

Youth, the Other and Violence: London and São Paulo in the 1960s-1970s

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In this paper I will talk about the relationship between Sao Paulo and London in the 60s and 70s, focusing on young people's movements and the notions of alienation and political engagement. I intend to investigate cases of political rebellion, sociological movements, counter-culture and outbreaks of violence. The city of London had an important sociological influence upon behaviour in Brazil during the 60s and 70s, and this was reflected in young peoples' culture and art. The city of Sao Paulo also had an important influence upon other Brazilian cities at this time. I will be investigating the similarities and differences between the above cities throughout the course of this research.

Rock music, counter culture and violence will all be relevant to this research, as will the views of social scientists on alienation and political opposition. I will be attempting establish a connection between the Sao Paulo hardcore punk scene and the study of sociological violence by the Sociology department of the University of Sao Paulo. I am also interested in the concept of deviance. With regard to Brazil it is evident that many academic documents have associated young people with violence or rebellion, especially during the military dictatorship when youth became synonymous with the desire to resist authority and an energetic push for democracy or socialism. In the case of 60s

and 70s Britain, I will explore an investigation called “the history of mentalities and attitudes”, which considers the way human social scientists then perceived young people.

1. Methodology and resources

My research will involve examining and comparing texts in order to investigate how the rebellion of young people was perceived by academics in the 1960s and 1970s. I will concentrate primarily on journals and books published in London and Sao Paulo during this period. My aim is to identify when the subject of social rebellion gained importance in academic discourse, and the ways in which academic publications associated young people with political opposition, sociological changes and violence. I will be examining publications written by psychologists and sociologists, and looking at how the subjects of youth identity and otherness appear in these texts. In other words I will explore the ways in which young rebels were perceived in relation to the rest of society, and how the problems of rebellion and violence were typically blamed on the young.

I am currently investigating written materials from the period when the behaviour of young people began receiving significant attention from academics. My methodology involves comparing and contrasting relevant journals and books in order to identify how and why the subject of young people gained importance in the 60s and 70s, and examine the different

theoretical and philosophical perspectives of the authors. I am exploring the possibility of a connection between the emergence of youth subcultures in the inner-cities and the moment when human social scientists began to scrutinize them. With regard to the authors of the contributing publications, I will be considering the differing perspectives of London and Sao Paulo and their peoples during these decades. I will also be exploring the ways in which knowledge about young people circulated in these two very large cities on opposite sides of the world.

As well as identifying how social scientists in the 60s and 70s perceived young people, it will be important to examine the methodology they used in their studies, the subjects and themes that were of special interest to them, and the content and recurring aspects of their discourses and written work. The subject of rebellion and the identification (or non identification) of young people with the desire to rebel will be explored.

It will be important to consider the concept of otherness when examining the relationships between young people and an internal or external 'other'. Social scientists refer to this 'other' as a conscious or unconscious part of a person's identity, a force which has a strong influence upon him or her, such as adults, parents, the police, the state, the system or capitalism. I aim to identify the most significant influences upon the young people considered in the publications, and determine who or what the most significant 'other' was during the period of investigation.

I will be examining the social contexts of the era, the reasons why the texts in question were produced, the factual conjecture which may have influenced their production, the styles and strategies of the authors, the ways in which the texts circulated, the people who read them, the impact they had on the society of the day and the changes in the conceptions of psychologists and sociologists about young people.

2. Political Background

The Brazilian military dictatorship, established as a result of a coup d'état in March 1964, closed channels of political debate and censored the media, prompting a strong social reaction especially amongst the younger generation. Many of the students of Brazilian Universities took to the streets to demonstrate against the government. The year 1968 was a decisive year in which political movements and demonstrations against the military regime emerged all over Brazil, showing widespread dissatisfaction with the military government. Most leaders of the political movement were young people, aged between 18 and 30, as were the majority of the participants.

After the 1968 demonstrations, the government was aware that it faced opposition from different segments of the population, though it was unwilling to restore power to the people. Instead, it closed an increasing number of channels of free expression, and arrested many of the people who participated in the protests. The chief weapon of the government with regard to censorship and

persecutions was the AI5, the Institutional Act Number Five, which was launched at the end of 1968. The immediate consequences of AI5 were the closure of National Congress and all the Lower Houses of the Brazilian government for almost a year; the permission for the federal government to intervene in states and municipalities under the pretext of “national security”; the instant legitimacy of decrees issued by members of the government; the preliminary censorship of music, films, theatre and television (a work could be censored if it was deemed to be subverting political and moral values); the banning of political meetings outside the government; and the suspension of habeas corpus for politically motivated crimes.

These measures were enforced by a group inside the Army, known as ‘the hard-liners’. In reaction, many left wing groups, most of which comprised of student participants, radicalized their protest, becoming more militant and using weapons to try to trigger a socialist revolution in Brazil. Most participants were inspired by the 1917 communist revolution in Russia and the 1959 socialist Cuban Revolution. They often acted clandestinely, gathering in ‘aparelhos’ (apparatus) houses in the cities where they lived hidden from the government, behaving like an underground military organization. They took direct action, organising bank raids for money for the revolution; they kidnapping public figures to press the government into releasing their imprisoned comrades, and fermenting revolution among peasants and farmers in the countryside by providing them with military training.

Others protesters, mainly artists and musicians, participated in the movement against the military dictatorship, some of them writing their songs and lyrics as a call to arms against the government. One example is the song known as ‘Caminhando’ (Walking), also known as ‘Pra Nao Dizer que Nao Falei de Flores’ (Don’t say I didn’t speak about flowers), by Geraldo Vandre, which was released in 1968. This song became a popular anthem in demonstrations against the military government. Another form of resistance adopted by musicians was the “Chico Buarque de Hollanda” style, famous for lyrics critical of the dictatorship which were sung in metaphors designed to trick the censors.

3. Migrations to London and returns to Brazil

After 1969, as the political situation became more difficult to cope with, many Brazilians, especially young people and students who had engaged in violent political movements, were deported from the country. Some were sentenced to compulsory expatriation while others went into voluntary exile. Most migrated to European cities and some of them settled in London. This Diaspora resulted in a counter-cultural explosion in Brazil when at the start of the 1980s these exiled migrants returned. They had changed their habits and behavior in exile and had been subject to the influences of the young peoples’ movements in Europe, especially the May of 1968 protests in France. Many had studied in universities in the UK. Some of those who had lived in London adopted ideas from intellectuals, reunited in the *New Left Review* journal and

implanted them into leftist Brazilian political movements and Brazilian universities, especially in the social sciences departments. Life in London, according to the testimony of some of the ex-left militants, made them rethink their violent, militant and radical practices, and caused them to engage in more peaceful democratic movements for political, economical and social changes in Brazil.

In the cultural arena, the deporting of Brazilians to London affected the so-called Tropicalia musical movement, which was launched in 1967 by a group of Brazilian singers and bands. The movement involved a fusion of several musical genres such as Brazilian, African and rock and roll rhythms, and featured names like Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Torquato Neto, Os Mutantes, Gal Costa and Tom Zé.

Living in Notting Hill and Hampton Court in 1969, the musicians Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso socialized with West Indian immigrants, who introduced them to reggae music. They were also influenced by The Beatles. They met the Brazilian music entrepreneur Claudio Prado and ventured into the London underworld, visiting the best rock n' roll venues in the city. They also met hippies and bohemians and took part in the first Glastonbury Festivals. All these experiences resulted in a new wave of influence on the Tropicalia scene in Brazil.

The attendance at the first Glastonbury festival in September 1970 by Brazilians Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso and Claudio Prado resulted in the

organization of the ‘Aguas Claras’ festival in Sao Paulo in 1975, 1981, 1983 and 1984. The festival was based mainly on rock music and was intended to celebrate peace, love and justice.

One band that took part in the Tropicalia music movement and played at the Aguas Claras Festival in 1975 was the psychedelic group *Mutantes*, who were very close to Gilberto Gil in the Tropicalia and were greatly influenced by *The Beatles*. More recently, in 2002, the UK band The Bees covered the song “A Minha Menina” (My Girl), from the 1968 *Mutantes* debut album.

In the cultural arena, the exiling of Brazilians to London resulted in the establishment of what was called ‘counterculture’ on their return to Brazil in the 1980s. ‘Counterculture’ referred to changes not only in Brazilian music but also in the habits and behavior of the people, especially regarding sexual relationships and casual drug use. The book ‘1968: o Ano que Nao Terminou’ (1968: The Year That Didn’t End), first published in 1989, discussed the impact of the new habits and behaviors observed in 1968 in contemporary Brazilian youth culture. Being a publication of the 1980s, the book represented a new vision of young people, viewing youth culture and behaviors in a more positive way than the publications of the 60s and 70s had.

4. Alienation X Political Engagement – The AI5 Generation X Student Power

During the 60s and 70s, in the military dictatorship in Brazil, young people tended to be viewed as potential rebels and dissidents who wanted to resist the dictatorship and build a democratic or socialist country. Other groups of young people, such as hippies or those engaged in artistic movements were seen as being alienated from politics by some segments of the political left.

In the case of 60s and 70s Britain, a line of investigation took place through which many academic texts became more sympathetic towards young people. This investigation was commonly called “history of mentalities”, “history of attitudes” or “history of world-views”. The concept of ‘deviance’ was being questioned, and some documents reveal that people were beginning to view the concept of social deviance in a more critical way.

There were a number of key texts published in the 1960s, which popularised the notion of ‘student power’. A Brazilian political journalist called Artur José Poerner who had been exiled during the military dictatorship, had a book published in 1968 in which he discussed the power of youth and the history of political activity amongst Brazilian students¹. This book was widely circulated among young people, especially in universities and colleges and among students engaged in political and social movements. He considered the 60s to be the “decade of youth” and discussed the role of young people as

¹ POERNER, A. J. 1979 [1968]. *O poder jovem: história da participação política dos estudantes brasileiros*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização brasileira.

political agents. At the same time in London the notion of student power was circulated through certain publications, which made the expression popular. Alexander Cockburn, an American political journalist, and Robin Blackburn, a British social historian and former editor of the *New Left Review*, had a book published in 1969 which identified and discussed the nature and problems of student power². Julia Nagel, another British writer, collected articles about student power and formed a book, which was published in the same year³. These books, and others, were widely circulated in young academic and political activist circles in Brazil, and inspired different kinds of behaviour among young people.

Some Brazilian sociologists emphasised the difference between ‘engaged’ students, and the ‘alienated’ students in their work. ‘Engaged’ students tended to be those who identified with Marxist theory or with any Marxist activist groups or parties. Among the “Marxists” there were those who were criticised for being only “intellectuals” who did not participate in direct action to transform society. Alienated groups tended to be the hippies, the artists or those called ‘Zen’⁴, whose practices of meditation or other spiritual activities were criticised as not being politically relevant. In response to the criticism in these texts, many young people, some of them students, demonstrated their political commitment in front of the factories, communicating directly with the

² COCKBURN, A. & BLACKBURN, R. (org.). 1969. **Student Power**: problems, diagnosis, action. London: Penguin Books/New left Review.

³ NAGEL, J. (org.). 1969. **Student Power**. London: Merlin Press.

⁴ PIRSIG, R. 1984. *Zen e a arte de manutenção de motocicletas*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

working classes. Most of these activities at the factory gates were plays or musical performances that criticised the military government or dramatized exploitation at work or the supposedly miserable lives of the workers. Most of these dramatic pieces were intentionally prepared to raise the awareness and dissention of the working classes. According to some, the students, or leaders of the students, had a responsibility to open the eyes of the working classes and show them the true reality of their situation. The Popular Centre of Culture (CPC), part of the huge National Union of Students (UNE), was responsible for organizing these kinds of activities. The student participants would then move to places of work and working-class neighbourhoods, to perform these artistic presentations⁵.

At the same time that politically engaged young people were leaving their parents' homes in order to go to the 'aparelhos' houses or to the countryside armed revolution, other young people were living in hippy communes, called 'baia' (stable stalls) or students' houses called 'republics'. These 'alienated' individuals tended to live in house-communities or rural communities, participating in music festivals, doing arts and crafts and selling their goods in fairs, public parks or on the streets⁶. The texts I have read thus far, such as 'Geracao AI-5' (AI5 Generation) by the Brazilian sociologist

⁵ GARCIA, M. 2004. 'A questão da cultura popular: as políticas culturais do Centro Popular de Cultura (CPC) da União Nacional dos Estudantes (UNE)'. *Revista Brasileira de História*: Brasil: do ensaio ao golpe. 24 (47). São Paulo: ANPUH, jan./jun.

⁶ BORLOZ, A. A. *Malucos: a contracultura e o comportamento desviante*. Porto Alegre: UFRG, 1986. (Masters Dissertation in Social Anthropology).

Luciano Martins and published in the left wing Journal ‘Cadernos de Opinião’ (opinion notebooks), portray a very negative view of these young people, considering them to be largely marginalised and completely indifferent to politics⁷.

Having considered the perception of young people amongst Brazilian sociologists, I would now like to compare and contrast their views with those of British sociologists during the same period, identifying the commonalities and especially the differences. London culture had a significant influence upon behaviour in Brazil, and London’s youth culture in particular had a huge impact on young cultural expression in Brazil.

5. Mods and Rockers: “Deviance and Moral Panic”

A book written by Cohen and published in London for first time in 1972, sparked a critical discussion about mods and rockers in relation to deviance and moral panic. The author pointed out that youth culture in the working class, the middle class and in the universities had, since the war, been associated with deviance, delinquency, moral panic and violence. He asserted that among certain groups that provoked reaction (described as “moral panic”) from the public, mods and rockers had been identified as adherents to a negative form of social behaviour. Those collective groups of adolescents, who were considered “deviants”, were apparent throughout the whole of the 60s and played a crucial

⁷ MARTINS, L. 1979. ‘A geração AI-5: um ensaio sobre autoritarismo e alienação’. *Ensaio de opinião*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

role in making this a memorable decade. Cohen also mentioned the expression ‘folk devils’ in reference to the teddy boys in the 50s and groups of the 60s like the greasers, student militants, drug fiends, vandals, soccer hooligans, hippies and skinheads⁸.

The author believed that in the 60s and early 70s the way social deviants and problematic behaviour in society was studied had changed. Sociologists specialising in deviance and criminology began to sceptically consider concepts of deviance and problematic behaviour in relation to crime, delinquency, drug taking and mental illness. Critics began to question those who took for granted the concept that social deviance was synonymous with problematic behaviour. They were concerned with the places where different forms of deviant behaviour was observed, and the individuals who defined certain types of behaviour as problematic, dysfunctional, embarrassing, threatening or dangerous⁹. The author demonstrates here that at this time, people were viewing the concept of deviance in a more critical and relational way rather than in an absolute way.

Even considering the new scepticism towards the concept of deviance, Cohen opted to focus his study his study on young working-class social deviants. He considered that the notion of sub cultural delinquency would be essential to his research of mods and rockers¹⁰. Approaching the subject with a

⁸ COHEN, Stanley. 2002. [1972]. *Folk devils and moral panics*. Oxon, England: Routledge. p. 1-2

⁹ *Ibid* p. 4

¹⁰ *Ibid* p. 9

focus on moral panic, he explored the effect of adolescent behaviour on society and society's reaction to such behaviour. To achieve his aim he considered the public perception of mods and rockers, which he considered to be partly causative of their deviance. It is important for us not to view the events described by the author in a linear way, and it is also crucial to consider the impact of the events on society. Furthermore, this impact must not be seen in an absolute way. The popular public reaction to it depended on variables such as era, the group, class, race, religion, place, age, gender and background. They would also vary according to the personal and social experience of the people involved.

Some conclusions that Cohen reached about the public reaction to mods and rockers can facilitate our understanding of how the subject of violence has been associated with youth movement. In Brighton, for instance, mods and rockers were viewed negatively as frightening, as aliens, as "pricey pests", as a violent group, as inconveniencing, as threatening, as a rule-breaking and annoying people, with a tendency to damage property. These indignant reactions were indicative of a widespread belief that these groups ought not to be in Brighton, that they should be excluded, and not catered for¹¹. The methodological procedure of the author is also important to this study because of the way he viewed and understood violence. Rather than the actual violence of the mods and rockers, the author's focus was on the way people perceived

¹¹ Ibid p. 165-166.

them and their behaviour. An interesting conclusion he reached was that society created the problem of deviance and violence, and that mods and rockers were folk devils and symbols of moral panic that society reviled refused to change its attitude to. Cohen pointed out that society would continue creating problems for some of its members, especially members of the working class youth, and would condemn them for any subsequent acts of deviance¹².

6. Mods and Rockers in Brazil: the impact of “Quadrophenia”¹³

It could be said that mod culture in Brazil was more a style than a movement. The mods in question were frequently seen in rock bands and clothes in the mod style appeared in some high class’ stores in Brazil, though their cost prevented them from being especially popular. The so-called ‘violence’ of mods and rockers assumed different facets.

The rebellion of young people, mainly students, was generally regarded as a fight against the political dictatorship. Some of them adopted violence and used guns. The military government responded to their violence with more violence, imprisonment, censorship and torture, evidence of which can be seen in many testimonies and books written by ex-militants and ex-prisoners from the dictatorship period. The big youth demonstrations at the end of 1968 meant

¹² Ibid p. 172.

¹³ Allusion to the Album of the British Band “The Who” and the film with the same name, which subject is the mod movement.

inevitable confrontation with the police and resulted in stricter laws by the military government, such as AI5 (institutional act number 5).

During this time, a private war, generally regarded as a conflict of generations, was taking place in Brazil. Both young people and adults were taking part in a social war involving drugs, sex and alcohol. This was a behavioural revolution, in which girls and women confronted the traditional patriarchal and male-dominated aspects of Brazilian society.

The revolution grew more and more popular among the youth in the late 70s and early 80s and inspired a famous song and album from the punk rock band *Ira!*, whose name was inspired by the Irish Republican Army, adopted mod culture in their second album, which featured a song called 'Ninguem entende um mod' (Nobody understands a Mod). They were also influenced by the British rock band *Led Zeppelin*, the late punk rock and mod revival band *The Jam*, and George Harrison's song 'Taxman', from the *Beatles* album 'Revival'. *Iras!*'s original name was 'Suburbio' (suburb). They became famous playing at a school festival in Sao Paulo, where their controversial song 'Pobre Paulista' (Poor Paulista) became a hit. The leader of the group, Edgard Scandura, described it as disguised public criticism of the government and an expression of youth rebellion. However, the song was later seen as a xenophobic rant against poor immigrants from the Brazilian northeast who came to live in Sao Paulo:

“Não quero ver mais essa gente feia, (I don’t want to see these ugly people any more)
Nem quero ver mais uns ignorantes, (I don’t want to see these ignorant ones)
Eu quero ver gente da minha terra, (I want to see people from my land)
Eu quero ver gente do meu sangue. (I want to see people with my blood)
Pobre São Paulo! Oh oh (poor Sao Paulo! Oh oh)”¹⁴

Because the vocalist of the group was named Nasi, and also because the ties *Ira!* had with the punk scene of Sao Paulo (in which it was common for songs to attack poor immigrants), the group came to be widely viewed as fascist sympathisers. The controversy never came to an end, and it was compounded when the lead singer of the group, Edgard Scandura, admitted during a bohemian evening at a pub that when he composed ‘Pobre Paulista’ at 17 he was annoyed at the “invasion of Sao Paulo” by Brazilians from the northeast, especially with the singers such as Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso, who came from Bahia.

Some other hits by *Ira!* were called ‘Gritos na Multidao’ (Crowd’s Scream), and Base Nucleus, the latter song being intended as a backlash against military recruitment. The album ‘Vivendo e Nao Aprendendo’ (living and not learning), featured the hits ‘Envelheco na Cidade’ (Becoming Old in the City) and Dias de Luta (Days of Fighting), as well as ‘Flores em Voce’ (Flowers on You), which was based on The Beatles track, ‘Eleanor Rigby’, from the album ‘Revolver’, - the most played song on Brazilian radio in 1986 and 1987. The band also displayed confrontational behaviour, such as refusing to wear Santa hats in a

¹⁴ Ira!. Pobre Paulista (lyrics).

special Christmas TV programme, and destroying a guitar in front of the audience at the 1988 edition of the Hollywood Rock Festival in Rio de Janeiro and later vandalising their dressing room.

The British mod movement from the 60s continued to inspire Brazilian bands in the 90s, such as *The Charts*, who used to play in the Sao Paulo underground and in alternative rock bars. They launched an album called ‘Carbonicos’ (Carbonic) in 1996, with lyrics written completely in the Portuguese. This band could not join peers at the time because the underground bands, influenced by alternative British and American rock, always sang in English. Thereafter they acquired a cult following in Sao Paulo for their idealism and for being the pioneers who had brought the mod style to the Sao Paulo rock scene. Other mod bands in the 90s, playing 60s style gigs at alternative music venues in Sao Paulo and independent rock festivals, were *Os Sky Walkers*, known as “the music of garages”, *O Sala Especial* (Special Room) and *Os Espectros* (The Spectres), all of whom played “raw rock” very loudly, performing scenes and dressing in costumes inspired by horror films, or performing as if they were under the influence of drugs, calling such performances as “lysergic journeys”.

7. Attitudes Towards...

A book published in 1972 in London called ‘Teenagers and Alcohol’: A Developmental Study in Glasgow’ details a study which took place in Glasgow

mainly in the counties of Ayrshire and Renfrewshire. The authors, John Davies and Barrie Stacey, academics from the Department of Psychology at the University of Strathclyde had their research commissioned by the Health Education Unit of the Scottish Home and Health Department. They were mainly concerned with the attitudes of young people to alcohol.

The authors' research took place in schools and colleges among boys and girls aged 14 to 17. The questionnaire the researchers administered, which was psychological in nature, contained sections about behaviour and attitude, and aimed to determine what motivated the actions of young people with regard to alcohol and society. The research also revealed the authors' background in fields concerning demography and psychology¹⁵. To describe the ways in which adolescents expressed themselves, behaved towards teachers and authorities, and defined their reasons for drinking, the authors used the expression "attitudes towards"¹⁶. The authors wrote a section in the book intended to show how young people perceived their peers and their actual and ideal selves (understood here as both the people they aspired to be and the people they believed themselves to be).¹⁷

The authors believed that comparing how the teenagers perceive their 'actual' and 'ideal' selves could clarify the way they viewed the nature and deficiencies of their own character. They also examined the adolescents'

¹⁵ DAVIES, J. and STACEY, B. 1972. *Teenagers and alcohol: a developmental study in Glasgow*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. p. viii, ix.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. xv

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. xii

perceptions of their peers in order to reveal their life aims and aspirations, and to determine whether or not those aspirations might lead them to drink heavily in the future. These concerns show how identity and otherness played an important role in the authors' approach. However the authors don't use the expressions 'otherness' or 'identity', which probably were not broadly used by academics in the 70s. Preoccupation with identity and otherness can be seen in their approaches when they make reference to the teenaged perception of "teenagers who drink heavily" and "teenagers who do not drink", and how these perceptions could reveal their attitudes towards alcohol¹⁸.

The question of otherness and identity appeared not only when the authors described how the teenage subjects related to their peers, teachers and authorities, but also their parents. According to the authors, the majority of teenagers were introduced to alcohol by their parents at home, during special occasions like Christmas or New Year's Eve¹⁹. It is significant that the authors understood that parents tended to regulate their children's use of alcohol. However, most consumption of alcohol among teenagers would occur outside their houses, with their friends in parks, streets, pubs and at parties²⁰.

Though Davies and Stacey drew distinctions between the behavior of girls and boys, identifying the majority of young drinkers as males²¹, their concerns towards gender studies indicate that gender was not an issue to these

¹⁸ Ibid. p. xiii

¹⁹ Ibid. p. ix

²⁰ Ibid. p. 7

²¹ Ibid. p. ix

authors. They do not, for instance, contrast or compare the male and female concepts of identity and otherness, or discuss the association of alcohol with gender. However, they do consider whether drinkers are more attractive than non-drinkers, and whether or not boys who drank were seen to get more girls. The answers to these questions seemed to be affirmative. The same applied to girls, who according to their peers got more dates if they drank²².

Even without mentioning masculinity or femininity, the factor of 'adulthood' seems to be a significant factor in the attitude of young people toward drinking. It was established that the image of adulthood can have one of two different meanings to the young drinker, varying according to his or her background. In one group, the adult world was something to be reached, and drinking was an imitation of adult behavior. In the other, the authors suggest that some teenagers display anti-adult sentiments, and seek to reject adult life, norms and social values. Young people in this group may have had bad experiences with adults in the past, such as not being trusted or being restricted or forbidden from drinking alcohol. The authors assert that the teenagers in this context could develop negative feelings towards adult authority, and possibly towards authority in general²³.

The first step in the displaying of delinquent behavior, according to Davies and Stacey, was drinking outside the home in order to gain approval and a 'cool' status within peer groups. To attain this status, they tended to drink too

²² Ibid p. 59

²³ Ibid p. 82

much and “behaved in a scandalous way”²⁴. The authors reject the claim that delinquency is a direct consequence of heavy drinking, despite the possibility of a connection. According to them, it was common in many studies to attribute the causes of delinquency or anti-social behavior to drinking habits, meaning that the misuse of alcohol could lead teenagers to violence, vandalism or gang warfare.

8. The ‘aggressive’ and morbid end of the 70s and start of the 80s in Sao Paulo

The Brazilian punk movement was born after a music store in Sao Paulo started selling tracks by the British hardcore punk band *Discharge*, most significantly the album ‘Why’, as well as the music of some American bands. Increasing amounts of hardcore punk material subsequently started arriving in Sao Paulo, including the extended version of ‘Realities of War’ also from the band *Discharge*, and ‘Complete Disorder’ from the Bristol band *Disorder*. Some other British bands to appear in the 80s Sao Paulo market were *Chaos UK*, *Chaotic Dischord*, *The Varukers*, *UK 82* (or *UK Hardcore*), and the British street punk band *Charged G.B.H.* Hardcore punk music easily found a place in the Sao Paulo urban scene.

The first hardcore punk album launched in Brazil was a compilation of songs from three bands, *Olho Seco*, *Inocentes* and *Colera*. The 1982 album was

²⁴ Ibid

called 'Grito Suburbano' (Suburban Scream). The album included songs such as 'Desespero' (Despair), 'Medo da Morrer' (Fear of Death), 'Garotos do Suburbio' (Boys from Suburb), 'Lutar, Matar' (Fight, Kill) and 'Panico em Sao Paulo' (Panic in Sao Paulo). The first band to adopt the hardcore label was 'Ratos do Porao' (Basement Rats), also from Sao Paulo, in 1983. The urban scene in Sao Paulo was ready to welcome hardcore punk in the 80s after the punk rock of the late 70s had reached underground and alternative music venues like *Madame Satan*, *Napalm*, *Carbon 14*, *Lira Paulistana* and *Plastic Acid*. The neighborhood of Vila Carolina in the northern zone of Sao Paulo was the place where rock groups first played variations of punk tracks at the end of the repressive political military dictatorship and the start of the new of political inclusion.

"Ghosts were frightened and fears were transformed into attitudes," was what the "existentialist and revolutionary" band *Restos do Nada* (Rest of Nothing) used to say about their own world views and attitudes. The leaderless group's first concert was called 'Nos, accorretados no Inferno' (We, Enslaved in Hell). Following this, the band members formed another group called *Desequilibrio* (Disequilibrium), performing a music event called 'O Comeco do Fim do Mundo' (The Beginning of the End of the World). The political engagement of the group was demonstrated when one of the most active members of the band collaborated with an ex trade union leader in the late 80s

in the scripting and filming of a famous video depicting the postal strike, which had taken place throughout the whole of Brazil several years before.

The Brazilian crossover hardcore punk band from Sao Paulo, *Ratos do Porao*, criticized Brazilian society in their lyrics. Their first album, *Crucificados pelo sistema* (Crucified by the System) was released in 1983. The punk scene of Sao Paulo was at that time linked with gangs and violence, and this was the main reason for the band's separation. In 1985 they became close to the Brazilian heavy metal band *Sepultura* (Sepulcher), and were later influenced by the British hardcore punk band *English Dogs*, thereafter including trash metal in their performances. It was around this period that they released the album 'Descanse em Paz' (Rest in Peace). In the 90s they released two more albums: 'Just Another Crime in Massacreland' and 'Carniceria (Carnage) Tropical'.

In the second half of the 1980s the themes of the hardcore music became increasingly morbid and heavy. The Brazilian band *Lobotomia* (Lobotomy) played songs in the Paulista Underground called 'Faces da Morte' (Faces of Death) and 'So os Mortos nao Reclamam' (Only dead people don't complain). The band 'Colera' (Cholera) spoke of "agitation, revolution and destruction", and the band *Armagedom*, the self-proclaimed 'sound of death core', whose name was that of the biblical battle at the end of days, spoke of poverty, death, injustice, hopelessness and agony. Their songs included 'Mortos de Fome' (Starvation) and 'Forca Macabra' (Macabre Strength), which spoke a of tomb

waiting to be filled. They also launched an album called ‘Das Cinzas ao Inferno’ (From Ashes to Hell).

Parallel to the aggressive young music world, the academic world in Brazil conducted plenty of studies on contemporary violence, who mainly associating it with young people and urban problems. Sociologists and philosophers described “aggressiveness towards young people in the big urban centers”, identifying situations in which young people were “locked up at home, downtrodden by life in the cities” as well as being “needy and abandoned”. They emphasized the “menace and discomfort of people associated with young offenders” because of their “dangerous behavior”. “Young people’s troubles” were attributed to “the migration of frustrated young people from the country to the big cities, around 85% of whom ended up in institutions for young offenders or as prostitutes”²⁵

The concept of ‘marginality’ also came to be associated with juvenile delinquency as depicted in a work titled *Marginalidade e Delinquencia Juvenil* (*Marginality and Juvenile Delinquency*) written by Leda Schneider, published in 1982. Schneider recognized that urban violence was appearing more and more in the press, and in academic and political debates. Relationships between the classes were part of Schneider’s research, which associated marginalization with the lower classes. The author was suspicious of official discourse and statistics because she considered them the “ideology of the dominant classes”,

²⁵ MORAIS, Regis. **O que e violência urbana**. São Paulo: Abril Cultural/Brasiliense, 1985. p. 64-66.

and demonstrated her opposition to them by asserting that the main cause of juvenile delinquency was not lack of family or family structure, but poverty. Her main argument was that even young people who were employed with a low income sometimes infringed upon the law²⁶.

Brazilian academic works referencing violence in the 80s tended to focus on urban violence perpetrated by young people, even if youth was not the main subject of the work. This was demonstrated in books written by intellectuals from the University of Sao Paulo such as the sociologist Paulo Sergio Pinheiro and the historian Boris Fausto. Boris Fausto's book, *Crime e Cotidiano* (Crime and Quotidian) first published in 1984, discussed the period between the end of the 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century, and considered the shift in perception towards children in the 1920s and 30s, when every member of the lower classes was generally viewed by elites as a potential criminals²⁷. Paulo Sergio book, *Crime, Violencia e Poder* (Crime, Violence and Power), first published in 1983, asserted that the drinkers, idles and ruffians from the 19th century were mainly young people. This work questioned the assertions of official publications, which classified certain forms of behavior as "deviant", and advocated that certain "correctional methods" were "scary" and were aimed mainly at young people who lived in poor neighborhoods²⁸

²⁶ SCHNEIDER, Leda. **Marginalidade e delinquencia juvenil**. São Paulo: Cortez, 1982. p. 7-9.

²⁷ FAUSTO, Boris. **Crime e Cotidiano: a criminalidade em São Paulo**. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1984. p. 80.

²⁸ PINHEIRO, Paulo Sergio (org). **Crime, violência e poder**". São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983.p. 201, 210, 211, 227 255.