

1.5 Symbolic exchanges, connections and territorialities in southern Brazil: an ethnography of punk resistance in Porto Alegre and Curitiba

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× Abstract

The constant resignification of punk since the early 1980s allowed it to be experienced by multiple actors, many of whom seek in punk a strategy for survival and resistance. In order to understand how punks have been using the DIY forms in Curitiba and Porto Alegre, cities located in southern Brazil, I carried out an ethnography with participant observation, interviews, and document research. The results show the relation between the symbolic forms of circulation of wealth in objects, people, and events and the survival of both people and punk itself. This study is part of my undergraduate dissertation on Cultural Anthropology, which was completed in 2020.

Keywords: anthropology, gig, social total fact, punk, DIY.

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1. Introduction

With some Brazilian bands celebrating their fortieth anniversary, punk persists both in big and smaller cities, assuming different conceptions and forms of action and organization. My interest in studying this movement from an anthropological point of view arose from an experience that crossed my personal life: I realized that people who experienced punk along with me in the 1980s are currently in a privileged socioeconomic situation. This allowed me to ask, on the other hand, what would have happened to a certain segment of punk - the one comprised of people who were distinctly perceived by virtue of their behavior and survival strategies. Where are the 77 punks who came from the neighbor areas and stayed on the streets of downtown Curitiba in the 1980s? And what about the anarcho-punks who have organized events to support animal rights and fight homophobia since the 1990s (Figure 1.5.1)?



► Figure 1.5.1 – Anarcho-punks on downtown Curitiba
► Source: The author (1994)

When I first started to read some studies on punk, I realized that many of them focused on a part of the movement in which the researcher had participated. Although this does not necessarily constitute a

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problem, people who did not have access to higher education and who live in unprivileged social contexts are still not addressed in many of these studies. Thus, they represent the continuity of a certain 'official history' of punk, which was inaugurated in Brazil with the work of Bivar (1982) and reinforced by the visibility that the movement acquired since then, especially in São Paulo, the biggest city in the country. Furthermore, I also realized that the production of gigs² by people in a privileged social context was often motivated by a concern with maintaining the punk scene. However, these producers were unaware of how punk was being experienced in social contexts different from their own.

Among the people who understand punk as something essential and incorporate its elements in everyday life, some recognize themselves and are recognized by others as punks, while others are seen with reservations for not being 'real' punks. Called 'sympathizers' by the former, these, in turn, are named 'dirty punks'. Despite sharing some habits and preferences, they differ in certain behaviors and practices, which are claimed as legitimate. The ambiguity pointed out by Becker (2009) is present in this dispute for legitimacy.

It is from this point of view that I define my interest in this research: punks who, both in their conditions of material reproduction and their frequently stigmatized social representations, approach a situation of abjection, which was addressed by Butler (2002) and Rui (2012). By discussing these issues, the purpose is to bring to light the ways of being and doing that constitute these punks in their particularities and differences, collaborating for a dialogue about edges and centrality in this disputed scenario. Additionally, according to the perspective of Mauss (2003), understanding how the forms of autonomous construction are produced allows us to relate them to the survival of both people and the punk movement, as well as to highlight symbolic forms of circulation of objects, people, and even different activities. Thus, my central question was: how do they articulate the recognition by others and by themselves individually and collectively as a punk? To discuss it, I divided this study into two articulated units: being and doing.

2. Methodology

I carried out an ethnography with participant observation, interviews, and document research. Although preliminary contacts and experiences have enabled an initial approach, the gigs were a particularly fruitful opportunity for establishing a network and start conversations. I highlight three of them: the one with the Finnish band *Rattus*, on 02 May 2019, at 92 Graus pub in Curitiba, Paraná State; the one with the bands *Discrença* and *Besthöven*, on 12 October 2019, at the recording studio *Trilha Hub Cultural*, in Sapucaia do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul State; and the one in honor of the shop *Kayser Tattoo*, on 08 March 2020, at *Nova Embaixada pub*, in São Leopoldo, Rio Grande do Sul State.

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To establish a network, I always informed the respondents of my research planning. Moreover, an important stage of the research process occurred after the gig with the bands *Besthöven* and *Discrença*, when I was invited to discussion groups in which spontaneous testimonies emerged. This invite facilitated my approach during the *Kayser Tattoo* gig and allowed me to make home visits and interviews regarding the research theme.

Some of these interviews were recorded on video. Additionally, to facilitate the approach in some situations, I also distributed a pamphlet about my work. Regarding the image usage rights, I prepared a Free and Informed Consent Form by adapting several models used in my undergraduate dissertation.

3. Being Punk: meanings

3.1. 'We exist and resist': the paths that lead and remain in punk

The results pointed out the meanings of being punk. There are several motivations for each person to join the underground scene, as Campoy (2010: 41) discusses in the case of extreme metal. Regarding the paths that lead to punk, Gordo, vocalist of the band *Exclusão Social*, from Caxias do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul State

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2. In Brazil, most people use the English word 'show' to refer to musical performances. However, as in other groups, the term 'gig' became popular among the punks addressed in this study. In Becker (2009), it is possible to find mention of the term, used by jazz musicians to refer to a musical performance that is part of their work.

(Figure 1.5.2.), says that, besides being attracted by the punk aesthetic, he also saw a possibility of inclusion. For Tchaina, who plays bass guitar in the same band, what initially attracts a young person to the scene is the music and outfits. Therefore, their appearance is built from the interaction with the group and the development of ideas. In addition, Gordo points out the need to combine punk conceptions with everyday practices.



► Figure 1.5.2. – Band *Exclusão Social* [Social Exclusion]: Gordo, André, Tchaina, and Dadau
► Source: The author (2020)

There seems to be an agreement on the fact that punk represents resistance. For instance, when remembering the phases of his band, Rodrigo Sauro, drummer of *Discrença*, mentioned the street fights against fascists throughout the 2000s. Isadora HC, who lives in Santa Maria, located 292 km from Porto Alegre, values the history of those who have resisted for 20 or 30 years. Lídia, from Rio Grande, a town located 317 km from Porto Alegre, says: “Here in the extreme south, we exist and resist.”

In the 1990s, Rodrigo Sauro spent some time at *Kaaza* - the first Curitiba’s squat³ with Moska, drummer, guitar player, and vocalist of the bands *Destroy System*, *Mentes Livres* [Free Minds], and *Disbiopsia*. He also mentions the strengthening brought by the Social Forums that occurred from 2001 to 2004 in Porto Alegre, which had the participation of people from other countries and Brazilian states, and also provided a better articulation between Porto Alegre - the capital of Rio Grande do Sul State - and the countryside.

Likewise, Marcelo, from the band *Escória* and also resident of Rio Grande, shows how this geographic displacement can reinforce the bonds between people by organizing excursions to attend the gigs and stay with friends, revealing that this affinity is built in the peripheral regions. Rodrigo, for example, when narrating the history of *Discrença*, mentions important places for the band in Esteio, Sapucaia do Sul, Gravataí, and Canoas, towns of the Porto Alegre metropolitan area. Remaining in punk is generally seen as a way of resistance. Regarding this issue, Zé Carlos, owner of a tattoo shop in Porto Alegre, said:

We have to organize ourselves so the punk doesn’t die. There’s no renovation anymore, today everyone is old, but even so, we need to be on the streets showing the idea. It’s not just the look or the sound.

3. In Brazil, both ‘squat’ and ‘occupation’ are terms used to refer to squatted buildings that serve as shelter and political-cultural base.

When gigs happen during the day, some parents attend with their children (Figure 1.5.3).



► Figure 1.5.3. – Kelly, Frank, and their son Max. Marzon, the man on the right, played with them in the *Féretro* band
► Source: The author (2020)

3.2. 'Simply punk': legitimacy and ambiguity

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The dispute regarding the idea of true and false was always present in several underground cultures, and it is not something new in the punk scene. Oliveira (2015) includes this subject among the most mentioned ones in fanzines published between 1982 and 1984. Until now, this debate has crossed different punk branches.

Although the definition of who is or is not punk is not precise, it can produce a distinction between the ones who identify themselves as punks and those who circulate in these environments without participating in certain rituals and ways of life. This dichotomy produces a tension that contributes to understanding some of the questions proposed in this study. In the perspective of Gordo:

**We're punk, simply punk. Regardless of whether you're a raw punk, an anarcho-punk, or a street punk. We're a street culture from the suburbs. We're for punk. Any other culture has to come after punk. First, it's punk, then, the rest.*

This idea is expressed in a T-shirt made by the band (Figure 1.5.4.). Roger, vocalist of the band *Discrença*, is more emphatic:

We're punks, we're in this for life. It's been 20 years and we've played for the punk. Here at the Rio Grande do Sul State many bands call themselves punks but we've never seen these people in the punk scene we belong to.



► Figure 1.5.4. – ‘Simply Punk’ T-shirt
 ► Source: The author (2020)

According to Becker (2009), since groups and individuals are mixed, values and practices oscillate, which provides ambiguity to the norms of a given group. For him, deviation is not a homogeneous category and it does not end with simple adherence to certain diacritics, but rather in a complex mesh of circumstances and control of impressions that allow us to be categorical in relation to some situations and malleable in relation to others.

Constantly occurring in punk, it involves internal codes linked to what is considered to contribute or not to the consolidation of this culture. The ways people behave in the scene play a central role in controlling impressions and what they represent in this context. Therefore, the greater the collaboration for organization, production of materials, and personal and collective trajectories, the greater the possibility of a person to be recognized, despite the oscillations.

Goffman (2004, p. 28) points out that a given group of people, which he calls informed, can sympathize with the condition of the stigmatized ones without, however, experiencing it. Due to the ambiguities above mentioned, punks who do not have regular work, access to higher education, or money to attend a gig that is not produced by their group are often stigmatized by their supporters or the ‘weekend punks’ who circulate in the same environments and share the same musical taste.

Much more than a conditioning dichotomy, I intend to take seriously the otherness expressed in the production of legitimacy, which distinguishes the equal from the different, those from inside from those from outside, as well as determines the existence of a us and them perspective. These distinctions, meticulously controlled and exposed in the individuals’ preferences, clothes, and behaviors, allow the collective celebration or denounce of what is or is not recognized as real punk, that is, those people and groups legitimized by the representatives of what is being punk.

3.3. ‘They just drink’: the dirty punk’s abjection

To explicit the rejection to the standards that punk culture, in its broadest sense, fights, the punks intentionally use outfits strongly linked to their identification. However, this same aesthetic can be used as a beacon and related to public appearance issues by those who do not experience this group’s daily life. A person involved in the gigs’ production gives his opinion:

**punks don’t like all bands because some have members who went to university, are teachers, have a more stable life.*

On the other hand, according to same person, some of them:

** (...) go to the gigs and stand at the door asking to come in without paying. They say they want to change the world, but they just drink and don't help with anything. They don't even collaborate for an event where the bands they like will play.*

He concludes:

**We call them dirty punks, but it's just a way of speaking, because we're always doing many things with them.*

The figure of the dirty punk is a kind of virtual identity that aggregates characteristics perceived as negative: the dirty punks are the ones who do not contribute to punk maintenance, who do not join the gigs because they spent their money on drink and, therefore, need to stay on the sidewalks (Figure 1.5.5.), who have difficulty in making a living from a job. They are seen as enemies of punk culture.

This negative perception of the dirty punks led me to Rui (2012), who, when studying scenarios of the use and trade of crack cocaine in São Paulo, came across the figure of the *nóia* (an equivalent of the 'junkie' figure), whose degraded representation is a materialized image of what is not desirable. Not by chance, *nóia* is often an accusatory term, i.e., a pejorative label. Butler (2002) brings the idea of abjection as an illegitimate human life that is practically impossible to materialize. Although it is idealized, at the same time, it is an illustrative and concrete image.

Similar to this interpretation of the *nóia* image, the dirty punk is perceived with demerit not only by those who do not participate in this culture but also by those within the punk scene. Both knowledge and practices of dirty punks are minimized by the different groups that promote or participate in events in which punks play or attend. This stereotype originates dehumanization speeches that do not consider their geographical mobility, organization, work, relationship with band materials, or personal and collective trajectories. As in the *nóia* case, it is hard to empirically apprehend the figure of the dirty punk since it is more evoked than practiced.

However, besides producing distance, the dirty punk figure can also produce closeness to the extent that abjection is desired and cultivated since it integrates the repertoire of meanings and practices of punk culture in a more comprehensive way. These actions are intentional. People actively approach this place of abjection as a praised value expressed in the aesthetic, music, nicknames, and attitudes that allow one to recognize themselves and be recognized as a dirty punk.

Thus, what these figures experience is part of the process of dispute and control over the impressions on who they are, how they are perceived, and their strategies to adhere to certain situations instead of others.

4. Doing Punk: practices

4.1. Territorialities

The tendency of certain groups to appreciate a given punk tradition more than others is also expressed through the bands they are affiliated with, and their aesthetic and ideological choices. Always permeated by oscillations, the most popular punk perspective can reveal the meanings of each group or person's practices, although it cannot be taken as an exclusive criterion.

These diverse traditions blend in the field's everyday practices in different ways. Several punk branches, such as anarcho-punk and raw punk, present a diversity of understandings and actions that manifest themselves differently depending on the place.

In the 1990s, for instance, Curitiba's anarcho-punk was more related to those who considered punk as a central element of their lives than those who refused to leave the comfort of their homes, for example, to live in a squat - as did Moska, who created a performance that is still respected and recognized in the current punk scene.

However, despite his reputation, Moska is no longer recognized as an anarcho-punk since he left this branch aside after concluding that it has many rules of conduct and demands for compliance, preferring to follow a different path.

On the other hand, the anarcho-punks of the Great Porto Alegre are seen by those who understand themselves as real punks as socially more privileged people, as reported by Gabriel. Curiously, the anarcho-

punks do not participate in the traditional May 1st demonstration, which is promoted by the anarchist Brazilian Workers' Confederation (Confederação Operária Brasileira - COB). The content preparation and promotion, bands' presentation and audience have a major participation of the dirty punks.

Therefore, the ways in which individuals affiliate with a particular branch and their motivations differ according to the localities and arrangements that consider numerous aspects.

4.2 Mauss, Durkheim's punk nephew

By announcing the central question of his essay, *The Gift*, Mauss (2003) proposed an understanding of the exchange system not only for the named archaic societies — on which he massively listed data related to different exchange modes — but also for the contemporary ones. Far from dealing only with material assets, the exchanges also involve the intangible and are described in a wide range of situations.

The author realized that this dynamic is composed of donations and counter donations, as well as benefits and counter benefits, through three gestures that, together, constitute what he named total benefits: to give, to receive, and to repay.

84 For Mauss (2003, pp. 188, 212, 251-252), the thing given is not inert but shall possess a force that leads it to circulate through what he named gift, a conception that originated the idea of the 'Maussian spirit of things'. Although Lanna (2000) has criticized the methodology adopted by Mauss (2003) in one of his formulations, he recognizes that the principle of reciprocity can be applied as a universalizing theory.

For Martins (2016), the main movement of Marcel Mauss was to insert a symbolic dimension in his analysis, which was based on the understanding that objects, people, and events carry affections that, when circulating through the gift, promote the circulation of life experiences and social practices.

In this sense, Mauss's work is the theoretical framework of this study, offering analytical possibilities. Caillé (2002, p. 19) inscribes the gift in a place beyond individual actions and market relations, proposing a way to overcome the boundaries of both the base, where individuals are separately located, and the top, where the social totality is situated. The gift, in this way, can analyze social bonds from a horizontal structure, which connects individuals in their social relationships. Although at this moment I will not further the dialogue with other authors and the modalities listed by Mauss (2003), I will present some fieldwork results.



► Figure 1.5.5. – Isadora and Crânio, 'dirty punks' on a sidewalk of Porto Alegre
► Source: The author (2020)

4.3. 'Usually, I don't buy': affects involved in the circulation of objects, events, and people

For the studied group, their productions represent more than profit since they are a way of spreading ideas. The narratives I collected allowed me to approach some aspects of the punk culture in Curitiba, Porto Alegre, and their metropolitan areas. During the fieldwork in 2019, I met Gabriel and PJ, residents of the metropolitan area of Porto Alegre. At that time, Gabriel lived with his mother in the district of Itapuã - a rural area in the town of Viamão, located 57 km from Porto Alegre - and PJ played bass guitar for the band *Discrença*. After listening to a CD with songs of the band, Gabriel spoke with PJ through a messaging app: "Awesome, bro! Two decades of friendship and I only knew the sound from gigs. That's why physical media is so important". PJ answered: "Physical media may already be outdated, but it's still the bands' way to earn some cash". The amount collected from CDs and t-shirts sales is usually used to replace strings on instruments or record new songs. However, there are reports of disagreements regarding the money administration, as when a band member decides alone how to spend it.

Next, Gabriel shows an album and speaks with his then-girlfriend, Elisângela Morte:

**This one is from an Italian label. A double album, R\$160.00. The guys push the bands and they send new records. They arrive here with abusive prices.*

She answers:

**Yes, the dollar's exchange rate is R\$4.25⁴.*

Information on how to eliminate intermediary steps when acquiring a coveted album easily circulates among them. Knowing the advantages and disadvantages, Gabriel advises:

**Don't buy online, look for physical media with cover bands and friends.*

More than listening on a digital platform, access, in addition to the auditive, visual, and tactile material, is a valued experience.

Despite involving commercial transactions, both the purchase and sale of band materials are not related solely to it since people understand this procedure as a way of supporting practices closely related to the meanings of being punk.

Gabriel addresses the importance of the records:

**Records are an addiction. The guys who introduced me to vinyl records admitted being addicted to it.*

He explains how to have access to the materials without necessarily buying them:

**Generally, is making something for the bands. Buying is complicated, so I have few copies. It's time to produce a material. Screen printing. A friend of mine customizes t-shirts for bands when they go on tour and he don't charge anything, he asks for stuff.*

In fact, the production of materials for exchange has a cost, but it is reduced due to the labor involved.

The central role punk plays in Gabriel's life is expressed through his list of priority expenses:

I have to pay pension, put spikes on my jacket, and buy records.

4. On 07 September 2021, the exchange rate of the dollar was R\$5.17 and the euro, R\$6.14.

The jacket ornamented with studs, pins, and patches - pieces of printed fabric - is an emblem that expresses a preference that is not just musical but resides within the punk culture.

A situation that involves the circulation not necessarily of objects, but people is the gigs. Marcelo reports:

**We try to bring together an affinity group, go on an excursion. We agree with our peers to stay in someone's home and accommodate ourselves.*

In addition to band formation and rehearsals, recording songs requires some logistics. Marcelo explains:

**We record everything at home. We got some equipment here, others there, and we produce the recordings ourselves.*

He adds:

**We don't just record to ourselves; we also record bands we have an affinity with.*

Fofão, from the band *Besthöven*, has been playing all the instruments in his recordings since 1995. For the gigs, he invites two more musicians to the performance. He explains this dynamic: "I record all the stuff alone in the studio, all my records are me recording alone. I play guitar, bass guitar, drums, and voice. When I play on the gigs, I invite some crazy ones to play with me".

4.4. 'On the fringes of capitalism': work as resistance

Sometimes practiced in association with the circulation of material and immaterial goods in the gift circuit, sometimes in an attempt to continue providing meaning for the punk ways of understanding the world, sometimes formally inserted in a relationship between boss and employee: work expresses different possibilities of resistance. It is inserted into the system through different contexts and permeated by its structural precariousness and the formation of a new proletariat. Below, I present two types of work arrangement that are directly associated with Mauss's gift.

4.4.1 'My dream is paying the bills only with the t-shirts': the search for autonomy

As mentioned previously, punks are often involved in activities related to gift production and circulation. Many people, like Gabriel, have the ability to produce specific items, but the urgency to meet the minimum expenses often prevents them from dedicating exclusively to this practice. Likewise, Pereba, from the Curitiba's bands *Destroy System* and *Bomba Caseira*, for a long time was unable to carry out his plans of printing t-shirts. It was only with his new job as an assistant in a garment factory that he started to receive a salary, which allowed him and his partner Taiz (also a member of *Bomba Caseira*) to purchase inputs for the new productions of their brand, *Total Krude*.

By observing the everyday life in a small French working-class town, Weber (2009) realized that the social practices outside the factory could be arranged in several ways that were not, in the first instance, considered work, as they were usually associated with home and leisure. However, the author noted that such categories were mixed with parallel work, with no exact delimitation between work and domestic relations.

Similarly, the activities carried out by Gabriel, Pereba, and Taiz, who also have formal employment, are not fully considered work, despite their desire to make them their main source of livelihood. This is the case of Lucas, who since 2018 has managed to survive on sales of t-shirts and patches printed on his brand *Sangue de Barata*. Frequently, he establishes partnerships aiming to use the physical structures of his friends' screen printing workshops, where he also produces for other segments. Lucas is often requested by bands from Curitiba, consequently increasing his participation in the scene.

Although the majority of this group cannot manage to survive through such activities, some individuals stand out, as in the case of Fofão (Robson Felipe). With prolific, uninterrupted, and diversified production, Felipe (2020) registered in his first book the *Besthöven*'s discography from 1995 to 2020, accounting for more than 100 independent phonographic releases, including cassette tapes, vinyl records, and CDs.

Perhaps the main DIY aspect evidenced in Felipe's production is autonomy. Since he plays all instruments and records alone, he has a greater possibility to travel, which influences the cost and planning of the tours. He is also responsible for the conception and execution of *Besthöven's* graphic projects - which until 2007 was analogical, about which he (2020) declares:

**my arts on the records were made the same way I make music: sometimes with very little in my hand, but with a lot in my head and heart.*

In the same year, Fofão released three more books, with reproductions of articles (from 1990 to 2012) and images (from 1980 to 2007), that were already published in his fanzine *Vermynoze Pütrida*, and in the journal of the *Besthöven's* European Disaster Tour, in 2011 (Figure 1.5.6.). Endorsing one of the precepts of punk, Felipe (2020) declares:

**I have learned to survive with what I have within my reach, without caring about expensive guitars and instruments that cost the same as a car.*



► Figure 1.5.6. – Books published by Fofão in 2020
 ► Source: The author (2020)

Such autonomy, however, does not relegate teamwork to the background. On the contrary, the DIY in punk, as the gift in Mauss (2003), presupposes alliances. Without Felipe's ability to establish and maintain them, his production might not have reached such a large scale.

4.4.2. 'Mangueio' in the streets

Although the cases addressed until this point reveal a relationship approved between those who belong to punk or are somehow interested in it, not always the ways of obtaining resources from the production in punk involve people of the scene. At the central area of Curitiba, it is common for groups of punks who, carrying fanzines, stickers, or just a paper sheet with a printed image, constantly approach strangers asking for some financial or material aid, a practice known as *mangueio*.

By observing this practice among homeless people, Melo (2014) points out that this is an alternative used to obtain resources for survival. Under those circumstances, even if the person has access to shelter and food, the *mangueio*, unlike other donating practices, provide them access to money.

In punk, as in the *mangueio* illustrated by Melo (2014), both approach and request vary according to location, time, and audience. On nightly occasions, for example, *mangueio* practitioners usually obtain only money, cigarettes, or drinks.

Furthermore, Melo (2014) also highlighted in the case of homeless people their fear of being considered parasites when they are unable to meet their own material needs, thus requiring help from their peers. The image of the parasite is accusatory both when it originates from those who do not share the same ways of life and from those who belong to the same group. Graeber (2013, n/p) emphasizes that more than an economic aspect, the idea that "anyone who is not willing to submit to an intense work discipline deserves nothing" is related to the moral value of work.

Although in a particular way, the risk of being considered a parasite is also present among the punks and comprises their concerns regarding what they represent and the control of impressions on those who are part of the scene. The punk who practices *mangueio* is often seen as a parasite not just by people outside the movement but also by people who attend the gigs. In relation to this, Lucas, owner of the brand *Sangue de Barata*, declares:

**a new modality of the 'Olympics of Hypocrisy' is criticizing mangueio but making crowdfunding on internet.*

Despite being considered parasites, these punks can get involved in events without dealing with the weight of this accusatory figure. For example, many punks who practice *mangueio* in Curitiba attend the free lunch distribution at the Hare Krishna temple. Food is distributed through the window, and the punks sit on the sidewalks with homeless people and others who go downtown to eat. In January 2020, these punks were involved in the production of the gig *Punks Against Hunger*, in which the bands *Destroy System*, *Dysbiopsia*, *SOS Chaos*, *Final Notice*, and *Crotch Rot* performed in order to help the Hare Krishna's project by gathering food. Once again, the system of benefits and counter-benefits seems to explain the dynamics of these relationships.

Besides a method for obtaining resources, many punks understand the *mangueio* as a means of disseminating ideas and strengthening the punk movement. In this context, the production of materials might occur collaboratively. Moska, who, in addition to his bands, also administrates the Facebook page *Cuspindo no Sistema*, creates fanzines and distributes them for other people to use in their *mangueio* practices, refers that "Sometimes the guys can't produce anything to change in the streets, so I give a boost to those who are interested".

In other words, although the practice of *mangueio* can be characterized as a survival strategy for accessing consumer goods that involve mainly the exchange of objects and stories for money or even the attention of the interlocutor, it is not limited to this. The practice is also justified beyond its utilitarian purpose of obtaining economic results since it is a substantial part of the values that represent the punk perspective. It is a life alternative based on practical needs that also articulates and represents the meanings attributed to what is being and doing punk.

5. Final considerations

88 With the proposition of the total social fact, Mauss (2003, p. 187) took a step forward to the work of Durkheim and pointed out "an enormous set of facts", which present a great complexity. According to him, in these facts, everything that constitutes the properly social life of societies is mixed and able to express, at the same time, the most diverse institutions - political, familiar, and economic. As it is also an experience that occurs in individual terms, the total social fact has a three-dimensional character, encompassing sociological, historical, and psychological understandings.

From this perspective, I suggest that, through the gigs, the production and circulation of materials and events in the punk scene have its total social fact. Almost as a ritual moment, it constitutes a climax where several aspects related to its values and practices are lived intensely and can be perceived in the same place: music, aesthetics, the meeting of different generations, the celebration of friendships and partnerships, bands' performances, commercialization of food prepared especially for the occasion, and exchange of contacts, fanzines, and materials regarding the bands. Moreover, it is also allowing the realization of joint performances and tours that were previously planned.

As people show interest in such objects and situations, the economic issue becomes less important than the circulation ones. This brings the market value to the background, ceasing to be a mere prosaic commercial relationship in order to become a moment of exchange between people, mediated by shared interests and belongingness.

As stated by Mauss (2003), such moments provide the exchange of rites, pleasures, dances, and parties. However, they also reveal internal contradictions. I believe the value of the gig as an analytical category resides in this fact. Therefore, I intend to follow the continuity of the research.

Acknowledgements: Tomas Melo, by guidance, and all to people that allowed my work in field and turn it possible.

Funding: This work was partial supported by the Graduation Program in Anthropology and Archeology (PPGAA) oh the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR).

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