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Punk's Origins: Anglo-American syncretism¹

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ABSTRACT *Punk's participants, and academic and journalistic commentators often construct the musical and cultural movement's origins as either exclusively American or British. Studies acknowledging punk as a US-UK hybrid tend to overlook the process that contributed to its emergence. Drawing on oral histories, chronologies and fanzine contributions recounting, examining and chronicling the mid- to late 1970s and applying Laura E. Cooper and B. Lee Cooper's thesis of a 'pendulum' of US-UK cultural exchange, this paper argues that punk developed during this period through a series of two major 'swings': the first, a series of US bands' 1976 UK tours; the second, the Sex Pistols' 1978 US tour. The paper seeks to challenge misinformed and ethnocentric notions of punk's emergence and allegations of US cultural imperialism through the musical genre and its associated subcultures.*

In this paper I attempt to challenge authors and commentators who attribute punk's authenticity to specific countries. Instead, I argue that punk evolved as a hybrid musical and subcultural entity through a process of American and British cultural exchanges.² Therefore, I suggest that punk must neither be interpreted nor implied as a manifestation of US cultural imperialism (Sabin, 1999, p. 3) or a British invasion of the USA. Rather, evidence suggests that punk emerged through a process of cultural syncretism (Gilroy, [1987] 1992). This syncretism is best exemplified in Laura E. Cooper and B. Lee Cooper's notion of a 'pendulum' of cultural exchange. They argue that since the Second World War, some American and British music and subcultures developed through adapting musical forms to local conditions. These accommodations evolved into distinctly new approaches to the music and subcultures. Thereafter, they returned to the reputed country of origin where they were consumed and re-interpreted as further mutations with substantially different attributes to the original version (Cooper & Cooper, 1993).

This process of mutual exchange can be identified by at least two swings within the subculture's (or perhaps subcultures') development during the 1970s. New York bands' 1976 UK concert tours constituted the first major swing. The second swing was the Sex Pistols' 1978 US tour. It could be argued that the pendulum made a complete return during this tour. Thereafter, punk on both sides of the Atlantic was

permanently altered stylistically, subculturally and musically. Its most notable contribution was stimulating the form of punk known as hardcore.³ It is also important to note that the performers early punks considered their inspirations also developed through transatlantic exchanges and contributed to punk's emergence on both sides of the Atlantic.

Debating Punk's Origins

There tends to be consensus amongst punk's participants and chroniclers that the term punk is ambiguous—reflecting qualities from male homosexuality, violence, inexperience and prostitution. Their scholarship and testimonies often indicate that the subculture organised around few shared musical properties. They acknowledge that there was a musical form called punk that existed in the late 1960s that involved American garage bands, and that bands on both sides of the Atlantic began emulating them in the mid- to late 1970s. Moreover, most commentators underline that punk was, from the start, a musical rebellion that sought to return rock to its mythical amateurish roots. The performers sought to simplify rock, removing the emphasis on virtuosity that developed during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Additionally, the performers intended to propose a challenge to what they considered to be lightweight, meaningless, pop. Finally, these sources also generally concur that the term punk rock emerged almost accidentally, when British journalists who followed the bands featured in the American fanzine, *Punk*, gave the revived musical style and the bands that generated it this label (Laing, 1985; McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, pp. 202–218, 249–260; O'Hara, 1995, p. 97; Osgerby, 1999; Savage, 1991, p. 200; Sinker, 1999).

Authors who have examined punk's origins write from either polarised or syncretic positions. The former suggest that punk originated in a specific country and contained certain attributes that established the movement's authenticity. Peter Leuner (1999, p. 711), and Richard D. Dixon and Fred R. Ingram (1979, p. 211) argue that punk is a product of 1970s British working-class youth culture. Early American punk participants such as Legs McNeil, co-founder of *Punk* magazine, and former Ramones' manager Danny Fields contend that the movement has American origins. The following comments, taken in response to the Ramones' 4 July 1976 gig at London's The Roundhouse, illustrate this point. While appreciating the band's success in the UK, McNeil, in a conversation with Joey Ramone, was disturbed that the band, and punk more broadly, did not appear to be more significant within the USA. He claims to have said, “Great, I'm glad, but what's England got to do with punk?” (quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, p. 290). Moreover, Danny Fields, recalling the preparation for the tour claims:

Our first Ramones [*sic*] show in England was July 4, 1976, the weekend of the Bicentennial, which I thought was metaphorically appropriate, because here it was the two hundredth anniversary of our freedom from Great Britain, and we were bringing Great Britain this gift that was going to

forever disrupt their sensibilities. (Quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, p. 287)

Most commentators, however, acknowledge a synthesis of both British and American contributions to punk. James Lull claims, 'punk music was from the outset a reaction against mainstream forms of rock and roll music in England and the United States' (Lull, 1987, p. 235). Kristine McKenna has noted that 'punk was an international movement, but it's generally agreed that it had three capital cities: London, New York and Los Angeles' (McKenna, 2000, p. 26). James R. McDonald notes that punk emerged 'almost simultaneously in Britain and America in 1975'. While he does not account for links between the two countries at the early stages, McDonald correctly asserts that the Sex Pistols' 1978 US tour was a major international connection between the two punk communities and implies that it was a stimulus for hardcore's development (McDonald, 1987, p. 92). As it will be demonstrated later, participants in many American punk circles in the 1970s share this viewpoint. Notwithstanding his masterful intellectual spadework, McDonald attributes working-class youth authenticity to the movement (McDonald, 1987, p. 94). It is certainly proper to acknowledge working-class contributions and themes in British punk, especially its 1970s expressions. Indeed, that many British punks considered the music and the movement to be a reaction against hippy and student cultures, dominated at the time by the British middle class and that some bands, notably Sham 69 often articulated overtly working-class themes, substantiates a working-class current existed within punk (Laing, 1985; Lydon, 1993 [1994]; Sex Pistols, 2000).

Nevertheless, locating punk within (especially British youth) working-class authenticity obscures the fact that artists, artistic movements, and many middle-class youths and adults participated in the movement. V. Vale, founder of San Francisco punk zine, *Search and Destroy*, commenting on punk's emergence in San Francisco in the mid-1970s, notes the important contributions that 'weirdos and outcasts and artist types, post-beatnik types', and 'older' participants, especially those 'at least in their twenties and thirties' made to that city's scene (quoted in Stark, 1999, p. 15). Lewis (1988, p. 90) notes that Los Angeles' punk subculture was embraced by 'graduate students, to upper middle class, white, well educated men and women (despite the fact that they were often the target of punk tirades)'. Although they attribute British working-class authenticity to punk, Dixon and Ingram acknowledge a strong proportion of college and university students and professionals amongst its southeastern US fan base during the Sex Pistols' 1978 tour (Dixon & Ingram, 1979, p. 211). Jeffrey Goldthorpe (1992, p. 39), Martha Bayles (1994, pp. 305–314), Paul Freyer (1986), Patrick Mignon (1993, p. 191) and contributors to McNeil and McCain's punk oral history ([1996] 1997, pp. 107–142) acknowledge poets', artists' and performance artists' early involvement in punk. Nevertheless, it is imperative not to overstate their influence. Greil Marcus' *Lipstick Traces: a secret history of the twentieth century* contains some of the most elegant prose on punk broadly, and the Sex Pistols more specifically (Marcus, [1990] 1997, pp. 27–152). However, he overstates the connections between the Sex Pistols and the Situationists' art, practice

and tactics. Former Sex Pistols' lead singer Johnny Rotten, né John Lydon, debunks this myth in his autobiography (Lydon, [1993] 1994, p. 4). David Huxley (1999, p. 86) contends that the Situationists' most significant presence could be found in Jamie Rield's artwork, like his classic work for the 'God Save the Queen' single cover, depicting Queen Elizabeth II with a safety pin through her nose.

Several writers allude to transatlantic exchanges between US and UK punk subcultures and acknowledge specific contributions that each made. Bayles reinforces the Ramones' concerts' importance in establishing links between the two movements. Moreover, she correctly implies that there were like-minded individuals on the other side of the Atlantic, declaring that 'a critical mass of Britons were already primed for such and outburst' (Bayles, 1994, p. 305). Roger Sabin (1999, p. 3), Craig O'Hara (1995, p. 10), Mark Perry (New York invasion, *Sniffin' Glue*, 8, March 1977, pp. 7–9, at p. 9) and Elliott Kidd (quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, p. 324) all note that punk was certainly differentiated, with New York bands oriented more towards fun, artistic, or self-reflective themes, while British bands had more socio-political lyrical content. This point, at least in relation to the British bands, may be somewhat overstated. Former journalist and temporary Clash manager Carolyn Coon suggested that stylistic and thematic differentiation could be identified in, for instance, 'the personal politics of the Sex Pistols, the serious politics of the Clash, and the theatre [*sic*], camp and good fun of the Damned' (quoted in Lydon, [1993] 1994, p. 121).

Transatlantic Exchange in Punk's Precursors

Punk's commentators identify several key acts as the movement's precursors. These usually include performers and bands such as David Bowie, Iggy Pop, Lou Reed, the MC5, Velvet Underground, 1960s bubble-gum bands and garage bands and the New York Dolls. Additionally, there is a consensus that these artists contributed several key attributes which early punk bands subsequently adopted. For instance, Bowie, Reed, Pop and the New York Dolls perpetuated elements of fluid sexuality and androgyny within popular music. American garage bands and the New York Dolls, for instance, helped return rock to its mythical roots, 'democratising' the music by eliminating virtuosity as a prerequisite for musicianship (Mignon, 1993, p. 191). Additionally, performers like the New York Dolls helped to initiate a more participatory performance style which blurred the boundaries between performers and audience members. By the mid-1970s, many bands established huge physical and psychological barriers between themselves and their audiences. Punk musicians sought to reduce these forms of space and exclusivity (Biafra & Vale, 1996, p. iii; Laing, 1978, p. 174; Lull, 1987, p. 235; Richard Hell quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, p. 148).

Although the aforementioned authors are to be commended for reinforcing these artists' and bands' influences on punk, they tend to overlook that transatlantic exchanges facilitated these developments. There is ample evidence, for instance, that David Bowie, Lou Reed and Iggy Pop mutually reinforced and influenced each other artistically and personally. This included, for instance, producing each other's

albums, performing together and providing support (Chambers, [1985] 1993, pp. 67–76; McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, p. 151; Watts, [1972] 1993, p. 51). Mark Perry who founded *Sniffin' Glue*, British punk's premier fanzine, contends that the 1960s American garage bands drew their inspiration from 'the likes of the Yardbirds and the Pretty Things—the second wave of British beat groups' (Perry, 2000, p. 15).

These performers' and bands' styles influenced scenes on both sides of the Atlantic (and as evidenced by The Saints, globally). Therefore, their touring and people's exposure to them provided bases for punk to emerge in the mid- to late 1970s. Chris Morris (2000, p. 12) and Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain's interviewees ([1996] 1997, pp. 33–194) note the significance that David Bowie, the MC5 and others had in stimulating musicians in, for instance, Los Angeles and New York. Jon Savage (1991, pp. 75–78), George Gimarc (1994, p. 6) and the Sex Pistols (2000, pp. 21–25) are amongst the commentators and participants who attribute David Bowie's influence (and equipment) as being seminal for the latter's emergence and involvement in punk. It should also be noted that the New York Dolls played a significant role blazing trails on both sides of the Atlantic through their New York and British concerts, spreading their music and performance philosophies and fashion. The band also became an important link between US and UK punk subcultures through their affiliation with Malcolm McLaren, the future Sex Pistols' manager. McLaren managed the Dolls at the end of their career, during a US tour. It was during this period that McLaren introduced what could be considered revolutionary political chic into the band's fashion. Moreover, McLaren, former Dolls' members and other commentators suggest that McLaren's management experience, and his exposure to other New York acts, notably Television and its bass player Richard Hell, provided McLaren with the inspiration to transplant the musical styles, fashions and philosophies in Britain (McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, pp. 246–248; Savage, 1991, p. 92).

As noted before young British men and women had been organising bands on their own. Highlighting McLaren at this juncture is not meant to suggest that he contributed more to British punk's development than the performers and subcultural participants who created the music and atmosphere. However, the purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that international exchanges occurred that stimulated the US and UK punk subcultures' development. In this respect, McLaren sat at a crucial juncture between them. The accounts Gimarc, Gray, Savage, Laing, the Sex Pistols and McNeil and McCain provide illustrate the important roles that many young men and women had in establishing punk in the UK. Moreover, these activities make significant challenges to ethnocentric claims on punk's authenticity or allegations of US cultural imperialism.

The following sections engage in critical evaluations of two 'swings' of the cultural pendulum in punk's development. The first focuses on the series of gigs New York artists played in the UK during 1976; the second centres on the Sex Pistols' 1978 US tour. These instances are key points in which the two subcultures made physical contacts. Additionally, the cases presented here serve as a means of illustrating and interrogating their significance within a transnational punk subculture.

Pendulum Swing I: New York bands' 1976 tours

Performers, inspired by the acts noted earlier or who intended to use rock as a medium for performance art and poetry, began playing gigs throughout the early to mid-1970s at venues such as Max's Kansas City and CBGB's in New York. Like their UK counterparts, New York bands' developments are amply addressed elsewhere in the literature cited throughout this paper; hence they need not be revisited for the purposes of this paper. Nevertheless, it is important to note that by mid- to late 1976, several New York bands established very strong local, and in some cases, national and international reputations, and they toured elsewhere.

The eponymous Patti Smith Group, led by the poet, actor, playwright and model, was the first of the New York acts to tour the UK. However, as noted earlier (see note 2), the band played in France and Holland before gigging in Britain. Critics and subcultural participants appear to have had mixed feelings over the concerts. Bockris draws evidence to reviews and comments reflecting positive and negative views amongst, for instance, critics and audience members (Bockris, [1998] 1999, pp. 19–21). Both Bockris ([1998] 1999, p. 119) and McNeil and McCain ([1996] 1997, p. 304) quote the band's drummer Jay Dee Daugherty's comments as evidence that the Sex Pistols, and Johnny Rotten in particular, did not embrace the Patti Smith Group. Indeed, he claims Rotten located them within hippy culture and was fairly dismissive of their music.

The band's UK tour was however, arguably significant for two reasons. First, it was the inaugural contact between the two subcultures. In addition to the band performing to a British audience, The Stranglers, one of the UK's pioneering punk bands, opened for the show at The Roundhouse (Gimarc, 1994, p. 28). However, there was some degree of US–UK contact already established. Victor Bockris ([1998] 1999, p. 119) notes that amongst the crowd that evening was Chrissie Hynde, an expatriate American who had been living in the UK since 1973, and attempting to form bands with some of Britain's early punks.⁴ Additionally, Bockris notes that Mick Jones and Paul Simonon of the Clash were also in attendance. In the spirit of punk's participatory and democratised practices, 'the latter even join[ed the band] on stage taking Cale's place on "My Generation"' (Bockris, [1998] 1999, p. 119).

Second, it could be argued that the gig gave further impetus for young women who were participating in the UK's early punk circles to take greater roles within the subculture. Bockris notes that The Slits were particularly inspired to form a band by this performance ([1998] 1999, p. 121). Nevertheless, it would be entirely wrong to overstate the concert's influence on young women's subcultural participation. There tends to be consensus amongst punk's commentators that punk girls and young women had much more prominent roles than in previous or contemporary subcultures as performers, managers, scene organisers, journalists and zine writers. They also agree that this greater role did not mean that misogyny or homophobia were absent within punk (Goldthorpe, 1992, p. 38; O'Brien, 1999; O'Hara, 1995; Reynolds & Press, 1995). Moreover it would be wrong to suggest that punk's emergence generated young women's subcultural activism. McRobbie and Garber

suggest that several developments increased the social space available to young women in the UK and enabled them to undertake more significant roles in subcultures by the late 1970s. These included, for instance, the accumulation of disposable income, albeit much lower than their male counterparts' wages; the emergence of 'softer' working-class subcultures, such as the Mods, who arguably included a relatively more democratic role for women, and wore less rigidly gendered fashions; women's participation in hippy cultures and the emergence of unisex fashions and androgyny in popular music (McRobbie & Garber, 1977, pp. 212–215).

The Ramones' July 1976 tour also furthered the subcultures' transatlantic connections. The band formed in late January 1974 in the Forrest Hills section of New York (Gimarc, 1994, p. 7). It is well established that the band took its name from one of Paul McCartney's pseudonyms (Osgerby, 1999, p. 163; Savage, 1991, p. 90). The Ramones gigged frequently throughout the New York area from 1974 to 1976 and released a debut album in April 1976 (Gimarc, 1994, pp. 12, 13, 17, 19, 27, 29). Despite the band's popularity within New York, the Ramones rarely played outside the state and were not particularly well known elsewhere within the country. The band's former manager Danny Fields notes that his management partner Linda Stein suggested promoting the band overseas, particularly in Europe and the UK. According to Fields:

From the very beginning, she properly sensed that we were likely to find an easier niche in the UK. So from the beginning, we tried to get to England, especially as it seemed less and less likely that we could move beyond New Jersey, the other side of the river. (Quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, pp. 286–287)

Subsequently, the band played a series of gigs at the London clubs The Roundhouse and Dingwalls over the 4–5 July 1976 Bicentennial Weekend. The series of events that took place over the weekend is a contested piece of punk history. Nevertheless, it is clearly among the more important transatlantic links bringing the subcultures together, and facilitating cultural hybridity. However, some of the Ramones' entourage members' perceptions of the gigs' importance may be overstated. In some cases, they could be incorrect. Nevertheless, the event provided a common focal point, uniting many members of London's punk circles. Additionally, the gigs inspired Mark Perry to establish *Sniffin' Glue*, arguably Britain's first punk fanzine. It should be noted that while some first-hand accounts of the tour acknowledge the presence of many of UK punk's future seminal figures in the crowd, it would be incorrect to argue that the gigs *encouraged* those particular future musicians to begin bands.

There appears to be an American bias concerning the tour's overall influence over British punk's development. As stated previously, some early American participants felt that punk was purely an American musical and subcultural expression, or they were unaware of UK punk developments. However, the tour also strengthened the solidarity amongst punks who were starting their own bands and initiating the subculture in England. Mark Perry notes:

In early July 1976, The Ramones came to Britain for the first time, supporting the Flaming Groovies. I saw them at the Roundhouse and Dingwalls and they were even more exciting live.... At the gigs I met other like-minded kids, such as Shane McGowan [later of the Pogues], and Bryan [*sic*] James. Bryan [*sic*] told me about his new group, The Damned. I began to realise that these people were starting to call themselves punks and I felt that I was becoming part of it, part of something big. (Perry, 2000, p. 15)

The tour's influence on major British bands and their development is, however, debatable. Several incidents suggest that the Americans may have harboured misconceptions. For instance, Danny Fields claims:

Mick Jones and Paul Simonon of the Clash were there.... Paul and Mick weren't in the Clash yet, but they were starting it. They were afraid to play until they saw the Ramones. I mean Paul and Mick told the Ramones, 'Now that we've seen you, we're gonna be a band.'

The Ramones said, 'You just gotta play, guys. You know, come out of your basement and play. That's what we did.' (Quoted in McNeil & McCain, 1997, p. 288)

There are some factual and implied shortcomings with this anecdote. First, the Clash had formed by that stage. The last major figure to join the band, Joe Strummer, left the 101ers and decided to join the Clash in early June 1976, after having been encouraged by the Sex Pistols' opening sets for his former band in April and May (Gimarc, 1994, pp. 27, 28, 29; Savage, 1991, p. 170). Second, that the band was together at that point is well documented: the Clash played its first gig the evening of 4 July 1976 at the Black Swan in Sheffield, supporting the Sex Pistols (Gimarc, 1994, 30; Gray, 1995, p. 171; Savage, 1991, p. 179). Moreover, given this point, that Dee Dee Ramone and Mickey Leigh, Joey Ramone's brother, and artist and Ramones' entourage member Arturo Vega claim (quoted in McNeil & McCain, 1997, pp. 287–288) that members of the Clash and Sex Pistols met with the Ramones at The Roundhouse gig, or before it is dubious. Indeed Marcus Gray writes in his biography of the Clash that the band actually set off to support the Sex Pistols in Sheffield at 5 a.m. on 4 July 1976 (Gray, 1995, p. 171). Moreover, he claims that members of the Clash and the Sex Pistols attended and made contact with the Ramones the following evening at the gig at Dingwalls (Gray, 1995, p. 171).⁵

However, Ramones' entourage members' accounts indicate that some British punks may have misunderstood some of New York punk bands' philosophies, objectives and behaviour based on how they constructed and negotiated punk. This is particularly relevant in the incorrect stereotyping of punk as a violent subculture. As it will be demonstrated later, this pattern also occurred during the second pendulum swing when the Sex Pistols toured the USA in 1978. Mickey Leigh recounts an encounter with members of the Clash:

All of us, the Ramones and the roadies, were walking down this alley to get

to the backstage door of the Roundhouse [*sic*], and standing in the alley like a posse was the Clash.

They were all wearing black leather jackets, and they were all trying to be real fucking tough and we were a little scared.... So as we were walking toward the door, they said, 'We're the Clash, man. We're gonna be bigger than anybody.'

It wasn't like, 'Hey, we liked your record!'⁶ It was an act. They were acting tough because that's how they figured bands in New York acted—tough. (Quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, p. 287)

Similarly, Arturo Vega, who accompanied the Ramones on the tour suggests that the Sex Pistols' Johnny Rotten may have had the same misconception about American punk, 'He asked me, "If they don't like me will they beat me up?". He thought the Ramones were a real gang. Ha Ha Ha' (cited in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, pp. 287–288). It is also possible that on this occasion, the American punks may not have understood Rotten's sharp sense of sarcasm.

That punk was an active subculture in the UK by July 1976 is amply documented (see Gimarc, 1994, *passim*; Savage, 1991). Therefore, it is wrong to overstate the New York bands' tours' influence on British bands' development. The 100 Club's Punk Festival (21–22 September 1976) had more of an impact on British punk's evolution. George Gimarc contends:

[a]lthough this was by no means the first gig of the new punk rock boom,⁷ for many it is considered the moment that was the catalyst for years to come. This was the gig that brought the underground punks together from all over England for a rally of the clans. (Gimarc, 1994, p. 37)

However, it is worth noting that Gray suggests, that at the time the shows were proposed, it would have been difficult to secure 'enough bands to fill two nights and justify the description "festival"' (Gray, 1995, p. 195).

The festival was significant for several reasons. First, as stated earlier, the event was the first relatively large gathering of British punks for (mostly) British punk bands. It is estimated that between 500 and 600 people queued up for admission to the club on the first night. Second, the festival reaffirmed punk as a subculture for novices. Subway Sect, for instance, had only been playing for a short time. Additionally, Siouxsie and the Banshees made their inaugural performance on the first night—initiating a career that has continued into the twenty-first century. In the case of the latter, the band included Sid Vicious on drums and members of the Bromley Contingent—all of whom were Sex Pistols' fans. This point is important as it suggested that punk was a democratized musical form and that audience members could be instantaneously performers. Third, the event secured the Sex Pistols a recording deal with a major label and established the band as the premier act within the UK punk movement.⁸ Fourth, the two nights' performances and attendances gave the media the impression that UK punk was a fairly sizeable youth-oriented subculture.

Not all the festival's consequences however, were positive. Thereafter, the media

began continually associating punk, and the Sex Pistols in particular, with violence. This connection is the result of Sid Vicious throwing a glass during the Damned's set on the second night. Ironically, the Sex Pistols were in Cardiff on this occasion and there had been violent incidents—some of which could be attributed to the Sex Pistols' entourage—that occurred in other London clubs that preceded this (Gimarc, 1994, pp. 36–37; Gray, 1995, pp. 195–198; Savage, 1991, pp. 213–227; *Sniffin' Glue*, 1976).

Consequently, the Ramones' tour's most significant contribution to strengthening British punk's sense of confidence, identity and community appears to come from Mark Perry's subsequent launching of the fanzine *Sniffin' Glue* in July 1976. However, the argument presented below suggests that Perry's undertaking solidly cast punk as a transatlantic movement. Perry notes:

After the Ramones' gigs I asked the guy at Rock On whether there were any British magazines covering this new music, because apart from the New York magazine, *Punk*, I had seen nothing. He suggested that I start one up myself and I think it was said as more of a joke than anything else. I obviously took his idea seriously because I went straight home and typed the first words of my fanzine, *Sniffin' Glue And Other Rock 'N' Roll Habits*. A pinched title, straight from the Ramones song 'Now I Wanna Sniff Some Glue'. I thought that if anything summed up the basic approach to the new music it was this lowest form of drug taking. (Perry, 2000, p. 15)

The first number's contents clearly indicate the founder's positive view of the band, the movement's significance overseas, and most important, recognition of a similar scene existing in the UK, albeit at a much earlier stage of development. For instance, in *Sniffin' Glue's* inaugural editorial, Perry's view of punk is similar to American punks' conceptions. He notes, 'We believe rock 'n' roll, and especially "punk rock", is about enjoyment and nothing else—leave the concepts to the likes of Yes, Mike Oldfield, etc.' (Perry, 1976a). Additionally, in the same editorial, he acknowledges the zine's initial interest in the Ramones, yet acknowledges a wider movement, including several British acts.

In this issue we lean heavily towards being a Ramones fan letter but later on we hope to bring you pieces on the following: Flamin' Groovies, MC5, Nazz/Runt, Runaways, Iggy Pop and the Stooges, Lenny Bruce, Roogalator, Dr Feelgood, Eddie and the Hot Rods, Earthquake, New York Dolls, Jonathan Richman//Modern Lovers, Mothers of Invention, '66/68, Count Bishops, Sex Pistols, 101'ers, Stranglers, Raspberries, Television, plus any other punks who make and do things we like.

True to Perry's statements about the Ramones' prominence in the first number, he reviews the band's concerts at The Roundhouse and Dingwalls and its debut album (Perry, 1976b). Perry concludes the edition with an impassioned acknowledgement of Britain's, and particularly London's, emerging punk scene and an appeal for his readers to support it.

Shit, there's something happening in London now. We've had some

incredible gigs and great scenes. London's got a *scene* goin', and we've got it here The Sex Pistols, Eddie and the Hot Rods, The Damned, Violent Luck (Now called Sister Ray), the Stranglers, the Vibrators and the tasty Roogalator to name a few.

We've got to make something happen here. Most British Rock is past it now but the punk scene isn't. Let's build our own bands up instead of drooling over the NY scene. I'm not putting that scene down but if we've got somethin' goin' on here we wanna make it better. We're gonna try to do a bit for the scene but it's all up to you—the kids (and of course, the older guys who feel young). London punk is great so let's go! (Perry, 1976c; original emphasis)

Writing nearly two and a half decades after the first number's release, Perry suggests the fanzine had a sizeable prospective audience and that the scene was growing.

Once people started to see it displayed in the shops, they had no trouble selling it. It seemed there were plenty of fans, like me, who were eager to read about the emerging punk scene.

By this time, early August 1976, I started hearing more about the new British groups like The Sex Pistols, The Vibrators, The Damned and The Stranglers. (Perry, 2000, p. 16)

Although the fanzine's main focus remained the British, and particularly the London punk scene, Perry still maintained space for transatlantic (and occasionally French and Antipodean) bands. Hence, Perry's fanzine constructed punk as an international entity. Indeed, evidence from the contents somewhat contradicts Perry's statements in Gray's Clash biography about the zine's lack of enthusiasm for American performers after he had witnessed the Sex Pistols perform: "A month later, it was *forget* it! We didn't even want to know about American bands" (cited in Gray, 1995, p. 199; original emphasis). In the follow-up issue, the zine included what Perry labelled a 'New York Page' in its editorial (Perry, 1976d), comprising reviews of The Brats and The Heartbreakers (Perry, 1976e) and reviews of Boston legends Jonathan Richman and the Modern Lovers' work (Perry, 1976f). In the third number's editorial, using New York as a point of reference, Perry implores his readers to make more of an effort to support the emerging scene (Perry, 1976g). Hence, while expanding the zine's local content and using New York as a model, Perry framed punk as an international movement.

The thing that's been bugging me at the moment, is ... what seems to be a gig shortaged [*sic*]. It's like New York's got a few clubs with punk bands playing every night. Perhaps there's a couple of bands playing a few sets between them. I mean guys don't go there to see one special band, they'll dig the atmosphere and that.... Eddie and The Hot Rods, the Sex Pistols, the Damned, the Clash, the Jam, Buzzcocks, Slaughter and the Dogs.... [*sic*] they all need good gigs and there probably is [*sic*] a lot more bands.

Get along and see all the punk rock you can 'cause that's the only way somebody's going to be interested in opening some sort of club, for these bands and others like 'em.... We need somethin' happening daily, if it don't get that way we can forget the whole thing right now.

Despite using New York as a positive example for scene development, Perry was not uncritical of its bands. For instance, in *Sniffin' Glue 5's* table of contents (p. 2) it includes 'p. 9: Singles—New York stuff plus some good bands.—*Pistols*'. In his reviews Perry labels the Sex Pistols' 'Anarchy in the U.K.' as '*the most important record that's ever been released*' (Perry, 1976i; emphasis in original) and a record that 'kicked the establishment right in the balls!'. However, some American bands notably Blondie, and one Ramones' track do not fare remotely as well. Reviewing the former's album *X-Offender*, Perry dismisses it, declaring 'after hearing this crap I think I'd prefer to just look at the pics' of Debbie Harry, the band's lead singer. Nevertheless, in its Christmas 1976 edition, *Sniffin' Glue* perpetuated punk as a transnational movement by incorporating a 'Best NYC group' category in its 'Readers [*sic*] Poll' (p. 3), which is topped by a drawing by Zizz of Joey Ramone flanked by holly.

In an article reviewing some of the New York acts that played in the UK throughout 1976 and 1977, Perry presents a basis for international solidarity within the emerging punk subculture. Moreover, what is important is that he identifies a sense of difference in American—particularly New York—and British punk. This difference will be especially significant, affecting some of American punk's attributes after the Sex Pistols' 1978 tour. Perry claimed that these performers were 'a lot lighter than ours'. However, he also mentioned that 'no one can deny that they've brought a lot of fun into a scene that was becoming slightly to [*sic*] serious with itself' (Perry, 1977, p. 7). In concluding the article, Perry maintained that at the time he wrote his piece, London's 'new wave scene' was the 'best in the world' and he extended his 'welcome' to the New York acts. What is also significant is that his concluding statements connote a sense of diversity within punk, therefore challenging stylistic, thematic or nationally bounded authenticity criteria.

We've realised that New York punk ain't gonna save the world but what I like about it is it's [*sic*] honesty. Let's face it, they don't wanna do anything but get out there and rock. Let 'em get on with it and go and enjoy it. We're living in pretty bad times at the moment and it's great that we've got the chance to see some good time stuff—the New York acts—and the heavy message crew—the Clash, Chelsea, Buzzcocks, etc. (Perry, 1977, p. 9)

However, as Legs McNeil argues, overt political engagement was not amongst American punk's early objectives or components. Rather he notes that New York punk advocated 'personal freedom', 'offending grown-ups', 'saying it was okay to be amateurish and funny', '[b]ut it wasn't political' (quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996]1997, pp. 371, 414).

This pendulum swing therefore appears to be an important intermediary step reflecting the Coopers' thesis. The New Yorkers' gigs provided a basis for the physical meeting of the two emerging national subcultures. Its impact on band formation in the UK is, however negligible. Indeed, evidence suggests that there was already a lively punk subculture with its own bands, venues, and different form of lyrical content and performance rituals predating the 1976 tours. However, as Perry has disclosed, the tour stimulated him into founding, publishing and disseminating *Sniffin' Glue*. The zine helped nurture and energise the British punk subculture by chronicling the subculture's development from its own participants' perspectives. Additionally, the publication's predominantly British focus, but regular acknowledgement of American (and other foreign) acts indicates *Sniffin' Glue* constructed punk as an international movement. Moreover, Perry's remarks in the 'New York invasion' article reinforce the Coopers' arguments about Anglo-American musical exchanges. In this case, the British bands adapted New York punk's form with their own culturally specific content, altering its perceived style and format. The Coopers argue this was evident in the 1960s British Invasion bands' interpretations of rock and roll and blues. This also occurred in punk's next pendulum swing, the Sex Pistols' 1978 US tour—an event which paradoxically ended the band, yet altered significantly the style, content and popular perceptions of some American punk subcultures for over two decades.

Pendulum Swing II: the Sex Pistols' 1978 US tour

The second pendulum swing between the USA and UK occurred in early 1978 when the Sex Pistols toured the USA. Unlike most bands' US touring regimes, the Sex Pistols' campaign avoided the major cities where punk had substantive followings like New York and Los Angeles. Rather, they played in Atlanta, Memphis, San Antonio, Baton Rouge, Dallas, Tulsa and San Francisco (Gimarc, 1994, pp. 103, 104, 105; Wood, 1988, no pagination, entries for January 1978). John Lydon notes in his autobiography that the band considered the southern states to be the only areas where they 'were going to be taken seriously in America'. Moreover, he intimates that the band felt that playing in cities like New York would have been 'pointless' because of local chauvinism. According to Lydon, 'They had already decided that they hated us and their bands were so much better. New Yorkers believed that nonsense about Richard Hell inventing punk' (Lydon, [1993] 1994, p. 279).

Contemporary testimonies note that the American media treated the Sex Pistols' tour as a spectacle. Writing about the Pistols' first performance in Atlanta, Dixon and Ingram reported (Dixon & Ingram, 1979, p. 211) '[t]heir arrival was a media event—all the major television networks and the national print media were on hand to record the Sex Pistols' every move and capture the spirit and events of the first performance'. Lee Wood's chronology of the Sex Pistols' activities (Wood, 1988, no pagination, January 1978 entries) claims that among the nearly 600 people in attendance at the first gig there were '5 tv crews, 30 photographers and 20 critics'. Photographer Bob Gruen who travelled on the Sex Pistols' tour bus illustrates the

extent of media coverage, claiming (quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, p. 405) ‘the bus would pull up, the doors would snap open, and there would be these television cameras pointing up from the bottom of the stairs. The fans would be gathered around and the madness would start’: nevertheless, he also implies that having the band members ‘out of control’ was part of McLaren’s media strategy for the tour (quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, p. 409). Indeed, the tactic seems to have worked. Danny Fields contends that the Sex Pistols’ antics continually made the American national evening news broadcasts. However, he recounts that despite all the media coverage, the networks did not include the band’s music. This, he felt, was where the band was truly making a revolutionary impact. Consequently, he suggests, that the Sex Pistols ‘were famous for the wrong reasons’ (quoted in McNeil & McCain, [1996] 1997, pp. 409–410). Fields and other commentators imply that both the American media and the public formed preconceived notions through their uncritical second-hand consumption of British media and their lack of familiarity with American punk circles: that the Sex Pistols, their music, and their fans, were part of a violent subcultural movement. Indeed, as it has been mentioned earlier, the British media continually linked punk and the Sex Pistols with violence in the aftermath of the September 1976 100 Club Punk Festival. The British media initiated moral panic, constructing the band as folk devils,⁹ based on examples of violence at gigs and their exchange with television presenter Bill Grundy. Additionally, the band’s controversial song titles, lyrics and record sleeves stimulated labourers to hold work stoppages and refuse to handle their record company’s goods, and prompted local councils and university bodies to cancel their concerts. These circumstances forced the band to tour under assumed names and prompted two record companies to drop them from contracts (Gimarc, 1994, pp. 41–47, 54–56, 80–81; Savage, 1991, pp. 258–289; Sex Pistols, 2000, pp. 59–87).

Participants in the early San Francisco punk scene, for instance, argue that the media’s extensive coverage of the Sex Pistols and British punk more broadly, altered how the subculture functioned in that city, the patterns of crowd behaviour and bands’ musical content. Jeff Olenner, former lead singer of the Nuns, Ginger Coyote, who was active in the scene, and V. Vale, founder of the influential fanzine *Search and Destroy*, note how in the early days San Francisco bands took their musical and stylistic inspirations from New York. Hence, the musicians pursued artistry and experimental musical themes (quoted in Stark, 1999, pp. 6, 8, 15). James Stark, a photographer who chronicled San Francisco’s punk scene in the late 1970s and Jimmy Wilsey who played bass for the Avengers, one of the bands that supported the Sex Pistols at San Francisco’s Winterland, note that local punk began to change after one of the major networks broadcast a documentary on British punk in June 1977 (Stark, 1999, p. 91). Wilsey claims:

Before the TV show, in June of 1977, people would come to shows at the Mab[uhay Gardens], stand there and watch the bands and clap at the end. The network documentary showed punk rock in England, where everybody would be pogo dancing, slam dancing, dancing around like they were going

to kill each other, choke each other and stuff like that. Before that, it was like nobody knew what they had to do, it was sort of free form.

Those in attendance and participating at the Winterland gig suggest that the violent preconception contributed to a much more aggressive atmosphere compared with the conditions with which the bands were previously accustomed. Moreover, while the Winterland gig's 7000–8000 people in attendance had been the largest crowd before whom the San Francisco bands had played, the scene's participants felt that they were witnessing an alteration of punk's meaning and an invasion of their 'home territory' (Lyman & Scott, 1989). Pat Ryan, bass player for the Nuns, the first band to perform that night, suggests that as a result of McLaren's consistent attempts to get the Pistols media coverage, using catch phrases like "It's like the Beatles but it's about anger, you know, you spit and scream and throw things", that punk was being 'misrepresented' and giving people a 'preconceived idea' about the subculture (quoted in Stark, 1999, pp. 41, 42). He contends that this media coverage and presentation attracted outsiders who were generally 'from the suburbs moving in ... who were not really part of the scene coming in and just being voyeurs' (quoted in Stark, 1999, p. 42). Oliner speculates that the minority 'knew who the Sex Pistols were. The rest were curious onlookers and they were told to throw things and spit. They got this from the mass media who sensationalised the event' (quoted in Stark, 1999, p. 42). Penelope Houston, former Avengers' lead singer recounted her backstage encounter with Nuns' keyboard player Jennifer Miro who informed her that she "saw a girl getting raped in the audience and people spitting and throwing things". Houston also contends that 'a lot of the people there weren't punks, but people who came to see the punk circus. So they wanted to spit, they wanted to give the finger, they wanted to let go of all their aggressions.' She implies that the media coverage created this 'official punk concert' behaviour (Stark, 1999, p. 42).

Thereafter, behaviour at gigs and musical styles—in San Francisco and elsewhere in the US—altered significantly. Scene participants and academic commentators are in agreement that following the Sex Pistols' tour, American bands' music took a much harder edge, spawning a form of music known as hardcore (Bayles, 1994, p. 314; Goldthorpe, 1992, p. 39; Stark, 1999, pp. 91–93). However, Goldthorpe also suggests that 'the televised notoriety of the Pistols and British punk crystallised [*sic*]' American punk (Goldthorpe, 1992, p. 39). Indeed, Dixon and Ingram contend that their survey of people in attendance at the Atlanta gig found that the differences between punks and the broader community of rock fans so minimal that it would have been incorrect to define them as a distinct subculture in early 1978 (Dixon & Ingram, 1979, p. 211). Subsequently, American punk began to take on new meaning. Jeff Raphael, the Nuns' drummer, Jimmy Wilsey and Jennifer Miro all attest that 'a new dye had been cast' and that many new outsiders, mostly from the suburbs began to transform an inclusive, broadly non-violent, woman friendly environment into a 'macho, violent subculture' (Stark, 1999, pp. 91–93). Several academic commentators have also implied that what was once a movement that favoured difference and freedom became altered into branches that emphasised

masculine competition, discipline and rigid conformity, particularly after it mutated into hardcore and straight-edge. The latter is a lifestyle associated with hardcore punk whose participants avoid all forms of licit and illicit drugs, adopt vegan and vegetarian diets. In its more extreme forms, subcultural members violently police their own members' and in some cases outsiders' conformity with these principles, a practice known as hardline (Bailey *et al.*, 1998; Lahickey, 1997; Simon, 1997; Tsistos, 1999).

Chris Morris suggests that British bands' influences were occasionally more benign on the Los Angeles scene. Morris argues that compared with New York and even San Francisco, whose scene emerged in 1976, Los Angeles developed its scene later, in 1977 largely because it is 'a music-biz company town resistant to change and hardly susceptible to revolt' (Morris, 2000, p. 12). Morris contends, notwithstanding some pockets of the city's New York bands' fans, Angelenos preferred British punk bands, largely as a result of historical affinities with British acts like David Bowie and other glam acts (Morris, 2000, p. 13). Unlike San Francisco participants, who tended to stress the negative aspects of British influence in their scene, Morris points to the positive examples that British bands set by releasing their recordings through independent record companies:

Taking a cue from English (naturally) indie labels like Stiff and bands like the Buzzcocks, whose 1977 EP *Spiral Scratch* was the first homemade British 45, L.A. punks, by sheer necessity, took the D.I.Y. aesthetic to heart in the years 1977 to 1979. Chris Ashford, a clerk at Peaches Records on L.A.'s Westside, immortalized [*sic*] the Germs on the What? Records single 'Forming'; Greg Shaw's Bomp, a spinoff of the like-named magazine, issued early records by the Zeros and the South Bay pop-punk unit the Last, *Slash* writer Chris Desjardins released the important compilation *Tooth and Nail* and an EP by his own band, the Flesh Eaters; the Plugz put out their own album, *Electrify Me ...*; and ex-Screamers keyboardist David Brown's Dangerhouse Records dropped a quick succession of seminal singles by X, the Weirdos, the Dils, the Alley Cats, the Deadbeats, and Black Randy, as well as the anthology, *Yes L.A. ...* and Black Randy's album, the elegantly titled *Pass the Dust, I Think I'm Bowie*. Even *Slash* got into the act: the magazine's imprint issued Plugz and Germs singles, the Germs' sole album (*GI*), and in April 1980, X's long-awaited debut album, *Los Angeles*. (Morris, 2000, p. 20)

Therefore, punk's second pendulum swing is interpreted differently in the USA, yet all tend to agree that it had a significant effect on altering, or in some cases stimulating, punk more broadly than a few distinct scenes scattered throughout the country. For participants within the San Francisco scene, the Sex Pistols' tour and media coverage of British punk ended a lively, inclusive, artistic subculture. Within Los Angeles, punks there saw the British acts as a template for a more aggressive performance style, yet also drew significantly on the British bands' use of independent record labels and do-it-yourself culture.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper's main objective has been to challenge the narrow interpretations that punk is a subculture that is bounded by particular national and other cultures. Indeed, the argument presented above suggests that for a period of approximately 8–10 years, British and American (and other countries') bands, exchanged musical influences, performance styles and adapted them to local conditions. Punk's precursors—David Bowie, Lou Reed, Iggy Pop and the New York Dolls—were all involved in processes of transatlantic exchange. These artists drew from each others' stage acts, produced each others' albums and performed with each other. Additionally, their constant presence in both the USA and the UK helped create conditions that slowly began to emerge into punk. These included such characteristics as androgyny, raw performance styles and a reduction of space between audiences and performers. It should also be noted that British entrepreneur Malcolm McLaren helped to forge a link between the two countries' nascent music scenes with his management of the New York Dolls and the Sex Pistols and his adaptations of the New York scene to British conditions, and the various incarnations of his shop at 430 King's Road as a space where youths could congregate, consume music and fashion. However, as it has already been noted, McLaren's efforts could have only taken root because there was a core of musicians and their supporters who were actively engaged in attempting to alter the face of contemporary music.

The New York bands' 1976 UK concerts stimulated the growth of transatlantic links between the subcultures for several reasons. First, they were the initial physical contacts between bands and subcultural participants from both the USA and UK. Second, they helped to bring punks throughout the UK together for a significant event. Third, the gigs stimulated Mark Perry to launch *Sniffin' Glue*, the fanzine which was greatly influential in establishing a publication devoted to UK punk and giving the movement a sense of national coherence. Moreover, throughout its existence, *Sniffin' Glue* maintained punk as an international movement, notwithstanding its main focus on British acts and subcultural developments. That British punk acts had been in existence and performing well before these concerts is well documented. Therefore, it is erroneous to insinuate that these gigs were the starting point for punk's UK development. Moreover, as academic commentators and journalists have indicated, the 100 Club's Punk Festival was far more significant for British punk's development and consolidation than the New Yorkers' trips to London.

Finally, the Sex Pistols' 1978 tour altered radically American perceptions about punk and its performance styles. A previously artistically oriented, underground, and largely non-violent and dispersed subculture before January 1978, American punk became much more popular, but also more violent after the Sex Pistols' and British punk's exposure. Moreover, many American musicians adapted the music and styles of British working-class (mostly male) rage into anthems of American suburban (mostly white male) boredom and alienation.¹⁰ Hence, during the second pendulum swing, the meanings, ownership and authenticity of American punk altered as a result of British interpretations.

In all of these instances, the exchanges served as catalysts that further enhanced punk on both sides of the Atlantic. Additionally, it could be argued that the interactions inadvertently assigned punk with authentic characteristics, that naturalised particular practices, styles and subcultures. This process resembles the situation that Humphrey A. Regis suggests occurred in reggae music during the same time period. Regis argues that reggae was not initially a form of political music. However, some leading American journalists and critics assigned revolutionary value to reggae because some of the performers' music reinforced their political leanings. Hence, they attributed new meanings to the subculture (Regis, 1994, p. 44).

The evidence above reinforces, but not irrefutably, Craig O'Hara's suggestion that 'it is thought that the New Yorkers invented [punk's] musical style while the British popularized [*sic*] the political attitude and colorful [*sic*] appearances' (O'Hara, 1995, p. 10). The incidents, events and processes acknowledged earlier in this paper support a claim that punk developed as a result of men and women on both sides of the Atlantic playing in bands, organising and attending gigs, and generating and contributing to fanzines focusing on local and culturally specific themes. In this respect, punk during this period (and subsequently) is aptly reflected in the words of Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Lewis Gates, Jr as 'an international musical and cultural movement' ([1996] 1999, p. 531). More important, the preceding instances of British agency, activity and innovation radically contradict claims that punk constituted another form of American cultural imperialism. That British bands contributed to punk, infusing it with different musical styles, lyrical themes and subcultural practices, sufficiently challenges suggestions that punk constituted another means by which America exerted dominance over the UK. Moreover, that academic, subcultural participants' and journalistic testimonies overwhelmingly argue that British punk altered and stimulated further American punk's development refutes the unsubstantiated assertions of American hegemony through this form of musical and subcultural expression. Punk's status as a global movement incorporating a variety of styles, lyrical themes and politics can arguably be attributed to the fact that throughout its history it has been forged through a process of cultural exchange rather than cultural imperialism.

Notes

1. Monash University and Australian Research Council support for this paper is gratefully acknowledged. I am also indebted to two anonymous referees for their helpful suggestions.
2. That US and UK bands are the focal points of this paper should in no way suggest that only American and British bands were playing this type of music. Indeed, Brisbane, Australia's The Saints, whose music was very much in the vein of the bands considered punk or its antecedents, came together around 1973 (Perry, 1976h). 'Their single, '(I'm) Stranded' predated everything thrown up by their UK rock contemporaries' (McFarlane, 1999, p. 547) and ranked among *Sniffin' Glue's* 'list of all the "76 good things' (Perry, 1976j). Additionally, that US punk pioneer Patti Smith played concerts in France and Holland before UK dates (Bockris, [1998] 1999, p. 117) and British bands participated in the first European punk festival in Mont de Marsan, France before London's inaugural punk festival at 100 Club in September 1976 (Gray, 1995, pp. 179–180; Savage, 1991, p. 216) indicate that punk was clearly not limited to those countries, even at such an early stage.

Additionally, while this paper hopes to generate a new interpretation of punk's emergence, it cannot claim to be a comprehensive overview of factors contributing to its rise. My argument is largely concerned with human contributions, particularly through networks and events. In an influential paper discussing the factors contributing to why rock manifested itself as a musical force in 1955, Richard A. Peterson acknowledges that 'creators and audiences' (Peterson, 1990, p. 97) played an important role in establishing rock at that particular historical juncture. However, he also argues that it is necessary to analyse the role that the culture industries play in a new musical form's foundation. Therefore, he encourages cultural analysts to look beyond the aforementioned causes of musical change, and to devote more emphasis to issues such as 'law, technology, industry structure, organisation structure, occupational career and market' in order to evaluate how the culture industries themselves act as catalysts in what he labels 'the production-of-culture perspective' (Peterson, 1990, p. 98). It is clearly beyond the scope of the present paper to engage in this debate. Nevertheless, it is imperative to mention its significance in the overall explanation of a musical genre's development. It is also important to acknowledge the present discussion's parameters and its degree of comprehensiveness.

3. Hardcore, according to Ian McFarlane, is 'based around distorted, metallic guitar riffs, frantic tempos and rasping, rapid fire vocals barking out politically motivated lyrics that focus on [*sic*] government corruption, police brutality and social inequality' (McFarlane, 1999, p. 169). Jeffrey Goldthorpe argues that 'hardcore punk demarcated itself with raw, ultra-fast thrash guitar sound, a fundamentalist interpretation of punk' and with 'songs that often opened up with typical rock guitar riffs, then suddenly fast-forwarded to a speed that verged on static' (Goldthorpe, 1992, p. 39).
4. Hynde eventually went on the lead the Pretenders, an Anglo-American punk/post-punk band that still exists at the time of writing. Its original line-up included three musicians from Hereford.
5. Gray also notes that the Clash were initially supposed to open up for the Ramones at The Roundhouse (Gray, 1995, pp. 170–171). Savage writes that McLaren was thrown down the stairs when he approached The Roundhouse's booking agents to get the Sex Pistols as an opening act (Savage, 1991, pp. 172–173).
6. Gray notes, in fact, that the Clash had a great appreciation of the Ramones' first album (Gray, 1995, p. 169).
7. Indeed, this was not even the first punk festival in which British bands participated. Both Gray and Savage present accounts of British bands participating in a punk rock festival held in France earlier.
8. It is agreed that McLaren engineered the event to land the Sex Pistols a recording contract (Gray, 1995, p. 198; Savage, 1991, p. 217).
9. According to Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yahuda (1994, p. 31) a 'moral panic ... is characterized by the feeling, held by a substantial number of a given society, that evil doers pose a threat to that society and to the moral order as a consequence of their behaviour and ... "something has to be done" about them and their behaviour'. Stanley Cohen ([1972] 1973, p. 10) contends that the media position and construct these evil doers as 'folk devils: visible reminders of what we should not be'.
10. Although punk is largely associated with discursively white youths of European extraction, recent publications on American scenes acknowledge African-American, Latino and Asian contributions (Carrillo, 2000; Connelly *et al.*, 1995; Stark, 1999).

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