare."

In many ways, Crass' music utilizes the same rhetorical devices as earlier institutional anarchist song calling for direct action and/or naming specific grievances. When crust punk

Vernacular Anarchism		Institutional Anarchism
Lifestyle/Everyday		Collectivist/Organizational
Poetic Song Texts		Pragmatic Song Texts
Presentational Music Making		Participatory Music Making
Affect/Emotion		Cognition
Inclusive		Divisional
	Shared	
	Post-revolutionary/post-apocalyptic utopianism	

Figure 9 – Features of Vernacular vs Institutional Anarchist Music

bands incorporated heavy metal aesthetics of horror and fantasy, anarchist rhetoric became poetic, contributing to the distinction I have made between vernacular and institutional understandings of anarchism. For a complete list of differences and similarities between what I have called vernacular anarchism and institutional anarchism consult Figure 9. As I previously discussed in Chapter Three, crust punk dystopian performatives provide for the possibility of a post-apocalyptic, post-dystopian, restructuring of society into something of a crusty anarchist utopia. Institutional anarchism argues for similar post-revolutionary utopian outcomes, whether that includes society as a whole or only labor-relations. In my opinion that sentiment, that after a revolution or apocalypse, that lives could change for the better is a point of shared motivation between both forms of anarchism and their respective song texts. Figure 9 is meant to be a reference point collecting the different aspects of my argument into a single, accessible diagram.

I would like to return now to the song text examples discussed in the previous chapter: Stormcrow's "Enslaved in Darkness," Appalachian Terror Unit's "We Don't Need Them," and Dayz N' Daze' "I Wanna See It Burn." "Enslaved in Darkness" exhibits all of the features of

vernacular anarchist song as outlined above (refer to Figure 9). The lyrics are focused on the *poetic* description of a war-torn world, one featuring "grinding gears," "poison clouds," "hills of dead," "lakes of blood," and a "scorched earth." At no point does the song text explicitly proclaim, "war is bad" or "stop environmental degradation," or even hint at a critique of capitalism or labor. Instead, we are left with impressions of how and why this dystopian nightmare has come to pass. Similarly, there is no talk of unionizing in the face of this "nightmare" without end, the only collective mentioned is the "apocalypse brought by everyone," and the use of "us" and "we" in reference to mutual culpability and suffering. This song's singing style and structure (described in the previous chapter) are conducive to presentational music making. The guttural vocals do not readily lend themselves to sing-alongs and the complex death metal-influenced song structure prevents the uninitiated from joining the music making. For example, death metal song structures do not typically feature verse/chorus or other common forms. Instead, death metal song forms are based around a profusion of guitar riffs with often unconventional organization. The song structure for "Enslaved in Darkness" is as follows:

Intro
Riff A
Riff B
Riff C^1 (same as Riff C, except with different band arrangement)
Riff C – First Verse
Riff D
Riff D – Guitar Solo
Riff C – Second Verse
Riff E (completely new material)
Riff B
Riff C^1
Riff C – Repeat of First Verse
Riff D^1 – Abrupt end

Rather than appeal to listeners cognitive assessment of the world around them, the lyrics instead focus on the affective responses to dystopian/apocalyptic imagery. I have included the abridged lyrics below:

"Nightmares won't come to end / Diseased flesh of man
Grinding gears silence screams / Millions of wasted dreams
Poison clouds block the sun / Apocalypse brought by everyone
Scorched Earth we left behind / Was a solution so hard to find?

Hills of dead lakes of blood / Millions trapped beneath the mud
Drowning in a sea of black / Mother Earth turned her back
Plagued by the terror age / It's us in a cage
Scorched Earth you left behind / Was a solution so hard to find?

(Repeat of first stanza)"

This song text reflects familiar themes of anarchist contention, such as violence, corruption, and pollution. But the poetics employed by crust punk bands, like Stormcrow, remove the immediate socio-economic critique of earlier anarchist songs in favor of descriptions of futurity that at once warn against and prefigure the disadvantages of state and capital authority. Like many anarcho-punk song texts, these lyrics reflect a shared sense of both collective and individual responsibility as well as an implicit cry for social, material, and individual/bodily autonomy.

Appalachian Terror Unit's "We Don't Need Them" also displays all of the same vernacular anarchist features. However, their lengthy song text blurs the lines between affect/emotion and cognition. The authors of "We Don't Need Them" utilize similar rhetorical devices used by Stormcrow to emphasize the affective overdrive of the song while still inserting informed critiques of capitalism, religion, the police state, and environmental destruction. For example, many of the stanzas in "We Don't Need Them" begin with an affectively-charged statement of dystopian description such as, "Catastrophic man-made disasters," "nuclear radiation destroying life in oceans," and featuring poison lakes, rivers, and "toxic factory

runoff.” These affectively rich depictions are countered with cognitive assessments, like the verses which call attention to the song text being more than the sum of its parts in that, “These aren't just lyrics with bleak imagery / but problems we've created by taking more then we need.” In two short verses, the lyrics shift from dystopian representation to identifying the causes and effects of this dystopia in a poignant jeremiad. Appalachian Terror Unit are urging the listener to head the warning before it is entirely too late, and things get even worse. Unlike Stormcrow’s “Enslaved in Darkness,” the lyrics to “We Don’t Need Them” include a fleeting depiction of the intended post-apocalyptic utopia to drive this point home, using the imagery of,

“Grass between our toes / warm sun on our skin
Clean water to drink / and air to breathe in
Trees that reach to the sky / healthy soil to sow
Sunshine and rain / give crops life to grow
The song of the birds / travels free in the wind
Howls of the wolf / signal the days end”

As discussed in the previous chapter, this notion of green paradise is buttressed by the spoken-word bridge calling for what could be. This stanza details feelings of harmony with nature and a joy that could be felt but cautions with the realization that, “We've taken for granted the circle of life / if we can't all coexist then it all dies.” The dystopian performative in this stanza implies that because we can’t all coexist; it is all dying. This is happening within the context of ongoing catastrophe and disaster, with a “landscape that once was green.”

“We Don’t Need Them” is at once poetic and pragmatic in its approach to explaining the dystopian affective experience of crust punks while simultaneously offering ways in which “we” can overcome those events. In true vernacular anarchist fashion, the answers to the dilemmas specified in the lyrics are lifestyle changes, *not* organizational or the need to unionize and confront the powers that be. Rather, the lyrics highlight the possibilities of collective individual agency to change the mundane. Pragmatically, the text could be read as inspiration for direct

action because it identifies the causes of environmental degradation: factories, strip mine operations, and industrial waste dumping. But, in naming those establishments the song text never explicitly calls for their destruction, only pinpointing them as problematic causes of dystopian effects. Furthermore, the presentational nature of the song is obvious, it is included on an album meant for consumption by listeners to whom the artist is presenting this material. Live performances of this music are recreations of the recorded material, reinforcing the presentational nature of this music. Similarly, the specificity of and the speed at which the lyrics are performed, alternating between the female and male lead vocalists, does not lend itself to participatory music making. That style of vocal performance is meant to bombard the listener with the affectively overdriven statements at breakneck speed.

Dayz N' Daze' song "I Wanna See It Burn" also showcases primarily vernacular anarchist features; however, like "We Don't Need Them" by Appalachian Terror Unit, it blurs the lines between easy distinction. Nonetheless, the song still sits comfortably within vernacular anarchist song performance because of the fixation upon the mundane in the music of the band and more generally in the genre of folk punk. As a crusty folk punk band, the musicians all have some relationship to the crusty crust punk lifestyle. For example, washboard player Meghan used to hop trains, travel the country, and live in squats or on the street. I first met Meghan in Austin, Texas in 2012 several years before she joined Dayz N' Daze as their washboard player. Likewise, Jesse, the primary singer-songwriter and guitarist for the band is well-known for generally being very stinky, unkempt, and generally "crusty," although I am unsure of his personal traveling history beyond living in personal vehicles while on tour. I can personally attest to their general crustiness, or lack of hygiene, having interacted with them on tour when they came through California in 2018. Jesse does make it known that he currently lives with his

father and had recorded much of the band's earlier music in a bedroom closet. Jesse and the rest of the band are what I would consider crusty-adjacent, Meghan being the only member to have lived a bona fide crusty and transient lifestyle of hopping trains and traveling before joining the band.

"I Wanna See It Burn," reflects the everyday lifestyle and attitudes of many, if not all, crusty crust punks and crust punks I have encountered. All of the band's lyrics reflect the lived reality of being poor (or transient or squatting) and leading a precarious life. The representation of crusty crust punk lifestyles in Dayz N' Daze's song texts mirror the everyday experiences, including drinking, drug use, interpersonal relationships, boredom, feelings of disenfranchisement, as well as not wanting to or hating work because of the precarious nature of low-wage employment.[45] More so than crust punk song texts, however, the rhetoric used in the lyrics of folk punk bands like Dayz N' Daze focus much more on the everyday rather than pragmatic solutions to problems and/or fantastical depictions of apocalypticism. Instead, folk punk lyrics are assembled almost entirely around on the emotional aspects of crusty punk life.

Another way folk punk diverges from crust punk music is that it can be performed in participatory music making situations. While crust punk music is solely meant for a presentational mode of consumption, music by bands like Dayz N' Daze has the ability to bring people together in song, with the audience singing along, or in some cases other musicians joining in. I believe this a cultural carryover from folk punk's association with busking and impromptu street performances by travelling crusty crust punks.

[45] This may seem like an oxymoron but recall my discussion about precarity and working poverty in the earlier chapter. Because poverty or unemployment are the only two options for many crusty crust punks, they do not see the point or feel that they have much agency to overcome those conditions, so why bother working?

As I have argued, earlier anarchist expressive culture reflected a collectivist, cognition-oriented, pragmatic use of rhetoric, along with participatory music making that I have called "institutional." I have theorized a contemporary "vernacular" form of anarchist expressive culture, in contrast to institutional expressive culture, which exhibits a return to presentational music making, a blurring of the lines between collectivist and individualist anarchist philosophies, the favoring of poetics over pragmatist rhetoric, and appeals to affective rather than cognitive valuation. Wobbly songs make it clear that the union and organization is the only way to bring about a revolution. Anarchist punk songs, especially crust punk and folk punk, call attention to a poetic futurity, one brought about through the absence of revolution but alternately, the apocalypse from which a new world can rise. Correspondingly, contemporary anarchist philosophy and practice follow an evolutionary, or path of gradual development, utilizing lifestyle practices favored over the collective organization and direct action employed by institutional schools of thought.

I have argued that institutional anarchist theory and methods are simply differently situated when compared to the vernacular anarchism taken up by anarcho-punks. Their positionalities are governed by parallel trajectories with differing means to comparable ends. They are, in reality, not so neatly defined, since practices for either school of thought are not mutually exclusive. Like Howard's theory of dialogical vernacularity (2008), which focuses on ways of positioning agency and power, I have examined anarchist songs along a spectrum of vernacularity. Although contemporary anarchist punks fall on the vernacular end of the spectrum, their positionality as vernacular is a result of asserted agency against institutional forms of anarchism. Crusty crust punks reject the need for organizing in the name of consolidated labor power in much the same way that they reject labor itself. This hybridity

between the vernacular and the institutional always has and always will exist within the larger anarchist discourse of political philosophy. This is because at its core anarchist philosophy is about challenging authority at all levels, whether that authority is perceived to come from within existing anarchist theory and practice or is directed at outside structures of power. Like their anarcho-punk progenitors, some contemporary anarchist punks (crust punks and the like) are blurring the line back in the other direction. Some of my crust punk interlocutors have recently exhibited a renewed engagement with institutional forms of anarchism, and this might bring about new expressive cultural norms for anarchist musicians.

Conclusion

Crust punk music and culture emerged through the experiences of young punks in the context of economic precarity. In 1980s Britain, crust punks chose poverty, embracing being on "the dole," living in squats, and being physically crusty. In similar fashion, those individuals today who participate in and build the scene choose poverty, utilizing the advantages of working in precarious job positions so that they can also provide the work of creating and maintaining the scene. The same can be said for the crusty crust punks who live the crusty lifestyles that give identity and justify the existence of the scene. They provide the ever-present "crust" of crust punk with their torn and soiled clothes, dirty dreadlocks, and refusal to bathe. They also live the crusty lifestyles (living in squats, on the streets, or in temporary shelters) that reinforce the historicity inborn from the original squatter culture of the early UK scene. It is both crusty crust punks' precarious existence within the margins of society as well as the economic precarity of working crust punks that feed the musical intensity, imagery, and lyrics that constitute crust punk.

The crusty crust punk lifestyle of sleeping rough on the streets, in squats, and being transient presents problems, both theoretical and practical, for ethnographers seeking to study these individuals. As I have argued, ethnographers must first overcome their own fixed (non-transient) positionality and the ways of thinking that such way of life advances. We need to constantly address our preconceived notions of what it means to be transient. Transiency reshapes ways of being and knowing the world that are often at odds from established ethnographic practices. Those practices also include the way we write about transient people, bearing in mind the existing literature and history of exoticization, criminalization, and disregard for the realities of what it means to be transient. Crust punks chose transient lifestyles in the face

of precarious conditions, despite entering into what many might perceive as an even more perilous existence.

Crust punks express their precarity in the "crossover" of extreme metal and hardcore punk musical style. Crust punk expressive resources revolve around representations and associations of crustiness. Early crust punk bands joined together lifestyles of squatting, anarcho-punk ideologies, and heavy metal performance techniques to create a crossover sound that would come to stand for the "crust" of crust of punk. Bands like Amebix, Antisect, Hellbastard, Deviated Instinct, and Nausea solidified those features of crust punk in both punk and non-punk imaginaries. Crust punk has continued to develop along with progressions and transgressions of both hardcore punk and extreme metal, leading to a profusion of crossover styles in crust punk music. The continued expansion of crust punk resources has opened the door for bands that no longer feel the need to live in squats. Crust punk music, while still associated with lifestyles of squatting and transiency, no longer requires those attributes to be seen as authentically crust punk music. In contrast to that dynamic, the precarious lifestyles of transient crusty crust punks influenced the creation of a different set of expressive resources – folk punk – that connect busking for survival, lack of access to electricity, and acoustic instruments to pre-existing crust punk musical style. Pioneering bands like Hellbastard and Nausea strengthened the association between crusty, squatting punks and crossover musical style. Similarly, folk bands like Blackbird Raum, renewed connections between the music and crusty crust punk lifestyles, particularly the experiences of precarity and transient ways of life.

The reality of living precariously affects crust punk individuals which in turn affects the music, inspiring the use of apocalyptic rhetoric and dystopian performatives. Living precariously creates dystopian worldviews, reaffirming a society without hope for the future except through

annihilation. Crust punks have deemed the system so corrupt, so overwhelmingly incompatible with their desired ways of living that the only way towards a better tomorrow is through passively accepting the ongoing destruction of the present moment. Affect and emotion reinforce these assessments in everyday life for many crust punks. It is the feeling (affect) of being crusty, of interacting with other people who share those feelings, that produces crust punk social imaginaries. Those feelings are then channeled into the music and shared with others creating structures of feeling. Upon listening to the music, the affective overdrive of crust punk music continues that affective chain, circulating crust punk affect. Affect leads to emotion and/or cognitive evaluation. There is a sort of affective entrainment that happens because of affective overdrive when listening to the music. The affective and emotional assessments sustain the dystopian anarchist politics presented in the song texts, iconography, and culture of crust punk.

Crust punk anarchism is a vernacular form of political epistemology, or political ways of knowing. Crust punk political epistemology is formed by crust punk music and culture that is situated within and was born from precarious economic conditions. What I have called "vernacular anarchism" is a tool to think through the often diverse and sometimes confusing politics of "anarchist" crust punks. Vernacular anarchism is not opposed to or absent of the anarchist philosophical canon. Instead, the canon should be thought of as another power relation navigated by savvy anarchist punks, connections upon the vernacular anarchist multiplicity. This is not to say that the song texts I have analyzed do not have their own "canonical" traits. Rather, those vernacular features are malleable across time and space and in this instance, they happen to be affective, poetic, presentational, and representative of lifestyle/everyday politics.

Affect is an emerging area of interest in musicological study with many possible avenues for new research. Music and sound scholars are returning to research that questions not only

how music makes people feel but what those feelings *do* (see Thompson and Biddle 2013). Affect is still not well-defined as a concept in critical theory across disciplinary fields and is often conflated with emotion (see Gregg and Seigworth 2010). The ambiguity of affect is reflected in affect theory literature where its meaning changes depending on context. In my case, I focus on the pre-emotional aspect of affect, as a bodily feeling, and the ways in which those feelings circulate within social interactions, namely in crust punk music and everyday experiences. But the role of affect in extreme music like punk and metal is still an open field for exploration. For instance, beyond the negatively associated feelings of dystopia, anger, and hopelessness, there is an empowerment, an effervescence, that happens when listening to metal and/or punk musics for scene participants, particularly in a live concert performance setting. As my time in the field has taught me, the coming together with like-minded individuals at a live show, as we all dance, drink, and enjoy the music creates a liminal space which reinforces feelings of belonging, enthusiasm, recognition, and communitas. What is the role of affect in those circumstances and how might we as ethnomusicologists study it? Similarly, in my experience doing fieldwork, all of my crusty crust punk interlocutors exhibited an empathy between them that belies their harsh and misunderstood styles of living. They will freely share food, drinks (both alcoholic and non-alcoholic) as well as cigarettes, drugs, and supplies for each other and each other's animal companions. As temporary and ephemeral as connections between transient individuals can be, the moral economy and empathy shown between members of their community is laudable. That empathy carries over into their political ideology, imbuing their praxis with caring and compassion. How should theorists approach affect and emotion when studying political praxis?

I have identified and focused on affect as a key component in my theory of vernacular anarchism because it is neglected in existing scholarship that addresses the rational, democratic, and participatory nature of political epistemology in political science. This dissertation has covered the context, the content, and argued for affect and music as a source for crust punk political ideas. I have shown that the lived reality of economic precarity, the choices individuals make in the face of that precarity, as well as the role of crust punk music determine the anarchist politics of crust punks. Vernacular anarchism is just one of many possible ways of to think about alternative leftist politics in the study of punk and metal. Furthermore, the theory of vernacular anarchism can be applied to more than just punk song texts, vernacular anarchist music could potentially range from punk, to folk, to hip hop, and protest performances. I have offered my theories on vernacular anarchism in crust punk in order to flesh out those ideas. Anarchism is a part of a variety of performance theories and practices from different music scenes to the theatrical and everyday performances of new social movements. In researching music and anarchism, I have found that there are many other forms of musical, theatrical, and even artistic practices that could be better captured by examining *how* they are anarchist and in what ways the performers, artists, and consumers conceptualize their politics.

Vernacular anarchism should not be thought of as opposed to canonical or institutional forms of anarchism but as complementary and relational. There is still further research to be done in regard to this project. For instance, there is no collective punk history that traces anarchism across history and subgenres. How have anarchist or leftist politics been disseminated throughout the varieties of punk genres? Punk is not the only anarchist music, even though it is probably the most well-known in that regard because of the associations of "anarchy" with punk rock. In what other genres does anarchism present itself and how? What does anarchism mean in

those genres and contexts? Is a metal anarchist philosophy similar or different from a punk anarchist epistemology and in what ways? What other subcultures are associated with anarchist politics and how do those politics inform them? Additionally, anarchist musics could be analyzed through the lens of anarchist praxis, exploring power relations and tactics surrounding everything from gender, race, and sexuality to performance, production, and consumption practices.

Moving forward it is my hope that we can all critically re-examine our own political ways of knowing and understanding the world around us. I believe it is critical that we stop thinking of politics as something that governments or societies do; politics should not be that thing that comes around every four years, interrupting our lives. Just as theory informs method – the ideas we hold shaping the way we think about and study the world – so too do our politics. If there is one lesson that I think we should all take away from crusty crust punks is that life is precarious; every day is a gift and an opportunity. One thing I have learned from studying the crust punk music scene and politics is that community support, both in creating and maintaining music scenes, as well as the support others give each other within the transient crusty community is an increasingly important aspect of social life. As marginal or untraceable as transient lifestyles appear to be, they are lived by thinking, feeling, human beings that are responding to their very real material and corporeal conditions by adopting "radical" vernacular anarchist politics. So, the next time you pass by a dirty-looking, foul-smelling crust punk, with dreadlocks, black clothing festooned with patches, flying a sign or 'spanging, remember that they may very well be fighting the "good" fight, practicing anarchist politics, not just being a "bum."

Appendix A

This Appendix will outline the musical terms used in this dissertation. I do this so that readers can situate themselves within a discussion of crust punk as it features elements of both the heavy metal and punk scenes. This Appendix will also serve to familiarize the reader with the sounds and techniques used by heavy metal and punk musicians. This is not meant as a detailed description, a history of those genres, or documentary on heavy metal and punk performance techniques. This is only meant as an introductory primer for those readers that may not be familiar with these music styles. All of the definitions and descriptions are my own and are a result of my involvement in both heavy metal and punk music scenes and cultures as a participant and performer over the last 28 years.

As I described in the introduction, "punk" is a notoriously slippery concept. However, for my purposes here **punk** will be used to signify early punk rock music (late-1970s and early-80s). It has also become an umbrella term, like "rock" for rock 'n roll music, in that, anything and everything that falls under the purview of "punk" can be referred to simply as such. Punk music can be characterized as simple, basic, raw, and aggressive. There is a stereotype in and of punk as something that anyone can play, sometimes even before they know how to play their instruments. This impression of the music being simplistic is a result of the **DIY**, or Do It Yourself, ethos in punk music and culture. Not all punk musicians are musically uneducated or unfamiliar with playing their instruments, but the stereotype still clings to punk because of the performance practices of early bands like the Sex Pistols. Examples of punk music range from the "classics" such as the Sex Pistols and The Clash to more contemporary bands like Rancid, the Offspring, NOFX, and Bad Religion (to name just a few). As discussed earlier **hardcore punk**, sometimes shortened to **hardcore,** was a response by punk musicians to recapture the

spirit and ferocity of punk music before the advent of "new wave." Hardcore punk, a term used to differentiate between new wave and "authentic" or "original" punk, has distinct histories and trajectories developed in unique contexts around the globe (Blush 2001; Glasper 2004, 2007, 2010; Peterson 2009; Roby 2010; Waksman 2009). Hardcore punk music is often played at a faster tempo than punk music; think punk music on steroids and speed. For the purposes of this dissertation the subgenre of hardcore called "anarcho-punk" as well as "post-punk."

Post-punk is a style of rock music that emerged after the initial wave of punk rock that features punk's desire to break away from rock clichés (as mentioned earlier in the introduction) while adopting a variety of avant-garde and non-rock influences. Post-punk combines punk's energy, DIY ethos, politics, and ideas about rock and combines them with musical styles as disparate as funk, electronic music, jazz, noise, world music, disco, and dance music and taking inspiration from genres such as art rock and art pop (Reynolds 2005). Because of this agglomeration of styles and ideas post-punk is even harder to pin down musically than punk. As the name indicates, the "post" in post-punk designates those bands that came after punk, influenced by punk's ideas but open to incorporating new elements such as modernist art, industrial music, and neo-psychedelia. Like punk and hardcore, post-punk was a response to the perceived commercialization and conventions of not only rock but also punk. Post-punk broke away from the garage rock influence and working-class associations of punk, in favor of a more "sophisticated" and "artsy" aesthetic. The incorporation of other genres and movement away from punk's simplistic three-chord song structures created increased possibilities for what post-punk can be and sound like. Examples of post-punk bands include Siouxsie and the Banshees, Public Image Ltd, Joy Division, and Killing Joke.

Anarcho-punk is a genre of punk that focuses on themes of anarchism and the sociocultural critiques framed by those politics. The band that is credited as being responsible for singe-handedly creating anarcho-punk is Crass (Dines 2016). The identifier "anarcho-punk," like punk, is an amorphous concept and has more to do with the lyrical content and ideology of bands than their individual musical styles. Because of this, anarcho-punk has also become an umbrella term encapsulating any punk music or bands that feature anarchist lyrics, iconography, and/or lifestyles. One anarcho-punk band, Discharge, inspired a host of other bands to imitate their anarcho- hardcore punk style. One of Discharge's defining features was their use of a specific drum rhythm which came to be called **d-beat**, as in Discharge-beat, after the band's name. See Figure 10 for an example of a basic d-beat rhythm. This transcription in Figure 10 is meant as an example only, with possible variations occurring in measures two and four. This rhythm can be elaborated upon and played with a heavy swing and at varying tempos.

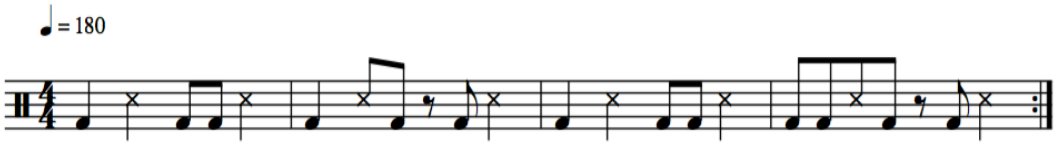

Figure 10 – "D-beat" drum example

As mentioned earlier, the term "crust punk" will be used to refer to a specific subgenre of hardcore punk with heavy metal influence. Crust punk is historically rooted in anarcho- and hardcore punk from the United Kingdom and utilizes heavy metal playing techniques and musical styles, it is more than its "punk" name would suggest, because it is the combination of two expansive music genres and scenes. Crust punk as a musical subgenre can be sub-subdivided even further into what is known as "crustcore" and "crusty hardcore," however, for my purposes I will only be using the distinction "crust punk" when discussing the scene and the music around

which it revolves (Von Havoc 2009). While it will be useful to enter into dialog with discourses surrounding the sub-subdivision of crust punk into minute categories, I will only use those terms to discuss the development and complexity within crust punk.

The same can be said of **heavy metal**, it refers to both the genre of heavy metal music as well as acting as an umbrella term for all things "heavy metal," including the myriad subgenres of metal music. Heavy metal "consists of genres with different histories, which are constantly developing and reconfiguring. It is produced and consumed across the world through a wide variety of institutions in a wide variety of contexts" (Kahn-Harris 2007, 7). A heavy metal band can consist of typical rock band instrumentation. In a heavy metal band there are guitarists (1-2), bassist, keyboardist, drum player, and vocalist. This format is very general, and some bands feature only three musicians, with one of the instrumentalists also taking on vocal duties and a single guitarist playing both lead and rhythm parts. Heavy metal music is marked by emphasis on guitar riffs, speed, and virtuosity (Walser 2013). One of the ways in which heavy metal bands achieve their guitar sounds is by using **overdrive** to give their guitar a distorted sound. This is accomplished by "overdriving" or pushing the guitar amp to its operating limit, breaking up and distorting the guitar tone. When overdrive is taken to extremes of break up, saturation, and sustain it is referred to as **distortion**. It is possible to over-distort a guitar tone which causes a lack of clarity and note separation, essentially blurring what is being played on the guitar together into an unintelligible mess. Different terms can be used to describe overdrive and distortion ranging from "grit" and "warm breakup" to "fuzz" and "grind," respectively. The rhythm section (drums and bass guitar) of a heavy metal band can follow typical rhythm sections playing styles (focusing on supporting rhythms) or the bass guitar can double what the guitarist(s) are playing. Vocals in early heavy metal music tended to feature clean, rock-style

vocal techniques but saw the introduction of operatic, bombastic vocal performances with bands like Iron Maiden and Judas Priest, of which both bands are known for their distinctive vocalists ' soaring styles.

One technique heavy metal guitarists use when playing with a distorted tone is to **palm-mute** the strings on their guitar with their picking hand, creating a slightly sustained yet staccato effect. The pitch still sounds but, because it is muted by the guitar players palm it is shortened in duration depending on the level of muting performed and sustain effected by the use of distortion. This technique is used to play different rhythms accented by melodic lines or holding power chords. For example, a heavy metal guitarist might use a succession of rapidly played palm-muted sixteenth notes over a pedal tone accented by power chords on alternating beats or create a galloping effect by playing a palm-muted pedal tone in a triplet or dotted eighth rhythm. Examples of traditional heavy metal bands are Black Sabbath, Iron Maiden, Judas Priest, and Motörhead.[46] Similarly, the term **metal** is also a generic term for anything heavy metal, it is simply the shortened version of heavy metal. Another term that is used by metal scholars to specify more recent developments in heavy metal music is "extreme metal." **Extreme metal** is a more specific umbrella term for the "extreme" genres of heavy metal such as thrash metal, death metal, black metal, grindcore, and all the combinations and varieties of those musics.

Thrash metal usually shortened to simply "**thrash**" is a much faster version of heavy metal. Thrash bands were influenced by the aggression and speed, as well as social critiques of hardcore punk music, blending them together with the guitar riffs and performance techniques of heavy metal bands. Thrash guitarists play riffs similar to those heard in earlier heavy metal,

[46] The band added the umlaut as part of a branding and logo feature, stylistic of some heavy metal bands. The band name is pronounced the same as "motorhead."

except at much faster tempos. There is a story that circulates in thrash metal lore surrounding the band Metallica. The story claims that when Metallica were a young upcoming band they would play primarily heavy metal cover songs. However, they played those songs at such extremely fast tempos that audiences failed to recognize them as cover songs. This story is meant to illustrate the speed and ferocity of thrash bands, like Metallica, setting them apart from their heavy metal influences. Another trait that separates thrash metal from heavy metal is that heavy metal vocalists sing in a clear, "clean" tone whereas thrash metal vocalists tend to have a gruffer, almost-shouted quality to their performances which utilize vocal fry, or the "croaky" or "creaky" effect of vibrating the vocals cords at low pitch. Thrash metal vocals are considered "clean" singing because the words the singer is vocalizing are readily recognizable. This is in contrast to "death metal" vocals which consist of solely vocal fry and low guttural vocalizations commonly unrecognizable as language to unfamiliar listeners. **Death metal** is an extreme metal genre in which the lyrics and iconography focuses on aspects of death, gore, and horror. Death metal music developed from thrash metal eschewing standard songwriting formats and playing techniques in service of creating a more extreme, complex style of music. Death metal bands still employ the use of guitar riffs but unlike their heavy metal or thrash metal counterparts, death metal bands' guitar riffs may be inordinately complicated, feature odd phrasing, exhibit virtuosic techniques, and are meant to be as "extreme" as possible. Death metal guitar players will use palm-muting, and as much distortion as possible to achieve their guitar tone. They will also set their amplifiers tone controls so that the middle frequencies are "scooped." Electric guitar amplifiers feature knobs for high, middle, and low frequency ranges that can be boost or cut depending on the setting of the knobs. Metal guitarists, and death metal guitarists in particular are known for boosting the high and low frequencies while reducing the middle frequencies

below zero on their amp settings. This gives their guitar tone a chugging, low-end heavy tone that lacks clarity and the stereotypical accentuated mid-range "bite" of natural guitar tone. To add to this effect, death metal guitarists will also tune their instruments down from standard E tuning to E-flat, D standard, C-sharp standard and even C standard tuning (the same low C as a cello, 65.4Hz) in a practice known as **down-tuning**. Down tuning can mean tuning all the strings of a guitar down or in some cases simply "drop" tuning, in which only the lowest guitar string is tuned down such as "dropped D" tuning where only the low E string is tuned a whole step down creating a perfect fifth between the D and A strings. If guitarists have extended range instruments, like 7- or 8-string guitars, they can achieve tunings as low as A (for reference that low A is 55Hz) on 7-string and F-sharp on 8-string guitars. Because of these practices, death metal is often described as being "brutal" or "crushing" both in tone and in lyrical content. Examples of death metal bands are Death, Obituary, Morbid Angel, and Cannibal Corpse.

A genre closely related to and sometimes confused with death metal is "grindcore." **Grindcore** is an outgrowth of hardcore punk that incorporates death metal aesthetics and playing techniques. Grindcore bands play a version of hardcore punk but with the guttural vocal delivery, down-tuned guitars, and heavy distortion used by death metal guitarists. Hence the name "grind"-"core" as in the "grinding" sound of distorted death metal guitars along with the "core" of hardcore. Grindcore lyrical themes blur the line between the political messages typical of hardcore punk bands 'lyrics and the morbid obsessions featured in death metal imagery and sound. The primary differences between grindcore and death metal are song length, grindcore songs tend to be much shorter; tempo, grindcore being much faster than a typical death metal song; and complexity, grindcore bands tend to play guitar riffs more in keeping with the chordal nature of hardcore punk as opposed to the complex riffs composed by death metal bands.

Because of the sheer speed and brevity of grindcore songs one of the techniques that grindcore drummers utilize is known as “blast beats.” A **blast beat** is a blindingly fast sequence of kick and snare hits that creates an aural onslaught not unlike the rhythmic pulse of machine gun rounds. See Figure 11 for a transcribed example of a blast beat drum pattern, notice the rolling, continual sixteenth notes of the kick drum with the snare drum accenting beats one and three (in contrast to standard rock drum practice of accenting beats 2 and 4 on the snare drum). Examples of grindcore bands are Napalm Death, Brutal Truth, and Nasum.

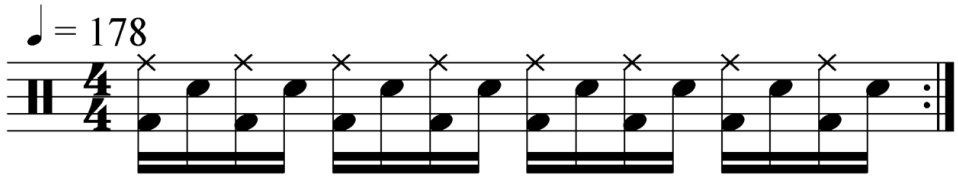

Figure 11 – “Blast beat” drumming example

Standing in stark contrast to death metal and grindcore is an extreme metal genre known as “black metal.” **Black metal** features satanic themes and imagery along with simpler guitar riffs and screeching, high pitched (with vocal fry) vocal performances. Black metal, like death metal is another progression from thrash, however, instead of becoming more virtuosic black metal musicians wanted to recapture the feel and spirit of earlier heavy metal that they felt had been lost in the popularity of thrash and death metal bands. Unlike death metal, black metal bands purposefully produced low-fi sounding music, claiming to tap into the “metal” atmosphere they perceived to be lacking in the technical virtuosity and elaborate production methods of death metal music at the time. One of the ways in which black metal bands achieved this was to use very cheap or broken equipment in order to record their albums. Black metal guitarists also utilized a guitar playing technique known as **tremolo picking** in which the guitarist quickly alternately picks a string or several strings with rapid fire speed. Black metal musicians use this

technique buried under heavily saturated guitar distortion so that it creates washes of sound. This technique will be recognizable to anyone familiar with surf rock guitar music, it was a technique popularized by Dick Dale in his song “Wipe Out.” Unlike surf rock guitar players, however, black metal guitarists do not use this technique to showcase their skills and virtuosity. Instead, black metal musicians use tremolo picking to play simple melodic lines in order to highlight the melody and to create atmosphere, a primary aspect of black metal. Those simple melodic lines are meant to create a bleak and foreboding atmosphere as opposed to memorable hooks and riffs. Examples of black metal include the bands Mayhem, Burzum, Gorgoroth, and Emperor.

Appendix B

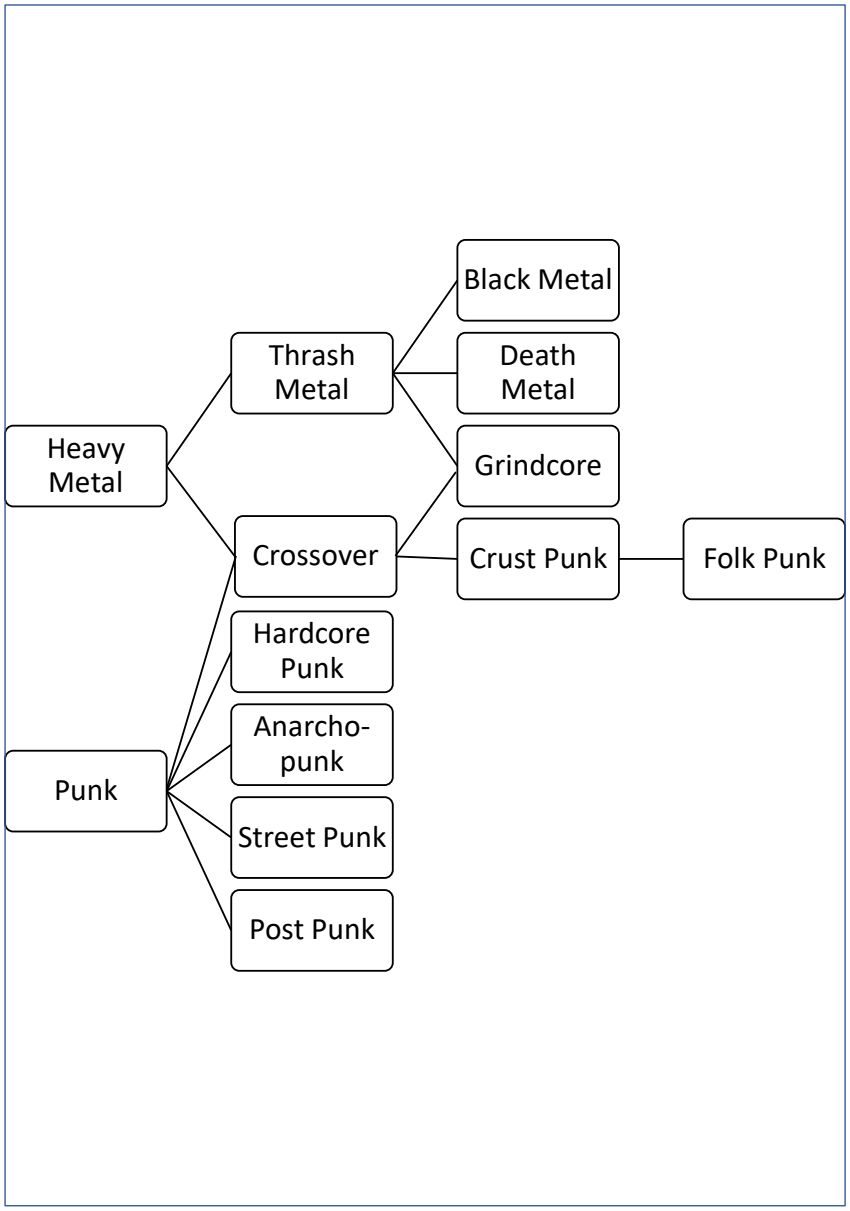

Figure 12 - Genre Genealogy

Glossary

Anarcho-punk – a genre of punk featuring anarchist politics and sociocultural critiques

Black Metal – an extreme metal subgenre featuring raspy, high pitched screeched vocals, tremolo-picked guitar melodies and an emphasis on Satanic themes and bleak or grim atmospheres over guitar riffs and virtuosity

Blast Beat – a fast sequence of repeated kick and snare hits in which the snare drum accents beats 1 and 3 over top of a steady kick drum ostinato

Crust – the shortened version of ***crust punk*** (music)

Crust Punk (Music) – a genre of music with hardcore punk and heavy metal influences, with a combination of anarcho-punk politics and heavy metal performance techniques

Crust Punk (Person/s) – those individuals who participate in and identify with the crust punk music scene

Crusty – a term used to describe or identify a filthy, smelly, homeless person who may or may not be transient

Crusty Crust Punk – a crust punk person (see definition above) who lives a homeless, squatter, and/or transient lifestyle, embracing their crustiness

D-beat – a drum pattern named after and ubiquitously used by the ***anarcho-punk*** band Discharge; features a typical rock drum rhythm followed by a syncopated variation

Death Metal – a genre of extreme metal featuring low, guttural vocals, down-tuned guitars, complex song structures, and thematic focus on death, gore, and morbidity

Distortion – a more extreme version of ***overdrive*** may be described as grinding, growling, or chainsaw-like

DIY – short for Do-It-Yourself, an approach to music making and other life skills popularized by punk rockers

Down-tuning – the practice of tuning the strings of a guitar down to lower pitches

Extreme Metal – an umbrella term used to describe all the genres of ***metal*** that took music to "extreme" limits, examples include ***death metal***, ***black metal***, and ***grindcore***

Grindcore – a genre of ***hardcore punk*** that uses ***death metal*** aesthetics such as low, guttural vocal delivery technique and down-tuned guitars, featuring hardcore punk political themes and musical style

Hardcore Punk – a genre of punk rock that emerged after the initial wave of punk rock, it is faster, heavier, and more aggressive than ***punk***

Heavy Metal – an umbrella term for all bands that play a heavier and faster version of hard rock featuring a focus on guitar riffs and virtuosity; a term used to identify a style music associated with early genre creators as well as stylistically similar contemporary artists

Metal – the shortened form of "heavy metal"; used as an umbrella term

Overdrive – a term for driving a guitar amplifier or clipping a guitar signal beyond normal operation parameters which creates a compressed guitar sound with added sustain and harmonic overtones that can be described as dirty, gritty, fuzzy, etc

Palm-muting – a guitar technique that involves the use of the player's picking hand's palm to mute the guitar strings while being struck with the plectrum; produces a percussive, staccato-like articulation

Post-punk – a genre derived from and proceeding ***punk*** that maintains punk principles, such as desire to break away from conventions, ***DIY***, and political critiques with other non-rock genres of music as well as general musical experimentation

Punk – an umbrella term for raw, aggressive, simplistic, and basic rock music featuring a history associated with working class culture and a ***DIY*** philosophy

Thrash Metal – a genre of ***heavy metal*** utilizing guitar riffs, fast tempos, and gruff or shouted clean vocals that combined the speed and aggression of hardcore ***punk*** with the performance techniques and compositional style of ***heavy metal***

Tremolo picking – a guitar performance technique consisting of rapid up and down picking of one or more strings at very fast tempos or without rhythmic specificity

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