

Distortion and Subversion

Punk Rock Music and
the Protests for Free Public
Transportation in Brazil
(1996–2011)

Rodrigo Lopes de Barros



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Public Transportation in Brazil (1996–2011)*

Rodrigo Lopes de Barros

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More than colors and forms, it is sounds and their arrangements that fashion societies. With noise is born disorder and its opposite: the world. With music is born power and its opposite: subversion.

Jacques Attali

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Introduction

*I don't wanna be a product of my environment
I want my environment to be a product of me*

Colligere, sampling lines from the film *The Departed* for its song “Óbvio” (“Obvious”), 2007.¹

Music transports ideas to bodies, buses transport bodies to ideas. While writing this book, I showed part of the 1983 Brazilian documentary *Punks* by Sarah Yakhni and Alberto Gieco in a course titled “Tropical Metropolis and Brazilian Modernity.” After the screening, a student correctly directed the class’s attention to a peculiar pattern: punks of São Paulo were depicted as heavy users of public transportation in the city. Early in the beginning of the film, the audience sees establishing shots of the precarious *favelas*, the outskirts of São Paulo. Then, a Black man is registered washing himself with cold water, choosing to wear more conventional shoes instead of his combat boots, a shirt in place of the nihilistic black leather jacket. He gets on the bus and arrives downtown. Walking anonymously in the city, as he is dressed in “civilian” clothes and not with his punk garments, the man looks for a job, unaware that hiding his inner self will not be of any help. Later the man will meet a capitalist pig (literally) who is selecting the candidates. After being refused the job, the man shows the pig and a secretary his middle finger. Those scenes are counterpoised with scenes of two other punks (a woman and another man, both White). They, in their turn, are outfitted properly as members of the early 1980s cultural and political punk movement in Brazil: pins, jackets, bracelets, belts. She marches to a music rehearsal, but the second man uses the train to cross the city and arrive at work. He is an office boy. These sequences are followed by the images of more punks, also employed as office boys in Brazil’s economic heart. To accomplish their tasks, they go to the streets to catch municipal buses that carry them to businesses of several types. Walking, riding the bus, taking the train: these are the ways punks move through the metropolis.²

The Black man in that documentary is the young Clemente from the band Inocentes (the Innocents).³ Thirty years later, in 2013, that group would release an album called *Sob controle* (*Under Control*). On the back cover of the CD case, the front line of the riot police stands with their shields: an image that had become too familiar for Brazilians, as mass protests had just taken the country by assault, which started as demonstrations against the hike of the bus fare in São Paulo. In the lyrics of the homonymous song “*Sob controle*,” the vocalist, Clemente, sees the protests of 2013 with a critical gaze, with some “suspicion” that, according to him, would materialize itself in the coup d'état against then-president Dilma Rousseff in 2016.⁴ Independently from his political view of those times, the hoarse vocals of Clemente still tell a similar story to the 1980s film *Punks*, made about his generation’s youth. After all those decades, the flow of information and bodies still had buses and music as its means of transportation:

<i>Cruzo a cidade quente e suja e ninguém me vê</i>	<i>I walk through the hot dirty city and no one sees me</i>
<i>Sou só mais um na multidão</i>	<i>I'm just another one in the crowd</i>
<i>[que nem sabe porque</i>	<i>who doesn't even know why</i>
<i>A violência é quieta, o medo intenso e</i>	<i>Violence is silent, fear is intense and</i>
<i>[o silêncio a gritar</i>	<i>silence screams</i>
<i>A fé é cega, a dor profunda, um ônibus a queimar</i>	<i>Faith is blind, the pain is deep, a bus on fire</i>
<i>Sob controle! Sob controle!</i>	<i>Under control! Under control!</i>
<i>Há algo estranho no ar</i>	<i>There's something strange in the air</i>
<i>Sob controle! Sob controle!</i>	<i>Under control! Under control!</i>
<i>Não há como negar</i>	<i>There's no denying it</i>
<i>Sob controle! Sob controle!</i>	<i>Under control! Under control!</i>
<i>Não dá mais para controlar</i>	<i>It can't be controlled</i>
<i>Sob controle! Sob controle!</i>	<i>Under control! Under control!</i>
<i>A luz das sirenes ilumina a noite</i>	<i>Sirens light up the night</i>
<i>[que parece não ter fim</i>	<i>that feels never-ending</i>
<i>O ar é pesado e o céu fechado está pronto pra cair</i>	<i>The air is heavy and the dark sky is about to collapse</i>
<i>Dessa cidade, ilhada e sem futuro,</i>	<i>From this isolated, futureless city</i>
<i>[eu tenho que fugir</i>	<i>I must escape</i>
<i>No transporte lotado, todos lado a lado</i>	<i>It's every man for himself, side by side</i>
<i>[e cada um por si</i>	<i>on the public transport</i>
<i>[...]</i>	<i>...⁵</i>

Moving away from São Paulo, twenty years after the making of that documentary by Yakhni and Gieco, Manoel Nascimento would publish a seminal text analyzing a series of student-led protests in the northeastern city of Salvador, protests that became known as the Bus Revolt (or Revolta do Buzu in Portuguese). In the middle of 2003, the youth took the streets in

opposition to a hike in bus fare, clogging traffic in that state capital (among the largest in the nation) for many days in succession. Notorious for its immense carnival festivities and for its massive Black population, Salvador is the home of some of the most important genres of Afro-Brazilian music. Its soundscape is typically dominated by percussive and cheerful drumbeats, which can lead anyone to dance beautifully nonstop, although this type of Afro-Brazilian music and the organizations around it can also be very politicized.⁶ Against all odds, however, once again punks made an appearance. Nascimento lists them as among the social actors with a presence in the public transportation system and in the protests of the Bus Revolt of Salvador.⁷

Starting in 2002, just the year before the demonstrations in Salvador, the action was in the landlocked city of Belo Horizonte. There, a group influenced by hardcore-punk music and its do-it-yourself ethos decided to face carnival, by far the main popular manifestation of Brazil, with all the seriousness and discipline it required. In Belo Horizonte, another state capital, but one stereotyped not as a place of dance parades but as a bastion of the traditional family, activists and musicians would create a multiday event, repeated throughout the following years, to discuss topics such as sexuality, cybergulture, radical politics, and urbanism with the help of militants fighting for free bus fares for students. It was called Carnaval Revolução, meaning Revolution Carnival. The debates were intercalated with shows. The soundtrack: hardcore and punk music, not *samba* or *axé*. This event even propelled the creation of an anarchist, punk soccer team, a squad that would later play matches in the streets as a way of supporting and participating in the protests for free public transportation.

In the year of 2000, I moved away from the middle of nowhere, or more precisely from a city called Três Lagoas situated in the central-western state of Mato Grosso do Sul (the name of the state literally means “Southern Thick Bush”). I went to the real south of the country: first to Curitiba and later, in the second half of 2001, to an Atlantic city-island called Florianópolis, the capital of the state of Santa Catarina. In my mind rested one main desire when I departed from home: to leave behind years of conservatism and involuntary appreciation of *música sertaneja* (the Brazilian equivalent of commercial country music).⁸ I was no pariah of my generation, if one considered the country as a whole, even though the “outsider” label might very well have applied there in the state of the thick bush: “According to a survey conducted in Brazil in 2005 [not long after my interstate move], among young people from 15 to 24 years of age, . . . rock [was] . . . the music genre or style most liked by youth males, being cited as a preference by 35% of them.”⁹ This is a very different picture from a country that today in the early 2020s remains dominated by the so-called *sertanejo universitário*, a further mixture of that same commercial country music with pop and popular genres, which, in the view of Marcos Queiroz, must be comprehended “within the process of conservative modernization experienced in Brazil in the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21st century.”¹⁰ For Queiroz, whiteness, masculinity,

individualism, authoritarianism, and traditionalism are significant presences in the composition of the genre nowadays.¹¹ In *sertanejo universitário*, it is actually harder to find marks of criticism to progress, neoliberalism, and mass migration to urban spaces than in its predecessor, *música sertaneja*, which showed such instances of nonconformity with modernity, as one can understand from anthropologist Alexander Dent.¹² In any case, I should not rule out the possibility of profound, radical, and eye-opening studies about the current dominating music genre of my homeland of Três Lagoas, *sertanejo universitário*: As Carl Wilson posits, for those writing about music, “nothing should be out of bounds.”¹³

Fortunately, Brazil is huge and few of those young males from the 2000s who listened to rock resided in Três Lagoas. However, I fled to Florianópolis anyway. It seems that intuitively I had already become aware of the centrality of a city’s ethos to the development of a person’s life. The city is everything. The militant for free public transportation Marcelo Pomar, also an internal migrant in Florianópolis, would many years later give an interview to Yuri Gama, another historical actor in this book, in which he declared: “[The city is] the great place where the historic achievements of humanity are concentrated. . . . It is not like the rural areas are not fundamental to the existence of the city, but from the viewpoint of concentration of wealth, that which was historically produced by humanity, the city is the gathering center of all that.”¹⁴ What I would discover, however, is that the people’s ethos, their political and cultural stances, were equally important to the development of a city. Waiting for me in Florianópolis was its hardcore, punk, and underground rock scene, which I in some measure observed by attending various shows, and the birth of the Brazilian Free Fare Movement through a series of protests that culminated in two massive uprisings in the city, the Turnstile Revolts, which I watched from a greater distance, following them in the news at the time.

One evening after my arrival in Florianópolis, I was coming back by bus from one of its marvelous beaches when an almost surreal image emerged as the vehicle crossed a neighborhood called Lagoa da Conceição. In front of a precarious building, many people dressed in black prepared themselves to attend a music show. Their outfits and the background noise emanating from inside the venue left no doubts as to what went on there. I instantaneously gave up any intentions of using the weekends to learn how to surf the cold, salty waves surrounding the island, in order to use such days to attend the sound performances at that newly discovered paradise: the Underground Rock Bar. I went to a significant number of shows. Three bands particularly captured my attention in the time that followed: S288, B-Driver, and The Dolls (not necessarily simultaneously). I used an Internet-based chat network called IRC (now belonging to the history of the early Internet itself) and the website Guia Floripa to get information about the lineups for each day.

In some of the performances at the Underground Rock Bar, it was possible to observe the assiduousness in terms of attendance of several people while

I symbolically unleashed my youthful aggression in the mosh pit or just stayed in the back of the room cultivating my then-antisocial persona. In any case, great was my surprise in 2004 when the Turnstile Revolt of Florianópolis broke loose and I observed a familiar face from the hardcore, punk, non-commercial rock scene of Florianópolis not only participating in the revolt against a bus-fare hike but also paying a central role in its development. Since that time a question has remained in my mind: did a connection ever exist between the hardcore/punk scene and the Florianópolis protests for free public transportation and against fare hikes? And what of the rest of the country: did a similar network evolve in other cities? After so many years, perhaps propelled by an age-related crisis, nostalgia for my own past experiences, or a negative feeling of not having done more with life, I decided to look back to the turn of the twenty-first century and investigate those questions. In doing so, it appeared that I had awakened a dormant volcano. Uncountable documents, interviews, and personal recollections surfaced in response to exploration efforts. The eruption of information that followed comprises the work you are about to read.

One of the main purposes of this book is, therefore, to construct a detailed and documented history of the protests for free public transportation and against fare hikes (and their main driving force after 2005, the Free Fare Movement, or MPL) vis-à-vis the punk rock scene in Brazil from 1996 to 2011. There are no comprehensive historical works on these protests that encompass so many cities and that at the same time make connections with artistic manifestations in Salvador, Florianópolis, Belo Horizonte, São Paulo, and, to a lesser extent, Joinville. Even the writings on punk and hardcore music in Brazil from that period are many times not historical in nature or they tend to be focused on only one city within the vast Brazilian regional diversity (in economic, demographic, and social terms). With that in mind, the chosen methodology was based on empirical research with the presentation of archival material, the cyber-archaeology of websites, the consultation of other primary sources and scholarly publications, and interviews with historical actors involved in the social processes in question. I must say then that a historical account and the category of class are emphasized in the book and, even though considerations of gender, sexuality, and race appear in the text and are important for the understanding of the scenes (one has just to observe the disparity in the numbers of men and women participating in bands), these considerations of identity are presented among many other subjects and are not the dominant themes of the book.

Punk here is understood under a very nonsectarian and broad perspective, as an umbrella term. It encompasses subgenres such as hardcore and dialogs with music manifestations influenced by or in conversation with punk sound and the do-it-yourself ethos of its creators, like some subgenres of metal and others of non-commercial indie rock. It is important to note that I am focused on the underground, non-commercial expression of punk and not in its canonized and mediatic version that surely exists. I should also alert

the reader that I believe punk is not only sound, but it is a multimodal and multimedia manifestation of politics, art, and social relations. In this sense, punk is a culture. For punks, sound is understood within a larger picture that includes performance and politics. As emphasized by Pablo Ortellado, sound is an important element in punk, but it is not the only element: “The poverty of the typical approach to the history of punk is to reduce it to music—which is the center of punk culture but does not survive without other elements. . . . Not reducing punk to music means to recognize that punk rock cannot be truly understood without the other elements of its culture, with its social content and the do-it-yourself culture.”¹⁵ São Paulo’s Verdurada hardcore event, for example, encompassed the hosting of lectures, the preparation of vegan food, and the distribution and selling of political literature.¹⁶ Of course, the agenda within punk (as a wide-ranging denomination) and its subgenres such as Brazilian straight edge was not homogeneous; there were sometimes even confrontations with and a rejection of certain aspects of Brazilian early punk and anarcho-punk by hardcore folks, especially in the mid-1990s, as explained by the Verdurada Collective former and current members Frederico Freitas and Felipe Madureira in interviews.¹⁷ However, it is perfectly possible to observe the issues of urban transportation transcending music divisions. Moreover, this broadly understood punk scene of the 1990s and 2000s had connections with other music manifestations even beyond rock, and these other genres also had a relationship with the Free Fare Movement and the protests related to public transportation, as is the case with hip-hop.

The relationship between the Brazilian punk scene and other genres (such as metal and hip-hop) was in some cases one of solidarity, with bands and groups performing together in several events. In fact, according to Steve Waksman, there is a long history of crossover between punk and metal as music genres and in musical terms since the 1970s, without discarding expected clashes between the grass-roots members of the respective groups in the Anglo-American world.¹⁸ In fact, even before 1996, the year from which the study in this book starts, there was already a dialog between punk and metal and other genres linked with a rebellious youth in Brazil.¹⁹ In the South American country, punk materialized as a product of the proletariat in the passage from the 1970s to the 1980s and, as explained by Idelber Avelar, the same is true for an important segment of the metal scene that would appear a few years later: “Speed, thrash and death metal evolved in Brazil primarily as working-class urban youth genres.”²⁰

Regarding a broader punk scene, this situation would become more complex in the 1990s and 2000s, especially in the cities of Florianópolis and São Paulo, where underground rock music and hardcore, respectively, were significantly composed of the middle-class youth. For instance, Jhessica Francielli Reia was the first scholar to systematically analyze the use and the impact of the Internet and the new digital technologies on the straight-edge hardcore scene of São Paulo.²¹ In 2012, she conducted an empirical study with participants of São Paulo’s Verdurada hardcore-punk festival that relied

on questionnaires about personal information such as social status and level of education. The majority of the respondents had a family income between two and eight times the minimum salary, that is to say, mostly people from the lower tier, the middle tier, and the upper tier of the middle class, considering Brazilian standards at the time.²² The empirical data was even confirmed by an interviewee of Reia, André Mesquita, who declared: “[In terms of] economic power, I see [Verdurada] between middle class and lower middle class. [Early] punk had something of a proletarian culture, people who worked in factories, we don’t have such a thing.”²³

According to Frederico Freitas, this class phenomenon might reflect the transformations of the city of São Paulo, whose economy became less focused on factory production and more on the tertiary sector in the passage from the 1970s/1980s to the 1990s/2000s, and the fact that the level of education improved in those decades as well.²⁴ Of course, being from the middle class, the lower middle class, or the working class in Brazil does not have the exact same meaning as it does in developed nations. In general, the middle class of the country, although privileged, walks intermittently on a tightrope caused by economic instability and receives constant attacks from neoliberal politics. This would be in line with the argument of some participants of the scene, such as Freitas and Madureira, who argue that Verdurada’s events and the hardcore scene of São Paulo still had a considerably broad range of socioeconomic status, including people from the outskirts of São Paulo, definitely not from the top of the financial pyramid.²⁵

The punk experience is attached to modernity. In fact, an improbable descendent of modernism, punk constitutes its most rebellious and at the same time most misunderstood child. As Craig O’Hara points out, punk has enough similarities with the early-twentieth-century European futurists that it becomes impossible not to make the association.²⁶ Would punks in the South American country be the true, unaware successors of Brazil’s own 1920s modernism? Would punk likely be a more contemporary example of Oswald de Andrade’s idea of anthropophagy, being culturally anthropophagic by nature: that is, cannibalizing a foreign phenomenon and digesting and adapting it to the local reality?²⁷ Would punk be, strangely, a mark of sophistication, showing a dialog between international and domestic cultures and experiences? Why did those young people in Brazil, a country with its own rich and singular music tradition, decide to adopt a foreign music style to express themselves artistically and politically?

As Antonio Bivar points out, from its beginnings in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the punk phenomenon in São Paulo was not just a mere imitation of a first-world cultural, social, and political manifestation. Brazilian punks in fact adjusted an apparently distant discourse to match their own life conditions.²⁸ The same can be said for the scenes that followed in the 1990s

and 2000s. São Paulo's emblematic hardcore band Point of No Return even discuss this specific topic in a 2002 text, wondering why punk is not held in the same esteem as soccer and carnival, which are cultural manifestations also appropriated by Brazilians and turned into something of their own. Point of No Return actually aimed at helping the anti-imperialist struggle through straight-edge hardcore-punk music.²⁹ Regarding the use and reuse by Brazilians of an Anglo-American invention, punk sits in a paradoxical position. One can clearly observe that the dominance of other national music genres impedes the massification of punk in the country, and there is also a type of anti-imperialism in Brazilian music that places punk in a marginal position in local culture. One cannot negate that punk emanates from the center of imperialism, but it does so with a radical discourse that would incorporate a reaction to the decline of capitalist economy and the emergence of neoliberalism in the 1970s and 1980s, if one follows the arguments of scholars such as Rafael Lopes de Sousa, Gustavo Steinmacher, and Alexander Dent.³⁰ In Brazil, punk would even represent an opposition to imperialism itself: one just has to remember the 1980s song “Salvem El Salvador” (“Save El Salvador”) by the band Inocentes.³¹ Thus, I do not believe anti-imperialism is the main force that keeps punk cornered in Brazil. Many artists in the country have been attacked at various moments as alienated imports and then devalued, only to be later embraced positively and praised as a cannibalized cultural expression. Dent again gives a very illuminating example in this regard by precisely commenting on the cases of musicians Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, who went from “vilified” to “deified.”³²

I believe a position of marginality and a low level of massification of punk/hardcore music in comparison with other genres were considered a relative form of advantage by the political militants. The participants of such a music scene were seen as possible members of a political vanguard because of their radicality and propensity for direct political action. I would even say that their extreme choices in musical terms in a country like Brazil could make them more inclined to adopt drastic new paradigms in other areas, such as in public transportation. Their strong confrontation with music tradition had the possibility of being translated into courage for the battles taking place in the streets. More than to attract masses to the protests, punk rock was perceived as a possible way to discover individuals who could become more engaged political activists and not only occasional and pacific demonstrators. Social movements need both. In this sense, the interest of political militants in punk seems to be linked much more closely with vanguardism, with finding the people who would eventually act strongly and audaciously in mass protests.

In comparison with pop rock and commercial “alternative” rock productions in Brazil and abroad, one can establish clear differences between them and the type of punk rock studied in this book, although this is also a multifaceted case in which the mainstream can sometimes try to absorb the subterranean. However, unlike the US “alternative” rock of the 1990s, the punk and hardcore music scenes of Brazil presented here were never highly



Fig. 0.1: Marcos Aragão, *Show of the Band Point of No Return*, São Paulo, 1998.

absorbed or imitated by market forces. Perhaps there was some replication by mainstream Brazilian rock bands of the 1990s and 2000s. In general terms and more importantly, the Brazilian punk rock scenes seen in this text are characterized not only by aesthetic goals but, in many cases, by strong and even radical political interests. Moreover, they have frequently a non-primary commercial concern (recordings were made by the members of the scene to register their works and exchange ideas with others) and a do-it-yourself ethos that is proud of its independence from the culture industry. This created a circumscribed but faithful and self-sustaining audience based on the sharing of ideologies and affects. Brazilian underground punk from the 1970s to the 2000s is basically a movement constructed on the idea of democratized access to music production and political action.³³ One should easily counterpose this type of punk with other more commodified genres. As stated in the liner notes of a 2000 album of the São Paulo hardcore band Point of No Return: “When we got involved with hardcore, we were not attracted by lyrics and songs exhaustively shaped. What really interested us was the *rawness*, the anger, and the irony of punk. Dry lyrics and *direct* songs made the community extremely ‘democratic.’”³⁴

In Brazil, in musical terms, youth attachment to punk/hardcore could be seen as extraordinarily dual. First, it is in part a response to the commodification of rebellion represented by the big and commercial “alternative” and pop rock bands of the 1990s, which are described by Thomas Frank

in the magazine the *Baffler* as having their epitome in rock groups like Pearl Jam and Nirvana.³⁵ Second, it is many times a radicalization of the youth that started to listen to that very commercial music precisely through “alternative” rock of the 1990s and soon radicalized themselves and sought a non-commercial path. Ruy Fernando, who participated in the band No Violence and in the São Paulo anti-globalization protests of the early 2000s, once stated:

The thing [the hardcore scene] always overflowed with people when you had [commercial] bands playing music that was rock [and] that brought people to hardcore. A person never gets to know hardcore from nowhere, you know? . . . The rest of the world gets to know hardcore because they listened to metal, they listened to new metal, they listened to grunge, they listened to CPM [22], . . . Blink[-182] and they ended up getting to know more things. Then, without big rock bands today . . . there is no way a person will have contact with our scene.³⁶

This radicalization does not seem to have created a strong division between extreme right-wing and extreme left-wing punks, as the data suggests that this type of division or posture is related closely to the 1980s scene, much more aimlessly violent and with a higher use of symbols, names, and lyrics to scandalize society in moral terms, rather than to what was going on in the 1990s and 2000s.³⁷ In the later period, extreme actions and ideas were more intimately linked to the aggressiveness of sound itself and to the political ideas present in the lyrics (social revolution). Ruy Fernando also declared that the Brazilian scene was singular in the sense of being overwhelmingly leftist.³⁸ Furthermore, in important cases, bands from the 1990s and 2000s appear to have a deeper influence from Marxist ideas, even though anarchism was still very much present as a political ideology. Tatiana Sanson, for example, who was a member of such São Paulo’s bands as Infect, No Violence, and I Shot Cyrus would define herself as being, in the turn of the century, a Trotskyist.³⁹

Helena Wendel Abramo writes something about the early punks in Brazil that can be applied to the bands we encounter throughout this book: “Any project of national character would appear as xenophobia and provincialism.”⁴⁰ For the punk and hardcore bands involved with the protests for free public transportation in Brazil, there was no such thing as a music genre belonging to a specific nation: if necessary, something could be appropriated by those living at the margins of capitalism to be transformed into a weapon of rebellion. In the very essence of punk rock lies a deep sense of universality, an attempt at creating a music style that could go beyond borders and nationalities. Punk, at its core, can be very much seen as anti-nationalist—as going against the very idea of a nation.

Anti-nationalist sentiment was so strong in early punks from the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s that they had no problem being extremely critical of, and even abominating, Brazilian Popular Music (MPB).⁴¹ In this respect, punk music inaugurates a new chapter in the tradition of that country's protest songs in particular and Brazilian music in general. Such a chapter, however, seems to be many times forgotten due to the predominance of other genres in the musical history of Brazil. MPB, Tropicália, *samba*, and *bossa nova* often take the front of the stage, whereas more apparently underground musical manifestations stay precisely under the surface of public knowledge. How then is punk different from what came before in those tropical lands? With variations from stage to stage (1980s, 1990s, and 2000s), punk rock often features an extreme, direct discourse with the use of phrases and jargon that many times point toward open violence, offensiveness, the lack of the notion of beauty, a speech emanating from heavily urban environments, and the substantial use of screams and sound distortion, which were not present until then with such a centrality. We can, for example, retrieve some words of Dent about initial Brazilian punk sound:

Guitars and drums are often played violently, while the singer sounds pissed off. . . . This expressive practice is sometimes aimed explicitly at the state, but frequently is more amorphously focused on “the system,” or “the people who put us down.” This is especially true of early São Paulo punk, which tended toward hardcore in its instrumental practice and lyrics—by which I mean short songs that tend to be faster, louder, and more aggressive in tone than mainstream punk. . . . Where Veloso and Gil had been flowery and obscure in their language, part of the point of punk was to be blunt.⁴²

It is remarkable, however, that with its violent, noise-driven sound, punk does not break away from tonal music, either in the production of Brazilian early punks from the 1970s and 1980s or in almost all the bands studied in the book. Punk is still within the hegemonic system of tonality. If the evolution of tonal music is related to the emergence of the bourgeoisie and capitalism, punk then is noise occurring within the system.⁴³ It attempts to disrupt capitalism from the inside of capitalism. As explained by Tatyana de Alencar Jacques, noise is one of the seminal components of rock music in general.⁴⁴ She posits that at times this noise present in rock is related to “the desire of breaking with the established and rationalized (social and musical) order.”⁴⁵ Noise is for sure much more emphasized in punk, the same with any aim at achieving the internal disturbance of the system. This disturbance seems evident in other practices of punk as well, such as its do-it-yourself ethos and its antipathy to the commercial and the mainstream, including MPB. Thus, the criticism of MPB in this book comes much more from the reproduction of punk writings, lyrics, and thoughts than from my own theoretical perspective. Brazilian punks (and even many non-commercial bands of other rock-related genres) tend define themselves in opposition to the

tradition of MPB.⁴⁶ This situation, however, can create productive outcomes. It is true that there is an initial rejection of MPB and *samba* by punks (genres that are connected with Afro-Brazilian roots), but there are also powerful reconciliations: Belo Horizonte's Carnaval Revolução and the phenomenon of the political *batucada* are the union between Brazilian popular culture and the punk scene in an emancipatory way (emancipatory from stereotypes about both sides). These phenomena can even illuminate instances of union between punk and carnival that still continued in Brazil past the time and regional frames of this book, such as the brass bands of Rio de Janeiro that, according to Andrew Snyder, in the mid-2010s played punk songs (among other genres) in order to protest in a variety of contexts.⁴⁷

Punk, although genetically genuine in its kinship to modernism, exists more like a rejected child: abandoned in the orphanage of utopias, an orphanage constructed by a preapocalyptic, emerging neoliberal society.⁴⁸ As such, the city, more than any other space, is punks' habitat par excellence. The streets represent their home. From his Anglo-American perspective, O'Hara writes about the philosophy of punk: "There seems to be no large glorification of primitive, pre-industrial societies or anti-technological biases in the punks' view. There is little talk of dropping out of the system or living in agricultural communes. The movement is basically an urban/suburban one which does not idealize rural life."⁴⁹ It is true that the suburban, as argued by Débora Gomes dos Santos, can be a place not completely belonging to either the city or the countryside, but, as she herself posits, the noise of punk and the content of its songs are undoubtedly a reflection of the chaotic sounds of, and the everyday life in, the concrete jungle.⁵⁰

As previously stated, in Brazil and more specifically in São Paulo, the punk phenomenon first emerged deeply linked with the poor working class: the good and old proletariat who inhabit the outskirts of the city. This process was different from punk's emergence in at least one other Latin American nation well studied in terms of its (literally) underground rock scene: Peru, where according to anthropologist Shane Greene, punk was more strongly influenced by the middle-class youth in its conception.⁵¹ The first Brazilian punk generation was born around the great workers' strikes of the end of the 1970s and beginning of 1980s and in conjunction with the struggle for the democratization of Brazil that marked the end of the military dictatorship.⁵² This link with the proletariat would of course become more complex with the 1990s and 2000s generations and because the movement spread throughout the country to economically and culturally distinct areas. Nonetheless, according to Ortellado, it was with the profound help of punk that anarchist ideas had a comeback in Brazil in the last decades of the twentieth century.⁵³ Punk was not only an artistic program in this tropical land, it was also a junction between music and activism in a powerful, unprecedented way that

made other cultural manifestations of Brazilian society appear much more timid and inoffensive—even something so celebrated as the Tropicália, with its internationally recognized icons Veloso and Gil. Ortellado writes: “It is interesting that counterculture in Brazil has in a great extent dissociated itself from radical politics and has even associated itself with marked-oriented politics, as happened with the main branch of [the 1960s] Tropicalismo. In the 1980s, the punk movement had to emerge to finally establish a robust bridge between counterculture and radical politics.”⁵⁴

I share with Greene the idea that to talk about punk in Latin America is to assume a discourse immersed in the periphery. As he posits: “A peripheral vantage point . . . reveals something crucial about punk’s global intentions.”⁵⁵ And with such an approach not only can one better understand punk as a worldwide experience, but also the very history of the marginal country under investigation becomes clarified in unexpected ways. Even though Brazil is known as the place of *samba* and *bossa nova*, studying its hardcore and punk musical productions is an extremely effective means to reconstruct its political past.⁵⁶ In my specific case, it is a reconstruction undertaken from a kind of double periphery, as this present book almost completely circumvents Rio de Janeiro, the city that represents Brazil in many of the monographs written in English about such domestic culture and that of course occupies the central space in the depiction of the nation within the globalized mass culture.

This monograph, instead, focusses on the island of Florianópolis, internationally neglected in academic terms, with significant incursions to Salvador, Belo Horizonte, São Paulo, and to a lesser extent Joinville. From the periphery, the *crucial* point about punk that *Distortion and Subversion* would like to make is actually to present the intrinsic connection that members and former members of such cities’ musical scenes had with the protests related to issues of public transportation in general and the Free Fare Movement in particular at the turn of the twenty-first century. Flora Lorena Müller, an important militant for a better public transportation system and a member of the audience in many shows of punk and hardcore music in Florianópolis, declared in an interview: “We [from the Free Fare Movement] organized shows because it was the music we liked. . . . Punk, hardcore, brings the issue of protests. . . . The music inspire protests and protests inspire the music. . . . Things for me started very close indeed. I began listening to hardcore . . . and at the same time I joined the Free Fare [Campaign]. They were very close things, musical taste and protests.”⁵⁷ If my work is somehow effective, this alliance between punk and politics will be felt as an almost natural unfolding of the cultural and social networks in the country at that time, even though it may appear an unusual combination at first glance. Those early events reviewed here would eventually create the necessary bases responsible for unleashing the now-famous June 2013 protests. Such demonstrations would shake the country years later, taking *millions* to the streets, the origins and consequences of which are still debated.

The second decade of the twenty-first century was marked as an age of protests that took over the entire globe: “The 2010s began with the Arab Spring and Occupy protests, and are ending with a swell of anti-government demonstrations in India, Iraq, Lebanon, Hong Kong, Latin America, parts of Europe and beyond. The middle years likewise were marked by major protests on multiple continents, from Iran to Ukraine, South Korea, Zimbabwe and Greece.”⁵⁸ Additionally, we could specifically highlight protests started in 2011 in Spain and Chile, besides the 2013 protests in Brazil and Turkey, without forgetting to mention the onset of Black Lives Matter, also in 2013, in the United States.⁵⁹ Was the 2000s, by contrast, a void, or at least in Brazil, was the first decade of the century a time of unrest and struggle for social, political, and cultural changes? According to Nicholas Mirzoeff, the periphery of capitalism is the vanguard in the combat against the last iteration of that economic system: “The rupture with neoliberalism’s ‘common sense’ was felt first in the megacities of the global South and their regions.”⁶⁰ Not only in the megalopolis, however, can maiden acts against aspects of neoliberalism be found. In the case of Brazil, pulling away from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo—that is, going to the periphery of the periphery, to places such as Florianópolis or Salvador—one can discover novel and unique ways to deal with the domination of public services by private companies (one of the characteristics of neoliberalism): specifically, the fact that in many cities of Brazil *public* transportation is operated by *private* companies.⁶¹ Whatever the case, shortcomings in the municipal bus networks across the country have been ubiquitous.⁶²

Regarding similarities and differences between the Brazilian events studied in this book, which occurred between 1996 and 2011, and the protests in other parts of the globe that started a few years after the meltdown of the capitalist economy in 2008, let us take a look at a singular passage written by Pascale Dufour, Héloïse Nez, and Marcos Ancelovici. Those scholars edited a volume to study the “post-2010,” “anti-austerity” protests in Europe, North America, and Israel that occurred after the profound financial crisis. They argue in their conclusion that “these protests can be distinguished from others on the basis of particular discourses and practices stressing *horizontalism* and ‘*do-it-yourself politics*’ as well as the way in which they are inscribed in local places and networks.”⁶³ In Brazil too, as will be shown, horizontality and a *do-it-yourself* modus operandi of performing political mobilization were indeed present in the demonstrations for public transportation and against fare hikes before the 2008 economic collapse. The Brazilian Free Fare Movement—officially and nationally born in the beginning of 2005 but already proto-active as the Campaign for the Free Fare in Florianópolis during its massive Turnstile Revolt of 2004—had already emerged as a horizontal organization, additionally immersed in the spirit of punk’s distinctive *do-it-yourself* ethos.

Sectors of these young generations of the turn of the twenty-first century, comprising members of the hardcore and punk music scene in selected cities

and militants for free public transportation, are understood here as having as their unifying trait an anti-capitalist (or sometimes anti-bourgeois) sentiment. Such a stance makes it possible for someone to look at their music, political propaganda, interviews, and performances (both in shows and in protests) as the result of a singular phenomenon in spite of their vast ideological diversity. In other words, notwithstanding their multiplicity, what characterizes most of the social and artistic movements from the birth of the new millennium that are examined in this book is that they had mutual or similar adversaries: capitalism, neoliberalism, the bourgeoisie. Adapting the words of Leo Vinicius, used to define the so-called anti-globalization protests of the late 1990s and early 2000s, one could say this about the union between the hardcore/punk scene and the struggle for free public transportation: “It is . . . a confluence of movements. And the point of identification that unites them is the common acknowledgement of . . . the systemic situation that they counterpose (even though for some this systemic situation appears as *capitalism*, for others as *neoliberalism*, and so on).”⁶⁴ Thus, it is not by chance that the following happens when Vinicius explores the subsequent Free Fare Movement. This is a movement that, through his argumentation, can be seen in certain aspects as a descendent of the anti-globalization protests (anti-globalization here has the sense of opposition against the domination of global corporations in particular and global capitalism in general). Vinicius does not say that the Free Fare Movement bears an anarchist or socialist “view” on public transportation but an “anti-capitalist” one.⁶⁵ This is remarkable, as Vinicius himself considers the term “anti-capitalist” (and also “anti-globalization”) as problematic to define the activists of the turn of the twenty-first century: “None of the two [terms] I consider very good ones. I think [the term] anti-capitalist is too generic to refer to that movement or collective actions specifically. And [the term] anti-globalization caught on, people visualize very well what this is all about, but the name in itself distorts the objective of those actions, for it was not against globalization in itself.”⁶⁶

Despite Vinicius’s own criticism of the definition of “anti-capitalism,” if one keeps digging, one may find other historical pieces discoverable and accessible through his work that dialog with the term. First, in a contemporaneous news article published in 2000 about the anti-globalization protests around the world, anti-capitalism can be understood to be one of the main unifiers for the multiplicity of participants: however, narrower topics were still relevant.⁶⁷ In fact, the Free Fare Movement (the later social movement with knowledge acquired from the anti-globalization protests) in some respects connects the global anti-capitalist struggle with a local Brazilian issue, the precarious situation of public transportation systems in important cities. Based on a second piece, a 2004 text sent to an e-mail list belonging to a chapter of the network of activists Peoples’ Global Action, one can say that the Free Fare Movement helped address the problem seen in some sectors of the anti-globalization struggle, especially in the First World, but in Brazil too. Here is part of Vinicius’s summary of the document: “To

link the ‘stratospheric’ and ideological battles of summits and days of global action—anti-capitalism as a banner is a complete abstraction—with local and everyday resistances and with alternatives that one tries to construct would be another great challenge and necessity.”⁶⁸ That task and obligation of finding more palpable themes became precisely what the Free Fare Movement tackled within the more general, previous anti-capitalist struggle.

In the adjacent paragraphs, I mainly make use of studies undertaken by four Brazilian intellectuals: Janice Tirelli Ponte de Sousa, Felipe Corrêa, Leo Vinicius, and Igor Thiago Moreira Oliveira. They help to substantiate the use of the term “anti-capitalist” to refer to most of the militants of the late 1990s, the 2000s, and the very early 2010s and a great part of the participants of the hardcore and punk rock scene from about the same epoch. The work of Moreira Oliveira, being the most recent of these studies and a very well-executed one, originally published in 2012, cites the previous three intellectuals (Corrêa, Vinicius, and Sousa) and other sources that are also valuable to the current discussion, and therefore those pieces are referenced here too.

The term “anti-capitalist” is adopted to refer to the general line of thought and action of the presented historical actors because it is the expression that best defines the political range of most of them (both the militants who constituted the Free Fare Movement and the hardcore/punk scene members who engaged in events related to the struggle for an improved public transportation system). In the documents consulted and the published studies on the subject, within these generations of activists, and many times among the very musicians, people defined themselves or were defined (literally or by inference) by terms such as the following: Marxists, anarchists, *libertários*, anti-market and anti-globalization activists, situationists, socialists, communists, rebels, revolutionaries, autonomists, those influenced by neozapatismo, Leninists, Trotskyists, anarcho-punks, straight-edge individuals, radical ecologists, members of the global resistance, non-partisans, anti-imperialists, anti-system and anti-corporation activists, and (of course) anti-capitalists.⁶⁹

In fact, some of them (both people in the music scene and political militants) became influenced by heterodox Marxist theorists such as the autonomists and situationists. On the one hand, Lucas Oliveira—also known by the *nom de guerre* “Legume,” a militant from São Paulo (not to be confused with the homonymous Lucas de Oliveira from Florianópolis)—claims the following about the ideological perspective of his circle’s activists in the beginning of the twenty-first century when asked about the role of autonomism:

When the Free Fare Movement emerges, those who are coming from the anti-globalization movement, in general terms, almost all of them, claim to be anarchists then. Nonetheless, as time passes, those people begin

to stop calling themselves anarchists. . . . Those who are coming from the Workers' Party (PT) claim to be Marxists. At the same time, there were people who did not claim to be any of these. As time passes, I think an influence of heterodox Marxist thinkers started to grow inside the movement. . . . As the Free Fare Movement defines itself as horizontal and non-partisan, it goes on to seek theoretical references related to self-management of workers.⁷⁰

On the other hand, situationist ideas, having as their main exponent the French theoretician Guy Debord, had infiltrated the punk movement since its beginnings in England through the figure of Malcolm McLaren.⁷¹ Together with situationism, the weight of the Mexican neozapatistas had a presence too in Brazil at the turn of the century. In the band Colligere, both can be smelled: situationism in its lyrics and neozapatismo in the way its vocalist, Rodrigo Ponce, linked one of his fields of activism, the Independent Media Center, or Indymedia, to the Mexican movement. As he said in an interview: "About the history of Indymedia, you will find the Zapatista revolution of 1994 as a starting point. Undoubtedly Zapatismo represents until today an important theoretical, symbolic, and practical model *not only* to Indymedia."⁷² There is also the example of Florianópolis band Guerra de Classes (Class War), which included ideas from neozapatismo in their discourse and had it as an important reference.⁷³ They even recorded a song called "¡Viva Zapata!" ("Long Live Zapata!").⁷⁴

That Mexican social movement showed its force in many critical cities of Brazil in the 1990s and the 2000s, the Internet becoming its metaphorical rifles.⁷⁵ For example, in São Paulo, it caused a deep impact on the hardcore straight-edge and anarcho-punk scenes: activists there even created the Committee of Solidarity to the Zapatist Communities, which undertook political demonstrations.⁷⁶ In the city of Curitiba in 2008 (the homeland of Colligere), anarchists organized a thematic event called Flower of the Word (Flor da Palavra) that renamed rooms of the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR) to pay homage to neozapatismo. The event had a scheduled discussion with militants related to issues of public transportation in Brazil, and event advertising appeared in the blog of an important activist for the free fare in the neighboring city of Joinville: Maikon Duarte.⁷⁷ The year before, the Free Fare Movement from the national capital, Brasília, sent an official statement to the Mexican revolutionaries. A standard of the Brazilian social movement accompanied the message as a gift, reaching North America. The members of neozapatismo responded to the Brazilians: "[We] are companions in the struggle against bad government and capitalism."⁷⁸ Vinicius, an activist for free public transportation, scholar, and former member of the band Guerra de Classes, claims that neozapatismo had an effect on the generations of turn-of-the-century militants in some respects comparable to the fascination events such as the Bolshevik Revolution caused among the collectives of their time.⁷⁹

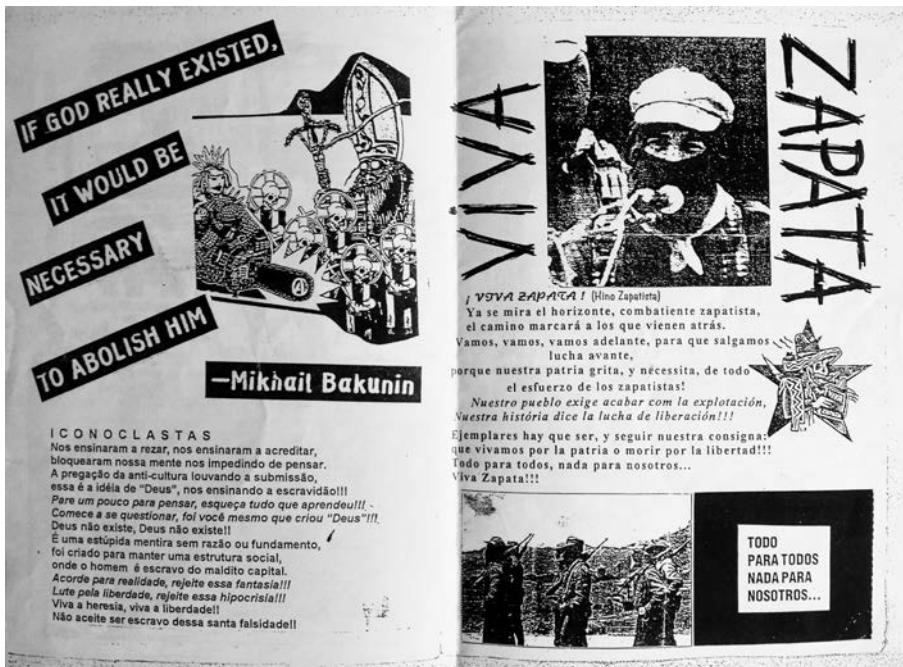


Fig. 0.2: Guerra de Classes, pages 6 and 7 of the booklet of the Cassette Tape *Ao vivo*, Florianópolis, Bandeira Negra (Black Flag), 1997. Anti-Copyright. From Antonio Cleber Rudy's personal collection.

Leo Vinicius, who participated in the band Guerra de Classes during a significant part of its existence, declared: "In my way of living, I think [neozapatismo] did not have an influence. In my way of thinking, it is hard to measure. When the Zapatista revolution emerged in 1994, I was already an anarchist, and I saw in the Zapatistas almost a reflection of anarchism. If Zapatistas had not have existed, I think that my ideas and actions of today would not be different. However, without a doubt, [neozapatismo] exerted a great influence and attraction. It fed imagination, it was a reference and an inspiration. And I think it was the most influential leftist social movement in the last 30 years. I think this can be said with certainty. They [the Zapatistas] were important, for they were and are the Paris Commune of our time, of my generation. They are still a reference. However, I do not exactly think that they had changed my way of thinking. At the same time, they were very impactful for me in political terms (they still are in a certain sense, but it is noticeable that their influence on the global Left nowadays is unable to hold a candle to their influence in the 1990s and the beginnings of the 2000s."⁸⁰

Despite the influence of situationism and neozapatismo, "anti-capitalist" seems to be the term preferred by the militants to refer to themselves during an important part of the period considered; at the same time, the term is broad

enough to encompass a variety of then-existing ideologies. Moreira Oliveira, for example, studied these generations of young people in some of the years addressed in this book. He primarily focused on an event (an occupation of a public square) initiated in 2010 in the city of Belo Horizonte called Praia da Estação (Station Beach), in which “the apparent homogeneity” of the phenomenon actually turned out to be “a plurality of groups.”⁸¹ In his work, Moreira Oliveira includes episodes preceding Praia da Estação as well. He registers that at the turn of the twenty-first century “the expression ‘anti-capitalist’ is the one most used as a self-reference by the very groups and movements that participated in the actions in that context. We shall opt for using the expressions ‘anti-globalization’ and ‘anti-capitalist’ because they were perhaps the expressions that marked the collective imagination about these phenomena of social protests.”⁸² Flora Lorena Müller, from Florianópolis, goes in a similar direction, as she believes that “anti-capitalist” is a term that would well define her ideology in the early 2000s.⁸³ Moreover, we can also refer once more to the work of Vinicius, when he describes Müller’s political group Independent Revolution Youth (Juventude Revolução Independente), the main organization behind the mobilization that would culminate in the revolts against bus-fare hikes in Florianópolis in 2004 and 2005 and the de facto creator of the bases necessary for the rise of the Brazilian national Free Fare Movement (established in the beginning of 2005). According to Vinicius:

[The Independent Revolution Youth existed] without being closed in ready-made dogmas or doctrines. To be part of it, *it was enough to have the will to revolution*. Something that would gather young people of anarchist, Trotskyist, and Leninist backgrounds and others with no political background whatsoever. The unification of that political “melting pot” [“*balaio de gatos*”] did not happen, hence, through ideology or political background but through methodology and praxis.⁸⁴

Based on the above explanation, if someone joined the struggle in partnership or as a member of the Independent Revolution Youth, some disposition for paving the way for a revolutionary transformation of society was certainly present. In other words, the person in question had to be at some level against the current economic, political, and cultural system: an anti-capitalist. Anti-capitalism became a kind of guiding light around this time.⁸⁵ André Takahashi, for example, would define the Independent Media Center, one of the most important collectives supporting the mobilization for free public transportation, not as an “anarchist” organization but as an “anti-capitalist” one.⁸⁶ The Brazilian chapters of the Independent Media Center would constitute the channel of communication and the locus of documentation of many social movements and forms of activism in the 2000s: a place of propaganda and memory.

From the work of Sousa, it is possible to understand that a certain general sentiment of anti-capitalism had been present since the 1960s youth and was regenerated toward the end of the twentieth century. The later younger

generations brought back a radical negation of tedious seriousness and unjustified authority, hierarchies, and mediators. They became aware of and mastered the advancements of the digital era. They would stay more easily connected to the world and their surroundings, being open citizens of the planet with their own peculiar subjectivities. And they constituted a varied group in terms of political views and appreciated this variety, which helped to generate unusual forms of protest.⁸⁷ More specifically, writing about the 1990s–2000s generation, Sousa adds that:

They are young people who answer the call from direct-action groups; independent groups linked to student entities; anarchist, Marxist, socialist collectives that believe in a society without classes, but in a non-dictatorial, autonomist socialism of several tendencies; [and] students generally not bound to political parties. They are environmentalists, unionists, progressive religious people, each of them with their own reason to protest; [they are also] radical ecologists. . . . They come from punk, anarcho-punk, anarchist, communist, [and] independent socialist groups and there are those who do not define themselves ideologically, refusing any label. . . . Anti-capitalism is another principle that guides the political agenda of the young people from these activist groups. They consider that humanized capitalism will not be able to lose its side of oppression, alienation, and exclusion.⁸⁸

Nonetheless, as Ortellado also posits, even the expression “anti-capitalist” cannot encompass the variety of systems of thought (or the lack of them) and political positions present in the then-emerging struggle at the turn of the century.⁸⁹ It is true that not all of the demonstrators were strictly anti-system—the “reformists” were part of a group that “opposed specific features of capitalism, rather than the system itself.”⁹⁰ But my view after reading the historical documents is that, among the protesters and artists approached in this book, the reformists were not the preeminent force, or at least not the main *thinking* force. For instance, although the struggle for the free fare cannot be considered a revolutionary act *per se*, the militants considered themselves to be “revolutionaries and nonconformists.”⁹¹ And even those who were more moderate, if not wanting to bring down the whole capitalist machine, had the desire to create a more inclusive and less savage mode of living, in opposition to at least neoliberalism if not capitalism as a whole. In this vein, Felipe Corrêa said of the anti-globalization demonstrations in the late 1990s and early 2000s: “In the same protest, many issues could be disseminated, many demands could be made, and all people would bring a common demand: the rejection of capitalism in its neoliberal form or [the rejection] of financial institutions and corporate power.”⁹²

I also use the term “anti-capitalist” for the discourse of hardcore/punk bands because many cannot be clearly categorized in ideological terms. As perhaps the author who, before this book, most brought to the surface a connection between the broad punk culture and the protests in Brazil at the

turn of the new millennium, Vinicius declared, for instance, that Brazilian straight-edge individuals (those who listen to hardcore-punk music and abstain from the consumption of alcohol and drugs, and often from meat and animal-based products too) remained sometimes to the side of Marx within the leftist ideology. Such a fact opposes common-sense views linking this type of music with anarchism only.⁹³ The straight-edge band Point of No Return is, for example, characterized by scholar Walisson Pereira Fernandes as a Marxist music group.⁹⁴ However, its member Frederico Freitas defines the ideology of the group more in terms of a range or a compromise among its members within the leftist political spectrum than specifically Marxism only.⁹⁵ Thus, in terms of self-categorization, some bands did not actually care to apply strict political characterizations to themselves. But even for those not labeling themselves as anti-capitalists or with other similar terms, one would be hard pressed not to call them at least leftists. Thiago Panchiniak, from Florianópolis and a member of the band Black Tainhas (Black Mullets), affirmed the following about the group's position in the spectrum of politics: "It was so naturalized within the environment we lived, we didn't even need much to define ourselves [as] leftists. [We] didn't think much about that."⁹⁶

As will be shown in the next chapters, some bands presented here indeed had (in the time frame studied) strong anarchist tendencies. Others could be defined as Marxists, environmentalists, or simply anti-establishment artists and leftists. Complete mutual correspondence in political aspirations and horizons was not a prerequisite for bands to participate in events and protests planned by the Free Fare Movement. Radically anarchist music ensembles, with desires for a total change in the economic organization that would go far beyond the issues of a municipal transportation system, were able to bond with a social movement concerned precisely with such local matters. As an example: Wander Pacheco, a member of the band Republicaos (Republic Chaos), a band with a robust anarchist character, did not see the struggle for free public transportation as synonymous with revolution. However, they supported and contributed to a show organized in favor of the Free Fare Movement, recognizing the importance of supporting activities related to this social issue in Florianópolis:

At that time [2007], the band was very active. We rehearsed three times a week and there was a necessity to show that which we were developing in the studio. . . . I personally did not consider that the Free Fare Movement was in fact something revolutionary, but only a palliative measure to make the exploitation of the people less harsh, and, therefore, I deemed valid [to help] to make the movement stronger. It was a good show [the one at the 2007 Verdurada in Florianópolis], a show for socializing and for political awareness with a very satisfying result.⁹⁷

In addition to being considerably anti-capitalist, Brazilian hardcore/punk songs are specifically and in large part anti-bourgeois too—as Roberto

Camargos de Oliveira noted before, when analyzing a specific example from the Brasília band Nãûzö.⁹⁸ This trace can be applied to other music groups as well. It is an amplifiable and adaptable notion. In some bands, the anti-bourgeois stance is not only related to the position of the bourgeoisie as a dominant class but also refers to the morality of those enjoying the status quo: the standards or modes of living, *the way of life*, the rules that attempt to control the self. Punk was a means for the youth to oppose bourgeois morality *and* to gain political consciousness.⁹⁹ This consciousness acquired through music, zines, conversations, posters, and performances is sometimes what led members of the youth to take part in the struggle for free public transportation and not the other way around. The lyrics, the ethos, and the discourse of the bands ignited the energy and rebelliousness dormant in young minds in Brazil before a 2016 coup d'état and the later rule of Jair Bolsonaro. Punk was a propelling force, even if the political engagement derived from it resulted in people realizing the limitations and shortcomings of punk itself. As a kind of utopia in the here and now and at the same time a dream for the future, it has its inevitable quota of ambitions extremely difficult to achieve and of missteps made along the way. But in that characteristic resides much of its beauty too: a dark, noisy, subversive beauty.

It is true that punks can be at times personifications of humanity's communal self-hostility, as suggested by Greene.¹⁰⁰ On some occasions in Brazil, the relationship between the Free Fare Movement and members of the broad punk scene was intensely conflictive, reaching significant levels of friction. Free Fare Movement's activist Lucas "Legume" Oliveira from São Paulo recounts one of those moments in which the more popularly known self-destructive punk side came into play:

In the Free Fare Movement protests, punks were not criminalized. . . . They were welcome. They were invited to be part of the movement. All the more so because the Free Fare Movement protests didn't have as a characteristic the desire to safeguard public or private property. Thus, we didn't cordon off buses to prevent their being damaged. . . . [Punks] saw then the opportunity to carry out specific actions. . . . Sometimes this was something tense, sometimes one had to negotiate and prevent them from damaging [buses] in a certain moment. . . . There is a case that was a more problematic one, . . . which happened with a gang of street punks. . . . [In 2006], there was a group of street punks who threatened to kill three militants of the Free Fare Movement, who disagreed . . . with the way we were carrying on the struggle against the hike, who thought that we were not radical enough. . . . At the same time, there were these punks threatening us [and] there were other punks saying they would protect us.¹⁰¹

Despite these specific conflicts that certainly existed, the vast majority of the documents, publications, and people consulted for this book steered the account here presented along a different path. In place of radical and devastating nihilism, one will find stories of hope, engagement,

transformation, and focus on realpolitik. One will also witness punk repeatedly going beyond its circles of the initiated, in some respects fulfilling Mark Andersen's desire of a punk culture capable of dialoging with different sectors of society in order to help in the construction of an alternative future.¹⁰² In this endeavor, many punks supported the struggles for free public transportation in general and against fare hikes in particular, not only channeling their rebelliousness but also helping in the establishment of the youth as a social actor in the late 1990s and the 2000s. As shown in the following chapters, the Bus Revolt of Salvador and the Campaign for the Free Fare of Florianópolis (the embryos of the Free Fare Movement born countrywide in 2005) gave to a new generation of Brazilians its political awareness: the youth fulfilled a prediction that, through urban activism, young people would realize that they were a driving force of society, with enough power to play a part in profound material transformations toward a classless civilization.¹⁰³ One contribution of this book to the global scholarship on leftist youth protests and organizations is a narrative of this awakening political awareness amongst a generation in Brazil transitioning from childhood into adult life.

Now, a few words about the book structure. The translations from Portuguese texts, lyrics, statements, terms, titles, and names are mine unless otherwise indicated in the notes or unless they are already standardized in English. In general, I employ parentheses in this monograph to render the names of bands, institutions, organizations, and relevant terms into English or to refer to the Portuguese original when they first appear to the reader or when I judge a refresh necessary. In quotations, I use brackets for this purpose as well. In any case, I prefer to use the full names of movements and organizations instead of their original Portuguese acronym: for example, Free Fare Movement instead of MPL. For the protests in the city of Salvador, I use interchangeably the terms in Portuguese and English: "Revolta do Buzu" and "Bus Revolt." I also use interchangeably the terms "militant" and "activist," not making a differentiation between them.¹⁰⁴

Names, especially in relation to the bands, many times carry a connotation that can be understood as a political statement or a worldview; this fact is also a prominent characteristic of the punk music scene in Brazil. There is the use of irony and sarcasm, self-awareness and wordplay, and purposeful attempts to shock and scandalize that which is perceived as a bourgeois mentality and morality. The translations of both names and lyrics here attempt to achieve an interpretation of their meanings, principally to highlight their anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois content, which I believe is a more appropriate approach for this type of work. Therefore, some oral characteristics such as rhymes and cacophonies are not preserved, and more than one interpretation may sometimes be possible and welcome. To mitigate these collateral effects, I

include the original Portuguese lyrics side by side in such cases (or in the notes, when lyrics are used as epigraphs or integrated into a paragraph).

Some of the artists and political protagonists are referred to here at times by their first names (which is a rather common practice in Brazilian society and underground music scenes) and others are referred to by pseudonyms used at the time of their musical and political militancy: a naming custom that inevitably ends up transferred to cultural writings and accounts about the country in particular and about punk music in general.¹⁰⁵ Whenever it was not possible to determine the exact year of publishing and dissemination of some cultural and political artifacts, I used the term “*circa*” or its abbreviation “c.” to give the best approximation from the sources consulted; a contributing factor for this occasional phenomenon is that the date of the first public (or current) availability of a work can be later than the date of its actual production, or the work simply cannot carry enough information about its time of conception.

In any case, these artifacts are now recovered from a certain cultural invisibility, even though the political and artistic agents here studied played a significant role in the history of the country, with sometimes massive and unexpected implications. They exercised their “playful” activities together with their activism, altering traditional forms of organization and the agenda of social demands from the population.¹⁰⁶ The majority of them have not become professional politicians, but they are nowadays psychologists and psychoanalysts, teachers and professors, delivery persons and public servants, or still musicians and grassroots militants. They perhaps carried out many of the most important endeavors of their lives during their youth, seeking to transform their surroundings and creating new forms of engagement with modern life as presented by the city.¹⁰⁷

Chapter 1 functions as a second introduction and establishes the reasons for the time limits adopted in this study, first enumerating key events for the establishment and development of the Free Fare Movement such as the Turnstile Revolts in Florianópolis. I also initially show how the punk rock music scenes of Florianópolis and São Paulo were interconnected through some important individuals and how those individuals, in their turn, had connections to the Free Fare Movement. This connection was helped by the new digital tools created by the early commercial Internet: IRC, ICQ, Orkut, and others. The use of the Internet was furthermore essential to the creation of media outlets such as Brazil’s chapter of the Independent Media Center (known as CMI), which would escape the control of monopolies in existence in the country and which was used by the Free Fare Movement and present and former (hardcore) punks as their news channel and historical archive. This chapter includes a self-reflection on the challenges of doing archival work with content from the early commercial Internet.

Chapter 2 dedicates considerable space to the understanding of the 2003 Bus Revolt in Salvador and delineates for the reader some connections of the Revolt with the anarcho-punk and punk movements, as for example

with the band Lumpen. Through study of video documentaries produced at the time, the archives of the local newspaper *A Tarde*, and texts and interviews written and given by protesters, I identify incipient characteristics of the student-led revolt that would materialize years later into the Free Fare Movement: the young age of the protesters, the lack of a clear leadership, decisions made in a horizontalized and consensual process, decentralization, and the refusal to accept the power of traditional student organizations. Then, I bring in aspects of the early history of the Campaign for the Free Fare (also known as CPL) in Florianópolis up to the Turnstile Revolts of 2004 and 2005, respectively culminating in and strengthening the foundation of the Free Fare Movement nationally, which happened during the Fifth World Social Forum. The proto-history of the Free Fare Movement is followed by developments in the hardcore-punk music scene in the city. I document how the hardcore-punk shows were politically important for the Campaign for the Free Fare and later for the Free Fare Movement and how some supporters of those two were also part of the underground rock scene while there was a general drifting from a Trotskyist to a more anarchist-prone political view within the organizations themselves.

Chapter 3 portrays the environment of symbolic political wars staged or initiated by the militants of the Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Free Fare Movement in the city of Florianópolis. They used a variety of tactics to achieve their short- and long-term goals (the reduction of the fare and the approval of the Free Fare Law, respectively). Protesters chained themselves to important administrative buildings, clashed with the police, expressed their fury against the property of financial institutions, and organized hardcore and punk rock music shows. This chapter is also dedicated to a closer reading of lyrics by bands that performed in Florianópolis: from 1990s *Guerra de Classes* to 2000s *S288* and *Black Tainhas*. The text approaches and develops themes that emerge from lyrics of those bands: anarchism, environmentalism, consumerism, police repression, criticism of big corporations such as the McDonald's fast-food restaurant chain, the use of cars as a means of transportation and bicycles as a way of protesting, and, as the main focus, the revolts against hikes in the bus fare. I also comment on the role that one specific development in the activist media network had in the struggles related to public transportation and the punk rock scene: the establishment of the underground, free, and cooperative FM station *Rádio de Tróia* (Trojan Radio). The chapter at large delves deeper into the analysis of events surrounding the Turnstile Revolts by examining songs, posters, interviews, and published documents that emerged from the activist and hardcore/punk scenes of the city.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the punk and anti-capitalist carnivals organized in Brazil since the early 2000s and also to the idea of the "carnivalization of life" as a form of political protest, which was fostered in the first revolt studied here related to public transportation—the 2003 Salvador's Bus Revolt. Brazil is stereotypically known as the land of carnival and *samba*,

an image that is perhaps the antithesis of the sometimes obscure and purposefully shocking punk aesthetics and sound. The 1990s punk band Guerra de Classes denounced the mainstream ideology that wanted to turn carnival into a tool for the oppressive alienation of the masses. I create a link between those lyrics opposing carnival and the later “Revolution Carnivals,” which were venues that acted to attract anarchists and punks. The latter would retreat from society during the carnival holidays to discuss politics, vegetarianism, digital culture, soccer, and alternative sexualities and, of course, to listen to hardcore/punk bands instead of *samba* rhythms. The Free Fare Movement would later create alternative carnival parades in order to party in the streets without losing political content in their choice of costumes and songs. The Free Fare Movement also used carnivalized mobilization tactics in demonstrations, such as the employment of an “Army of Clowns.”

Chapter 5 is an account of the networks linking the hardcore/punk music scene of São Paulo and the struggle against fare hikes and for free public transportation. It indicates that the Free Fare Movement in that city originated partially from an amalgam that included anti-globalization activists of the early 2000s. São Paulo’s Free Fare Movement would also be influenced by events in the smaller city of Florianópolis. Both urban spaces followed a pattern of uniting the struggle related to public transportation with hardcore/punk music and the Internet. I present a thesis from the sources consulted of how the self-organization of these new movements that emerged at the turn of the century had a great and decisive influence on the development of the contemporary Internet (particularly through the creation of the Independent Media Center, the medium without mediation par excellence). Additionally, I study the Verdurada Collective, a group that organized hardcore music shows that were performed side by side with discussions about vegetarianism and other political and cultural topics. In several hardcore/punk music events, for instance, they hosted debates about the Free Fare Movement. From there, I map protests against fare hikes until 2011. These protests preceded the massive events of June 2013, when millions took to the streets of Brazil, and are therefore essential to the historical comprehension of that famous phenomenon. As I rescue those protests from the shadows of history, I trace connections with the general punk movement, which helped to make the demonstrations possible.

The epilog starts recapitulating broad ideas linking punk, politics, activism, and protests based on statements of historical actors and previous studies. After that, I examine a show called Mosh Mosh Revolution that took place in the city of Joinville and was organized by the local chapter of the Free Fare Movement. The discussion serves as a way to demonstrate that the narrative of events combining punk music and the struggle for free public transportation could still go on, beyond what was analyzed in preceding chapters. I also bring to the reader an event in the southern state capital of Porto Alegre. There, the Free Fare Movement once again gave the stage to hardcore bands

and mixed music with film screenings and a debate. However, there is a peculiarity here: there were actually more hip-hop groups performing during those days. A question thus emerges: are rappers the new punks?

Notes

- 1 “Eu não quero ser produto do meu espaço / Eu quero que meu espaço seja produto de mim” (Colligere, “Óbvio,” track 1 on *Palavra* (Curitiba: 2007), mp3, <https://colligere.bandcamp.com/album/palavra>; English transcription and Portuguese translation provided on the web address above).
- 2 *Punks*, dir. Sarah Yakhni and Alberto Gieco (São Paulo: Mel Filmes, 1983), video, <https://youtu.be/r540M8wQ4GE>; this connection of punk and movement in the city of São Paulo, as well as the visual depiction of it in film documentaries, was also previously noted by: Débora Gomes dos Santos, *Vivo na cidade: a experiência urbana na cultura punk* (MA thesis, USP, 2015), 61–63, <http://doi.org/10.11606/D.102.2015.tde-31072015-102109>.
- 3 The translation into English of the band name “Inocentes” as “the Innocents” comes from: Alvaro Neder, “Bio,” Inocentes, Myspace, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <https://myspace.com/inocentes/bio>.
- 4 Clemente Tadeu Nascimento, in messages to the author, January 2022.
- 5 Inocentes, “Sob controle,” track 2 on *Sob controle* (São Paulo: Substancial Music, 2013), CD (lyrics changed for punctuation: I first translated the lyrics into English, then Mariana Toledo revised and reworked them).
- 6 See, for example: Niyi Afolabi, *Ilê Aiyê in Brazil and the Reinvention of Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- 7 See: Chapter 2.
- 8 The translation of *música sertaneja* as “Brazilian commercial country music” comes from: Alexander Sebastian Dent, “Cross-Cultural ‘Countries’: Covers, Conjuncture, and the Whiff of Nashville in *Música Sertaneja* (Brazilian Commercial Country Music),” *Popular Music and Society*, vol. 28, no. 2 (May 2005): 207–227, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03007760500045345>.
- 9 Pablo Ornelas Rosa, *Rock Underground: Uma Etnografia do Rock Alternativo* (São Paulo: Radical Livro, 2007), 31.
- 10 Marcos Queiroz, “Sertanejo, hegemonia e modernidade,” *Continente*, Feb. 1, 2021, <https://revistacontinente.com.br/edicoes/242/sertanejo--hegemonia-e-modernidade>.
- 11 Queiroz, “Sertanejo, hegemonia e modernidade”; see also: Marcos Queiroz, “Pobre moreno, que era grande, hoje é pequeno,” *Zumbido*, Aug. 12, 2021, <https://medium.com/zumbido/pobre-moreno-que-era-grande-hoje-é-pequeno-fo9d284f72ba>.
- 12 See: Dent, “Cross-Cultural ‘Countries.’”
- 13 Carl Wilson, “Let’s Talk About Love: Why Other People Have Such Bad Taste,” Interview conducted by Ryan Dombal, *Pitchfork*, May 6, 2014, <https://pitchfork.com/features/paper-trail/9393-lets-talk-about-love-why-other-people-have-such-bad-taste/>.
- 14 Marcelo Pomar cited in Yuri Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas: uma análise dos vínculos e relações entre a juventude contestadora contemporânea e a cidade* (BA Thesis, UFSC, 2011), 172, <http://www.academia.edu/3154962>.
- 15 Pablo Ortellado, “Quatro reflexões sobre a história e o significado do punk (2004),” Pablo Ortellado: Apenas um Blog, Sep. 28, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160201120500/http://www.gpopai.org/ortellado/2011/09/quatro-reflexoes-sobre-a-historia-e-o-significado-do-punk/>.

16 The presence of vendors of political literature at Verdurada is confirmed by: Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022; Jhessica Francielli Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI: articulações e tensões entre música, novas tecnologias da comunicação, autonomia e cooperação* (MA thesis, UFRJ, 2013), 153–154, http://www.pos.eco.ufrj.br/site/download.php?arquivo=upload/disserta_jreia_2013.pdf. The distribution of political literature by the Verdurada Collective itself happened in at least one instance, see: Frederico Freitas, “Como um sintoma do mundo: a comunidade hardcore/punk nos anos 90 sob a chegada do novo milênio com Frederico Freitas,” Interview conducted by Rodrigo Corrêa, *Balanço e Fúria*, Mar. 7, 2021, <https://deezer.page.link/DVARPzC5WrXFv1XT8>.

17 Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022; Felipe Madureira, in conversation with the author, January 2022; a significant number of people involved with Verdurada, when asked to define the straight-edge way of life, referred to it as part of the punk culture (Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 195–198).

18 Steve Waksman, “Metal, Punk, and Motorhead: Generic Crossover in the Heart of the Punk Explosion,” *Echo*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Fall 2004), <http://www.echo.ucla.edu/article-metal-punk-and-motorhead-generic-crossover-in-the-heart-of-the-punk-explosion-by-steve-waksman/>.

19 Rafael Lopes de Sousa, *Punk: cultura e protesto* (São Paulo: Edições Pulsar, 2002), 108.

20 Idelber Avelar, “Heavy Metal Music in Postdictatorial Brazil: Sepultura and the Coding of Nationality in Sound,” *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3 (2003): 329, <https://www.academia.edu/13444381>.

21 Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 12, 212–228, and 238–239.

22 Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 159; for a proposal for the definition of the middle class in Brazil from the same year as Reia’s study, see: SAE – Secretaria de Assuntos Estratégicos da Presidência da República, “Perguntas e Respostas sobre a Definição da Classe Média,” Jun. 6, 2012, <https://pt.slideshare.net/saep/pt-imprensa-v401jun2012>.

23 André Mesquita cited in Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 157.

24 Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

25 Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022; Felipe Madureira, in conversation with the author, January 2022; see also: Frederico Freitas, “Interview with Frederico Freitas,” in *Sober Living for the Revolution: Hardcore Punk, Straight Edge, and Radical Politics*, ed. Gabriel Kuhn (Oakland: PM Press, 2010), 94.

26 Craig O’Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk: More than Noise* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1999), 33–34; see also: Carlos André dos Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes: o centro de mídia independente no Brasil* (Florianópolis: Em Debate, 2013), 41, <http://editoriaemdebate.ufsc.br/catalogo/rebeldia-tras-lentes-centro-midia-independente-brasil-carlos-andre-santos/>; Tatyana de Alencar Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis: uma etnografia sobre socialidade e concepções musicais* (MA thesis, UFSC, 2007), 23, <http://repositorio.ufsc.br/xmlui/handle/123456789/89649>; and: Russ Bestley, “Big A Little A: The Graphic Language of Anarchy,” in *The Aesthetic of Our Anger: Anarcho-Punk, Politics and Music*, ed. Mike Dines and Matthew Worley (Colchester; New York; Port Watson: Minor Compositions, 2016), 44.

27 Oswald de Andrade, “Manifesto antropófago,” *Revista de Antropofagia*, no. 1 (May 1928): 3 and 7.

28 Antonio Bivar, *Punk* (São Paulo: Edições Barbatana, 2018), 103; see this discussion also at: Lopes de Sousa, *Punk*, 44–47; and: Gomes dos Santos, *Vivo na cidade*, 46; this adaptation of punk also happened in other third-world countries, see: Stephen

Duncombe and Maxwell Tremblay, "White Riot?," in *White Riot: Punk Rock and the Politics of Race* (New York: Verso, 2011), 15.

29 Point of No Return, "Bending to Stay straight," in *Sober Living for the Revolution: Hardcore Punk, Straight Edge, and Radical Politics*, ed. Gabriel Kuhn (Oakland: PM Press, 2010), 84–85.

30 Lopes de Sousa, *Punk*, 67–68; Gustavo Steinmacher, *Sons de uma ilha subterrânea: a cena rock underground de Florianópolis segundo suas fitas-demo (1993–1999)* (BA thesis, UFSC, 2019), 57, <https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/204612>; Alexander S. Dent, "Drinking Lime Juice to Throw Up, and the Right Way to Beat an Old Lady: Policing Punk in Late Dictatorial Brazil (1978–1982)," in *Living (IL)Legalities in Brazil: Practices, Narratives and Institutions in a Country on the Edge*, ed. Sara Brandellero, Derek Pardue, and Georg Wink (London: Routledge, 2021), 89.

31 Inocentes, "Salvem El Salvador," track A4 on the various artists' compilation, *O começo do fim do mundo*, recorded live at SESC Pompéia, São Paulo, Nov. 27–28, 1982 (São Paulo: Nada Nada Discos, reissued 2017), box set, vinyl, cassette tape.

32 Dent, "Cross-Cultural 'Countries,'" 211.

33 This democratic character of Brazilian punk seems to be in tune with the general movement (see: Shane Greene, "On Misanthropology (Punk, Art, Species-Hate)," in *Between Matter and Method: Encounters in Anthropology and Art*, ed. Gretchen Anna Bakke and Marina Peterson [New York: Bloomsbury, 2018], 39 and 42).

34 Point of No Return cited in Roberto Camargos de Oliveira, "A cena alternativa do hardcore: cultura e política," *Emborral*, vol. 3, no. 6 (2012): 8, <https://revistas.uece.br/index.php/embornal/article/download/3193/2706> (my translation and emphasis).

35 Thomas Frank, "Alternative to What?," *Baffler*, no. 5, Dec. 1993, <https://thebaffler.com/salvos/alternative-to-what>; for an example of someone who took this path from alternative rock to punk in the US, see: Duncombe and Tremblay, "White Riot?," 8.

36 Ruy Fernando and Tatiana Sanson, "Papo de Punk – Rupturas e continuidades no Punk de São Paulo," Interview conducted by João Bittencourt, Punk Scholars Network Brasil, Oct. 24, 2021, video, <https://youtu.be/yU25MAk-lcs>.

37 See for example: Helena Wendel Abramo, *Cenas juvenis: punks e darks no espetáculo urbano* (São Paulo: Scritta, 1994), 90; Fernando and Sanson, "Papo de Punk"; and: Lopes de Sousa, *Punk*, 111.

38 Fernando and Sanson, "Papo de Punk"; see also: Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 126 and 194.

39 Fernando and Sanson, "Papo de Punk."

40 Abramo, *Cenas juvenis*, 122.

41 Bivar, *Punk*, 108–109; Dent, "Drinking Lime Juice to Throw Up," 95.

42 Dent, "Drinking Lime Juice to Throw Up," 94–95.

43 For a connection between tonality and capitalism, see for example: Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 19; and: José Miguel Wisnik, *O som e o sentido: uma outra história das músicas* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001), 228, n. 9.

44 Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 55 and 113.

45 Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 114.

46 For the opposition of general independent rock bands to MPB, see: Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 84.

47 Andrew Snyder, "Politicizing Carnival Brass Bands in Olympic Rio de Janeiro: Instrumental Protest and Musical Repertoires of Contention," *Latin American*

Music Review, vol. 41, no. 1 (Spring–Summer 2020): 41 and 44–45, <http://dx.doi.org/10.7560/LAMR41102>.

48 Shane Greene makes good points of criticism when discussing punk's links with modernism and neoliberalism, especially in the case of Peru. I, however, think that those links stand as a path of interpretation as to Brazil and the historical actors studied here (see: Shane Greene, *Punk and Revolution: 7 More Interpretations of Peruvian Reality* [Durham: Duke University Press, 2016], 168–169).

49 O'Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk*, 124; even though O'Hara writes “Punk” (always with a capital “p”), in the citations used here I wrote the word without the capitalization when appearing in the middle of a sentence in order to standardize it.

50 Gomes dos Santos, *Vivo na cidade*, 18, 20, 25–26, 38, and 46.

51 Greene, *Punk and Revolution*, 2, 17, 59, 81, 121, 138, and 170.

52 For a fictionalized account of the period, see: Michel Stamatopoulos, *Você quer ser Johnny?* (São Paulo: Olho d'Água, 2007).

53 Pablo Ortellado, “Sobre a passagem de um grupo de pessoas por um breve período da história,” in *Estamos vencendo! Resistência global no Brasil*, Pablo Ortellado and André Ryoki (São Paulo: Conrad, 2004), 9.

54 Ortellado, “Sobre a passagem de um grupo de pessoas por um breve período da história,” 23 (Ortellado uses the adjective *liberal* in Portuguese to criticize Tropicalismo, which I translated as “marked-oriented,” as to be a *liberal* in the Brazilian context has the meaning of being pro-market).

55 Greene, *Punk and Revolution*, 8.

56 As Roberto Camargos de Oliveira posits: “Hardcore songs are intimately related to contemporary Brazilian social life, [which is] their foremost theme” (Camargos de Oliveira, “A cena alternativa do hardcore,” 13).

57 Flora Lorena Müller, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

58 Claire Harbage and Hannah Bloch, “The 2010s: A Decade of Protests around The World,” *NPR*, Dec. 31, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/sections/pictureshow/2019/12/31/790256816/the-2010s-a-decade-of-protests-around-the-world>.

59 Gary Younge, “Streets on fire: how a decade of protest shaped the world,” *Guardian*, Nov. 23, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2019/nov/23/decade-of-protest-occupy-wall-street-extinction-rebellion-gary-younge>; Anthony Faiola and Paula Moura, “Middle-class rage sparks protest movements in Turkey, Brazil, Bulgaria and beyond,” *Washington Post*, Jun. 28, 2013, https://www.washingtonpost.com/2013/06/28/9fb91dfo-df61-11e2-8cf3-35c1113cfcc5_story.html; Ana Luisa de Castro Soares, *Manifestações, perseguição política, vozes do cárcere: uma análise de A pequena prisão*, de Igor Mendes (MA Thesis, UFES, Dec. 17, 2020), 47.

60 Nicholas Mirzoeff, “Preface: Devisualize,” in *The Aesthetics of Global Protest: Visual Culture and Communication*, ed. Aidan McGarry, Itir Erhart, Hande Eslen-Ziya, Olu Jenzen, and Umut Korkut (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), 11.

61 According to the Free Fare Movement itself: “Private companies are the ones controlling the buses in São Paulo and other Brazilian cities. The collective transportation is called *public*, but, differently from public schools and public hospitals, which are paid indirectly through taxes, in order to get a bus, we need to pay, to go through a turnstile” (Movimento Passe Livre, “[MPL SP] Todos nas ruas no dia 26, por um transporte público de verdade!” *CMI Brasil*, Oct. 13, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427134915/http://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/10/362449.shtml>).

62 Milton Santos cited in Victor Khaled, “Mobilidade urbana na grande Florianópolis: a tarifa zero e a integração metropolitana como meios de democratização do direito à cidade” (Research Project [Excerpts], UFSC [?], n.d.), 2, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/oB5SMP8bwGB-LUGlhZGFoVHFPNFE>.

63 Marcos Acelovici, Pascale Dufour, and Héloïse Nez, ed., *Street Politics in the Age of Austerity: From the Indignados to Occupy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 303 (my emphasis); according to Todd Wolfson, however, the post-2010 protests were actually predated by the advent of a global (or at least US) “cyber left” under the same intent of horizontality, network forms, consensus, democracy, and do-it-yourself (*Digital Rebellion: The Birth of the Cyber Left* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 2–3, 7, 10, 17–20, 24, 64, 76, 105, 111, 124–125, 132, 134–135, 138–140, 157, 163–164, 178, 183, 185–187 and 191).

64 Leo Vinicius, *Antes de junho: rebeldia, poder e fazer da juventude autonomista* (Florianópolis: Editoria Em Debate/UFSC, 2014), 163, <http://editoriaemdebate.ufsc.br/catalogo/download/leo-vinicius-antes-de-junho-rebeldia-poder-e-fazer-da-juventude-autonomista/> (emphasis in original).

65 Leo Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005* (São Paulo: Faísca Publicações Libertárias, 2006), 64, <https://editorafaisca.files.wordpress.com/2015/02/leo-vinicius-guerra-da-tarifa-20051.pdf>; Ortellado and Legume are others who argue that the Free Fare Movement is at least in part a consequence of the anti-globalization movement in Brazil (Pablo Ortellado, in conversation with the author, January 2022; Lucas Oliveira [Legume], in conversation with the author, January 2022).

66 Leo Vinicius, replying to questions by the author, December 2021; additionally, Wolfson argues that this generation in fact “downplay[ed] capitalism and class as central analytic categories,” which, at least in the Brazilian environment, does not seem to be the case in my view (see: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 188–191).

67 Mariana Barbosa, “Ação direta: modems contra a globalização,” *BBC*, Jun. 6, 2000, <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/omundohoje/omhooo6o610.htm> (the news piece is mentioned in Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 174) (my emphasis).

68 Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 220; the document paraphrased by Vinicius can be found in the “Appendix” of: “Minutes of the PGA Preparatory Meeting – January 10–12, 2004,” *DSM, European PGA*, Jul. 19, 2004, http://pgaconference.poivron.org/prepetorial/en_minutes0401.html; about the problem to be overcome by Peoples’ Global Action and similar movements as to focusing more on local issues, see also: Felipe Corrêa, “Balanço crítico acerca da Ação Global dos Povos no Brasil,” Five Parts, *Passa Palavra*, Jul. 28, 2011, <https://passapalavra.info/2011/07/42773/> (the link for the first part of this last article was found out through, and is cited in: Igor Thiago Moreira Oliveira, *Uma “Praia” nas Alterosas, uma “antena parabólica” ativista: configurações contemporâneas da contestação social de jovens em Belo Horizonte* [PhD diss., UFMG, 2012], 41, <http://hdl.handle.net/1843/BUBD-9V6QVY>); and: Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 260–261.

69 For studies, see especially: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*; Moreira Oliveira, *Uma “Praia” nas Alterosas*; Janice Tirelli Ponte de Sousa, “Os jovens anticapitalistas e a ressignificação das lutas coletivas,” *Perspectiva*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Jul.–Dec. 2004): 451–470, <https://periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/perspectiva/article/view/9875>; Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 204; Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 130 and 191–192; for a connection between straight edge and anti-capitalism, see: Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 170.

70 Lucas Oliveira (Legume), in conversation with the author, January 2022.

71 McLaren believed “that it was worth practicing the situationist politics, one of confrontation and controversies” (Bivar, *Punk*, 44–45).

72 Rodrigo Ponce and André Takahashi, “Indymedia: A rede anticapitalista. Entrevista especial com Rodrigo Ponce e André Takahashi,” Interview conducted by Instituto Humanitas Unisinos (IHU), *IHU*, May 18, 2007, <http://www.ihu.unisinos.br/entrevistas/7191-indymedia-a-rede-anticapitalista-entrevista-especial-com-rodrigo-ponce-e-andre-takahashi> (my emphasis); See also: Chapter 4.

73 See: Chapter 1 and Chapter 3.

74 Guerra de Classes, “¡Viva Zapata!” on *Ao vivo* (Florianópolis: Bandeira Negra), recorded 1997, cassette tape.

75 Moreira Oliveira, *Uma “Praia” nas Alterosas*, 30.

76 Freitas, “Como um sintoma do mundo”; see also: “Consulado mexicano é ocupado em SP,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Jul. 17, 1998, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/mundo/ft17079804.htm>.

77 Maikon K. [Duarte], “Flor da palavra,” *Vivo na Cidade*, Nov. 1, 2008, <http://vivonacidade.blogspot.com/2008/11/flor-da-palavra.html>; see also: Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 185 (it is not possible to know if the scheduled discussion about public transportation actually happened, as, according to Santos, the activists from Florianópolis eventually faced problems getting to Curitiba).

78 Cited in MPL-DF, “MPL entrega carta e bandeira ao EZLN,” *Por uma vida sem catracas*, Sep. 29, 2007, <http://vidasemcatracas.blogspot.com/2007/09/mlp-entrega-carta-e-bandeira-ao-ezln.html>.

79 Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 35; see also: Pablo Ortellado, “Aproximações ao ‘movimento anti-globalização,’” *CMI Brasil*, Jan. 5, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20071223023048/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2002/01/14525.shtml>; Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 117; and: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 25, 33–34, 38–39, 43, 47, 49, 199n15 and 199n17.

80 Leo Vinicius, replying to questions by the author, December 2021.

81 Moreira Oliveira, *Uma “Praia” nas Alterosas*, 147–148.

82 Moreira Oliveira, *Uma “Praia” nas Alterosas*, 29.

83 Flora Lorena Müller, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

84 Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 293–294 (my emphasis); also partially cited in Thais Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis* (BA Thesis, UFSC, 2007), 52, <http://tcc.bu.ufsc.br/Adm293790.pdf> (see also page 81).

85 See, for instance: Moreira Oliveira, *Uma “Praia” nas Alterosas*, 37–38.

86 Ponce and Takahashi, “Indymedia.”

87 Sousa, “Os jovens anticapitalistas e a ressignificação das lutas coletivas,” 455–456 and 458–462.

88 Sousa, “Os jovens anticapitalistas e a ressignificação das lutas coletivas,” 456, 460–461, and 462; also partially cited in Moreira Oliveira, *Uma “Praia” nas Alterosas*, 37–38.

89 See: Ortellado, “Aproximações ao ‘movimento anti-globalização;’” the passage (paraphrased here) is also cited in Felipe Corrêa, “O Movimento de Resistência Global,” *CMI Brasil*, Jul. 20, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140930005932/http://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2004/07/286886.shtml>.

90 Apparat, “Whatever Happened to Anti-Capitalism?” *Indymedia Ireland*, Feb. 1, 2007, <http://www.indymedia.ie/article/80676>; see also: Manoel Nascimento [Manolo], “A ‘geração Seattle’ e a ‘geração de acampantes,’” *Passa Palavra*, Nov. 4, 2011, <https://passapalavra.info/2011/11/48007>; and: Corrêa, “Balanço crítico acerca da Ação

Global dos Povos no Brasil" (links for the first two pieces were found out through, and are also cited in, Moreira Oliveira, *Uma "Praia" nas Alterosas*, 40).

91 L., "Ato Contra o Aumento da Passagem – resquício de ditadura," *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 25, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427210532/http://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366506.shtml>.

92 Corrêa, "O Movimento de Resistência Global"; see also: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 18 and 197n4.

93 Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 226; the link of straight-edge bands with Marxism is also true in the international scene: Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 107.

94 Walisson Pereira Fernandes, *Straight edge: uma genealogia das condutas na encruzilhada do punk* (MA thesis, PUC-SP, 2015), 190–191, <https://tede2.pucsp.br/handle/3615>.

95 Frederico Freitas, "Do It Yourcast #45," Interview conducted by Alan da Hora, *Do It Yourcast*, Jul. 29, 2018, <https://www.doityourcast.com/do-it-yourcast-45-frederico-freitas-point-of-no-return/>; Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

96 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

97 Republicaos, replying to questions by the author, January 2020.

98 Camargos de Oliveira, "A cena alternativa do hardcore," 19.

99 About punk as a way for the youth to gain political consciousness, see: Chapter 3.

100 Greene, "On Misanthropology."

101 Lucas Oliveira (Legume), in conversation with the author, January 2022.

102 Mark Andersen, "Building Bridges, Not Barriers: Positive Force DC, Straight Edge, and Revolution," in *Sober Living for the Revolution: Hardcore Punk, Straight Edge, and Radical Politics*, ed. Gabriel Kuhn (Oakland: PM Press, 2010), 288, 297, and 298.

103 CPL (Campanha pelo Passe Livre), "A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis," *CMI Brasil*, Oct. 2004, 7–10, <http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2004/10/292515.doc> (one of the main texts of this dossier is signed by Marcelo Pomar and Lucas de Oliveira and carries the title of "Passe-livre: a cartilha da luta"); see especially: Chapter 1; about the Campaign for the Free Fare as an embryo for the national Free Fare Movement, see also: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 58–61 and 81.

104 For those interested in tracing possible differences between the terms "militant" and "activist," see: Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 201–203.

105 Examples: Bruno Carvalho, *Porous City: A Cultural History of Rio de Janeiro* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); O'Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk*, 15.

106 In the words of Oliver Scarcelli: "The [Free Fare] Movement has a big preoccupation with the playful with the objective of not allowing the demonstrations to become something tedious" (Oliver Cauã Cauê França Scarcelli, "As origens do Movimento Passe Livre: do trabalho em escolas à autogestão no transporte," paper presented at *II Jornadas de estudios América Latina y el Caribe: desafíos y debates actuales*, Buenos Aires, Sep. 24–26, 2014, 14, <https://jornadasiealc.wordpress.com/ponencias/>).

107 The idea of rescuing those young Brazilian political and cultural agents of a certain invisibility came to me from the reading of: Sílvia Maria Fávero Arend and Antero Maximiliano Dias dos Reis, "Juventude e restaurantes fast food: a dura face do trabalho flexível," *Katálysis*, vol. 12, no. 2 (Jul.–Dec. 2009), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S1414-49802009000200003>; about the lifelong importance of their youth endeavors, see also: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 68.



Fig. 1.1: André Mesquita, *Toward a Life Without Turnstiles—Florianópolis*, 2009. This poster was designed by the artist for the commemorative meeting: “Five Years After the First Turnstile Revolt: Building the Memory of the Resistance.”¹ The celebratory event was attended by militants from several regions of Brazil and streamed online as “8 live transmissions.”² In the image, the map of the city-island of Florianópolis is stylized into a raised fist. The poster conceptualization is credited to Yuri Gama (from Florianópolis) and André Mesquita (from São Paulo).³

CHAPTER ONE

The Revolution Will Be Posted Online

Utopia will be a long time coming, as we all know, for the construction of the ultimate utopia is a slow historical process that requires the collective effort of generation upon generation. But not everyone can live with that.

Boris Groys, *Ilya Kabakov: The Man Who Flew into Space from His Apartment*, 2006.⁴

The Revolts, the Internet, and Cyber-Archaeology

At the turn of the twenty-first century, members of the Brazilian punk and hardcore music scene joined forces with political militants to foster a new social movement that demanded the universal right to free public transportation. They collaborated in numerous venues and media: music shows, protests, festivals, conferences, radio stations, posters, albums, slogans, and publications. Throughout this time, the single demand for free public transportation reconceptualized the notions of urban space in Brazil and led masses of people to protest across the country. In this and in subsequent chapters, I show how the anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeoisie stance present in the discourse of a number of Brazilian bands that performed from the late 1990s through the beginning of this century in the underground music scenes of Florianópolis (the state capital of Santa Catarina) and São Paulo encountered a reverberation in the rhetoric emanating from the Campaign for the Free Fare (Campanha pelo Passe Livre, or CPL), subsequently known as the Free Fare Movement (Movimento Passe Livre, or MPL). This allowed the engaged bands and the movement to contribute to each other's development. The Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Free Fare Movement gave a greater visibility to the bands that became involved with their political movement, opening new venues for those artists to present their original compositions, which could not easily find a place in the mainstream media.

Conversely, the underground rock scene made it easier for militants to organize shows and cultural events that helped the free public transportation movement to attract young people to demonstrations and other political acts (consequently exposing more individuals to the movement's ideology) and sometimes to raise necessary funds (although this was not a central preoccupation). In addition, a segment of the underground rock scene, together with other artists, gave the Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Free Fare Movement more legitimacy in the eyes of sectors of society, especially within the youth. The underground rock scene even contributed political activists to the movement as seen in the participation of some band members not only in demonstrations and protests themselves, but also in the organization of these events. The intention here is not to seek a relationship of causality between the history of the Free Fare Movement and the underground rock scene of Florianópolis and later São Paulo, to argue that one produced the other. Rather, here I trace the converging characteristics of different subjectivities: the correlation between worlds. One should see how these subjectivities came together to create new, alternative discourses that rested on the basis of a social mobilization and culminated in street protests against the state of public transportation. In this work, I also include reflections on the Bus Revolt that took place in the northeastern city of Salvador (in the state of Bahia), unveiling traces of the punk and anarcho-punk movements, and the Revolution Carnivals that took place in the city of Belo Horizonte (in the state Minas Gerais), an event that mixed lectures, vegetarianism, protests, soccer, and punk rock music.

The Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Free Fare Movement would become the main political agents of the Revoltas da Catraca (Turnstile Revolts) in their double development in 2004 and 2005. The Turnstile Revolts were a popular, student-led uprising in the streets of Florianópolis. These two years of the revolts (2004 and 2005) are referred to here precisely because the mass protests that took over the southern Brazilian city were twofold. Commenters and participants, when discussing those events, often use the term in the plural, "the Turnstile Revolts." Alternatively, they refer to them with the adjectives "First" and "Second." This is done to designate respectively the actions that took place from June 25 to July 8, 2004, and the subsequent wave of protests that arose within less than a year, erupting on May 30 and continuing until June 21, 2005.⁵ I use the term mostly in the plural to refer to the events of both years and to examine the historical characteristics and the political and artistic backgrounds that were common to them. They can be considered as occurring very close to one another, sharing numerous similarities such as the appearance of certain main actors. To explain the specific occurrences of each of those years and to stress the differences between the two revolts, I shall specify them by the appropriate year or highlight their chronological order.

The Turnstile Revolts were among the first mass uprisings in Brazil in which the Internet had a central and decisive role. The revolution in the

flow of data and knowledge affected first and foremost those movements with an intrinsic connection to the youth, a segment of Brazilian society that was naturally more versed in the use of such technologies and more inclined to apply them to their own interests. Without the developing digital medium and the growing interconnectivity among young people facilitated by personal computers, the Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Free Fare Movement would have never existed in their known forms. There was a unique amalgam of new virtual tools. Some of them were tailored specifically for Brazilian Internet users. These tools could then be employed to organize students and other youth around the struggle for free public transportation in Florianópolis and later in other parts of the country. I refer here to e-mail list servers (such as lists.riseup.net and Grupos.com.br); blogs on several platforms (Blogger, WordPress); free website hosting services such as GeoCities; alternative media channels with the prominence of the Independent Media Center of Brazil (known in the country as CMI Brasil); and the advent of massively used social media networks such as Orkut, Flickr, Myspace, and Fotolog (some of which today are defunct or have become ghost towns). These instruments were increasingly accessible: “From 1999 to 2005, the percentage of municipalities with Internet service providers grew from 15% to 46% [within the nation].”⁶ There was a growing number of houses with personal computers in the country, besides the fact that at least dial-up Internet access was widespread in medium-sized and large urban centers (as inferred from above) and that broadband connections, then dominated by the variety known by the acronym “ADSL,” were arising as one of the main types of Internet service.⁷ In 2003, the national population was estimated to be 176 million, and in 2004 the country was already the “worldwide leader in people registered at [the social media website] Orkut.”⁸ In 2005, the following statistics were reported about Brazil’s domestic cyberspace:

[Brazil] is approaching 30 million individuals with direct access to the Internet and has 18.3 million personal computers. The number of cybernauts represents 17% of the population, or one in every 6 people, being 53% men and 47% women. Brazilians surf the web for an average of 14 and a half hours per month. 5 million people use a broadband connection, almost 50% of whom access online bank services, a percentage higher than in countries like Germany (41%), United Kingdom (38%) and the USA (29%).⁹

However, from the perspective of someone doing research on the past, there is a component of chaos and transience. Several of these blogs, webpages, primordial social media networks, and mp3 and video files no longer exist online at their original domains or with their original content fully intact. As recently as 2019, one could read the report that the user-based music platform Myspace had an issue with an “estimated 50 million tracks uploaded between 2003 and 2015 . . . [which were] accidentally

deleted.”¹⁰ Those were songs that rested for years in a virtual environment used by Brazilian rock bands in the 2000s, songs that vanished only to have a tiny fraction rematerialize and be made accessible again at archive.org.¹¹ Therefore, I also had to depend on archived versions of blogs and websites that were fortunately saved by projects and tools such as the Wayback Machine, OoCities.org, Google’s cache, and archive.today. I sometimes felt like a cyber-archaeologist excavating the ruins of the late-1990s, early-2000s Internet, reading decayed home pages with unruly layouts and broken links, with “not found” icons in place of disappeared images and with unloadable audiovisual data and Flash objects. Not all the content was preserved in the digital archives. There were pieces of written and visual information produced *and* published by the social actors and artists historically studied here that have simply vanished. They can be considered lost to the collective, retrievable memory. Perhaps a portion of them is saved on a forgotten hard disk drive somewhere, printed on paper and kept in a personal cabinet, or burned on CD-Rs bought from a *camelô* (the particular Brazilian rendering of “street vendor”), and these fragments will eventually reappear, accessible to the community as originally intended.

Some of this material is already resurfacing thanks to individuals who (re)upload them to other platforms or attempt to create a digital memory of the historical events concerning the Turnstile and other revolts and the music scene of Florianópolis, Salvador, Belo Horizonte, and São Paulo from the turn of the twenty-first century. Of course, there are the Portuguese-language, scholarly texts written on both matters mostly in an unconnected way (*either* on punk music *or* on protests for free public transportation and against fare hikes, and not on punk music *together with* such protests). These texts were propelled by the presence of several higher-education institutions in São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, and Salvador and, more specifically, of two public universities—the Federal University of Santa Catarina (also known as UFSC) and the Santa Catarina State University (also known as UDESC)—in the medium-sized city of Florianópolis. The estimated population of Greater Florianópolis was 668,561 in 1996 and 994,095 in 2010.¹²

The scholarly studies have captured important facets of those singular events from 1996 to 2011, besides the testimony of some political and musical participants that have emerged in different forms. I myself communicated with more than two dozen band members, scholars, and historical actors from several cities through contemporary electronic means to ask questions and resolve doubts, although my main intention here is to write mostly based on (visual, aural, and written) documents and not to simply provide another round of oral accounts. Nonetheless, even the old version of the website of the Brazilian Independent Media Center, one of the main repositories of information about the Campaign for the Free Fare and the Free Fare Movement in those years, has been put to sleep (hopefully temporarily). I downloaded approximately 150,000 HTML files from the Internet Archive’s servers. Each file almost always represents a unique publication. It took me

several days to accomplish the task: a true work of digital, archaeological excavation. This digital archaeological dig allowed me to search and retrieve numerous documents made by activists of the Campaign for the Free Fare and later of the Free Fare Movement. They used the Independent Media Center as their newspaper, instrument of propaganda, place of debate, and consciously, as their “historical archive” so that future generations could take advantage of it.¹³ As to the implications for today’s scholars, I discovered the curse and the blessing that reside among the bits of the Internet as one takes a dive into cultural history. As I have said, even though much of the written and visual production of those years is conserved and can be retrieved if one has the patience to scramble through the digital archives, invaluable pieces of what once had been *publicly accessible* to nearly anyone with a PC and a landline phone are almost certainly unrecoverable. According to a report by journalist Adrienne Lafrance:

The life cycle of most web pages runs its course in a matter of months. In 1997, the average lifespan of a web page was 44 days; in 2003, it was 100 days. Links go bad even faster. A 2008 analysis of links in 2,700 digital resources—the majority of which had no print counterpart—found that about 8 percent of links stopped working after one year. By 2011, when three years had passed, 30 percent of links in the collection were dead.¹⁴

If increasingly more fragments of history disappear daily and become irretrievable, then this book is imbued with urgency. It aims at telling the story of the struggles of such movements and cultural scenes through the surviving documents generated and published by the very ones who decided to pursue their aesthetic and political ideals. The situation should manifest itself more critically when one further considers the duality (private/public) of some applications and websites that also composed the ecosystem inhabited by Brazilian users of the early commercial Internet. What about the destination of the text-based logs of conversations and public discussions carried on IRC (Internet Relay Chat) channels, commonly referred to in Brazil as mIRC, the ubiquitous chat client installed in the computers of middle-class youth in the 1990s and early 2000s?

In a 2018 interview whose topics ranged from the Free Fare Movement and the Independent Media Center to the underground radio station Rádio de Tróia (Trojan Radio) and rock music, the multifaceted scholar/activist/cultural agitator Yuri Gama from Florianópolis mentions the role that the online chat network IRC played for him to come into contact with information about punk music.¹⁵ Gabriel Peixer, also from Florianópolis and a member of the hardcore scene, still today remembers his time spent in the channel *#punks* of IRC during the turn of the twenty-first century, where people would discuss music, schedule physical meetings in a square in downtown (informally known as Praça das Americanas), and even organize protests such as the one against the celebrations of the 500 years of Brazil in which he participated.¹⁶ IRC had also marked the 2003 Revolta do Buzu (Bus

Revolt) in Salvador, the state capital of Bahia (*buzu* being slang for “bus” in that city). This revolt consisted of a series of student-led protests against the fare hike, protests that counted on daily coverage by the Brazilian version of the Independent Media Center (coming more and more into being as the events unfolded) and on the establishment of “a specific IRC channel for the movement in the network BrasNET called *#contratarifa* [*#againstfares*].”¹⁷ On September 8, 2003, at 2:15 am, it was reported that “over 160 demonstrators . . . were connected” and likely chatting there.¹⁸

There are also other software and web tools to consider, especially ones designed to facilitate conversations and correspondence, such as ICQ, MSN Messenger, and Bate-Papo UOL (UOL Chat). Some have lost ground, and others were occupied by an army of spambots or completely disappeared, together with their userbase. If physical letters by relevant figures from such historical events as an urban revolt in a state capital could not readily be stored in an open repository, the odds are even lower of similar conversations in electronic format someday ending up in any sort of public collection. Jason Webber, who works for the UK Web Archive, called the public’s attention to this general characteristic of the Internet, comparing the situation with that of the old paper medium: “The British Library is full of letters between people. There are exchanges between politicians, or love letters.”¹⁹ Now, one must think about not only letters but also online chats and where the registers of those dialogs currently are.

The Internet is dynamic and considerably unstable, different from the ink on the paper of the romantic and political correspondences kept at the British Library, which can remain legible for a great number of years. It behaves more like a living organism that has a short life expectancy and a short attention span. In this sense, ruination and decay are fast and certain. It appears to be its destiny to become debris.²⁰ As posited by two thinkers of digital ruins, Vincent Miller and Gonzalo C. Garcia: “The Internet is a space littered with one successive phase of abandonment after another: abandoned blogs, games, instant messaging services, social networks and other communities of various types.”²¹ This thought seems to be in line with that which Giselle Beiguelman also expresses: “Obsolescence, loss, devices and files not found. This seems to be the more perfect picture of the digital culture and the aesthetics of abandonment that prevail in its realm.”²² If abandonment is one of the main forces of the Internet, always in competition with the proliferation of texts, images, videos, and so on, then it is not by chance that forgetting as an operational concept must remain as a part of the equation for any scholarly work that uses such a digital network as a primary source.

Intrinsic forgetting under the cycles of fashion, widespread rejection of old models, and inescapable abandonment also comprise a singular premise of capitalism. In the words of anthropologist Shannon Lee Dawdy: “The creation of ruins is a function of capitalism’s fast-moving frontiers and built-in obsolescence.”²³ The global network of computers is of course not

the negation of the capitalist endeavor: even though this network can be used as a weapon against the system, the Internet represents one of the most advanced achievements of this very economic, political, and cultural system. There is no doubt about its ability to liquefy and erase borders. However, built-in obsolescence is a concept that one must struggle to keep in mind when looking back at the early web. The Internet is certainly destined to deteriorate if no conscious efforts are made to preserve it. With the constant development of technology, be it hardware or software, the ruination of websites (if they are left to themselves) is a given fact. The loss can be so massive that it may lead to the complete disappearance of what was once constructed by human ingenuity.

Code always evolves. New protocols and standards for displaying data emerge, while others become effectively nonoperational. What is readable and convertible today by current machines can become a mysterious assortment of bits or (in a more encouraging prediction) could generate altered digital artifacts in the future.²⁴ Moreover, as if websites were like physical buildings, continuous maintenance and protection are necessary: protection, for example, against the cyber-attack of “computer crackers” and spammers who take over websites to destroy them and to turn them into ruins by flooding the spaces with informational disturbance. There are also attacks from governments and large corporations, which crack down on or lobby against the unrestricted sharing of information.²⁵ It is a myth that objects on the Internet last forever: far from it. Electricity must be constantly supplied, processors must be replaced after failing, fans have to be cleaned of dust, hard disk drives should be often changed: the place of memory cannot spin forever. According to Beigelman:

Never before has so much been said about memory as nowadays, and yet it has never been so difficult to have access to our recent past. . . . It is common sense to say that the Internet never forgets, but the digital culture does not allow us to remember. We produce and publish on petabyte scales, using services that can disappear at any time. . . . The imminence of loss and the potential impossibility of restoration and retrieval have become the “default,” and not the exception, in the digital storage ecosystem. To learn how to deal with this permanent state of absence can be crucial for a new understanding of the basis of historical preservation.²⁶

As some buildings survive for significantly more time than others, the same can happen with websites. Occasionally, it is, to a great extent, due to luck that some webpages still remain online, that they survive the attack of time. In other instances, parts of a website may end up in the storage of a museum of sorts: collected but waiting to be curated, such as the almost *half trillion* webpages amassed by the Internet Archive and its crawlers by the end of 2020. Or perhaps, in a process more complex than curation, those files lie there to be scooped up so that memories of the past—forgotten pieces of history—can be brought back to life, in the present. The Wayback Machine

application at the Internet Archive, one of the main resources for the writing of this book, does not currently function as a search engine such as Google or Bing. It is not that easy, unfortunately. One cannot find a webpage by its content words but only by the title of the website domain.

Most of the time, to locate a defunct webpage, one needs the original URL. When discovering that an old URL is accessible through the Wayback Machine, the cyber-archaeologist in general finds other ancient hyperlinks that take one to different locations and epochs. After some hours, one may realize that they are immersed in a labyrinth of inhuman proportions. There will soon be dozens or hundreds of browser tabs open and the awareness of many more to come. Another option, when one is certain that the repository of a web address will be a gold mine, is to try to bulk download the HTML files (which brings its own complications but makes the files searchable by the indexing mechanism of operating systems running in modern personal computers). In any case, a cyber-archaeologist will discover virtual remains that will become ready to be read again, to be given a meaning and a place in the contemporary intellectual debate. During this process, while cyber-digging the Internet Archive, rescuing memories rejected, buried, or neglected by the current (digital) society, I remembered the following passage by Walter Benjamin, which hereafter I intend to follow as a modus operandi: “I shall purloin no valuables, appropriate no ingenious formulations. But the rags, the refuse—these I will not inventory but allow, in the only way possible, to come into their own: by making use of them.”²⁷

A Memory of Fare Hikes

In the headline of a 2009 post on the Brazilian website of the Independent Media Center regarding the promotion and discussion of the conference commemorating the fifth anniversary of the First Turnstile Revolt in the city-island of Florianópolis, one reads: “If we propose a collective remembrance of the revolts, it is for us to avoid abandoning our memories, photos, and films in some drawer to be rummaged through once in a while with nostalgia. . . . It is to avoid losing the already conquered learning and for us to be able to elaborate further and jointly on the most legitimately political event of our island in recent times.”²⁸ This fragment originated from Carolina Cruz and Leonardo Alves da Cunha. It represents the end of a historical cycle when the very protagonists of the Turnstile Revolts decided to publicly debate and recollect their memories in an organized and official fashion. They analyzed what for them had become a historical moment. The conjuncture of new times was almost certainly imposing different tasks. Most likely a need had been fulfilled: to distance oneself from inner experiences that were surely intense, affected by such radical and deeply political events. These experiences were now matured by the passage of half a decade. Cruz and Alves da Cunha not only set a time for tribute and reflection (the year 2009), but they also made clear when to mark the

beginning of their (and a thousand others') adventure. First, they claim that 1999 was an important year. As Cruz and Alves da Cunha explained, what happened that year in the municipal legislature and as a consequence of executive decisions concerning the local transportation system would help to ignite the discontentment of the people, which would accumulate and be revitalized in the following years:

Florianópolis' City Council, still during the first term of Mayor Ângela Amin (PP) [acronym for the Progressive Party, later renamed the Progressists], approve[d] the law granting, without a competitive bid [*licitação*], the operation of the city's public transportation for a 10-year period to the companies Transol, Canasvieiras, Insular, Estrela, and Emflotur. There was resistance from civil society regarding the law, a fact that transformed its legislative proceedings into a convoluted process. On the day of the voting, there was popular mobilization to stop the approval of the law, but the City Council was well guarded by the Military Police [Polícia Militar].²⁹

Still, Cruz and Alves da Cunha go further back in time and claim, without any apparent doubt, the point of origin of the change in public consciousness as 1996 and not 1999. The plan for the Integrated System of Transportation (Sistema Integrado de Transportes) was put to municipal analysis in the middle of that decade: "Our narrative starts, however, a bit earlier, more precisely in 1996."³⁰ Later, in the beginning of the 2000s, this same Integrated System of Transportation would prove catastrophic, enraging not only students but also the community as a whole (it was so expensive, unpopular, slow, inefficient, incomprehensible, and uncomfortable that some would jokingly call it the Disintegrated System of Transportation). Similarly, in the 2009 commemorative spirit, Camarada D.—the pen name almost certainly used by Daniel Guimarães to publish various journalistic, political, and informative pieces bearing the perspective of the militants—pointed out that "the population . . . suffered from severe [fare] hikes . . . , the complexity of the new System . . . [and] the aggressive police reaction [that] contributed significantly to aggravating the population's rebellious attitude."³¹ The militants repeatedly tracked and informed the public of the fare hikes that had happened since the second half of the 1990s, fare hikes which can be seen as one of the historical justifications for the uprisings in Florianópolis. Both Camarada D. (most likely Daniel Guimarães) and the directors of the 2005 documentary *Amanhã vai ser maior* (*Tomorrow It Will Be Greater*) exposed, with more or less precision, the impactful, successive surges in people's everyday costs for riding the bus until the Turnstile Revolts—surges that made these costs roughly triple, with variations depending on which first and last years are considered, "while [from 1997 to 2005] the average increase in workers' wages was 78%."³²

According to a table published by Frente Contra o Aumento da Tarifa (Front Against the Fare Hike), the bus companies charged R\$0.30 in 1994

for a one-way fare within the public transportation system of Florianópolis compared to R\$2.10 in 2009. This is a sevenfold increase in Brazilian reals or nearly a threefold increase in corresponding US dollars: from US\$0.30 to US\$0.90 if one takes into account the devaluation of the Brazilian national currency during those years.³³ The inflation from July 1994 (when the country introduced a new monetary system) to January 2009 (when the then mayor, Dário Berger, announced the R\$2.10 fare) is recorded as 239.06% by the Broad National Consumer Price Index (IPCA).³⁴ The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) runs IPCA and collects data to create a socioeconomic indicator known as the “Average Monthly Income of People Aged 10 Years and Older,” which is specified by state. In the state of Santa Catarina, the estimated monthly income of that demographic group without gender differentiation and only counting those living in cities grew from R\$364 in 1995 to R\$1,078 in 2009 (the study was not conducted in 1994). Such numbers represent an increase of approximately 196.15% in that specific income measure, and while that growth remained above the national inflation of 167.59% (calculated from May 1995 to January 2009, when Florianópolis’ bus fare climbed from R\$0.40 to R\$2.10), the rise of the income is much lower than the percentage increase of the fare hikes themselves, which were 425% in the national currency.³⁵ Not only did bus fare hikes exceed inflation in Florianópolis, but they also rose at higher rates than the increase in the average bus fare of state capitals during the years preceding the Turnstile Revolts (Fig. 1.2).

As brackets placed in history, the dates indicated by the very actors of the Turnstile Revolts helped me to establish the boundaries of the period studied in this book. Furthermore, these historical brackets approximately correspond with significant events that are linked to the punk rock and hardcore bands reviewed here, which have their own associations with the struggle for free public transportation and against fare hikes. The first audio recording of *Guerra de Classes* (Class War) which I was able to analyze is dated 1997. The band Black Tainhas (Black Mullets), which composed the definitive (punk) anthem of the Turnstile Revolts, stopped playing its drums and electric guitars as a group in 2008. The self-defined “e-zine” *Desterro Underground*—whose posts mixed subjects such as punk and independent rock in the island of Florianópolis together with news about free public transportation activism—was up and running between 2009 and 2010 (Desterro was the name of the city of Florianópolis before a 1894 change in a homage to military dictator Floriano Peixoto).³⁶ In January 2011, São Paulo’s band *Ordinaria Hit* (Ordinary Hit), which allied themselves with “punk and the DIY ethics,” launched its album named *3*. The title refers to São Paulo’s new bus fare after another hike, and it was the first album of a series.³⁷ From then on, a new album was to come out every time a hike took place. They have perpetuated the tradition to the present day: the latest album before the conclusion of this book, titled *4.40*, appeared in 2020.³⁸

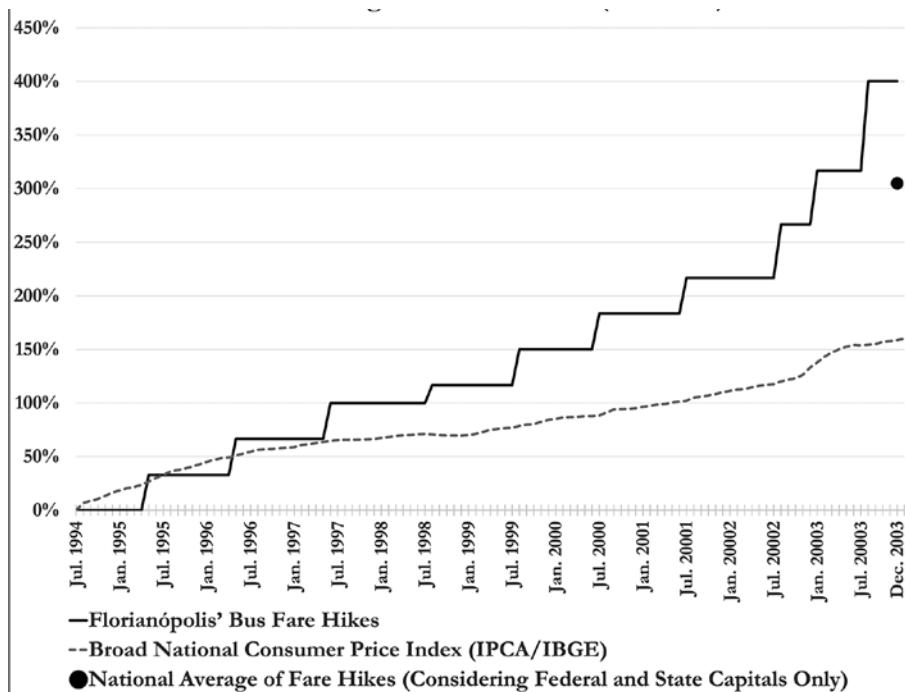


Fig. 1.2: “Florianópolis’ Bus Fare Hikes Compared to the National Average and the Inflation (1994–2003).” Sources: (1) Luiz Carlos Bertotto and Aguinaldo Mignot Grave, *Evolução das tarifas de ônibus urbanos*, 28–63; (2) Banco Central do Brasil, “Correção de valores.”

The circle in the chart represents the accumulated increases in the national average price of the bus fare, taking into consideration values from the federal capital and all state capitals (from July 1994 to December 2003). The IPCA/IBGE is represented with an inflationary dotted line reaching approximately 160% at the end of the graph. The solid line represents the increases for Florianópolis’ bus fare only; it is therefore higher than the national average and the inflation (even if other inflationary indexes were used instead of the IPCA/IBGE, such as the IGP-DI/FGV, INPC/IBGE, and IPC/Fipe, their trajectories would be less steep than that of the bus fare in Florianópolis). In fact, Florianópolis should be at the top of the list in terms of hikes, together with the cities of Porto Velho and Rio Branco, with a total hike of 400%.³⁹ The authors of the government study from which the bus fare data were taken make the following warning about these and other figures: “The high fare prices have also been responsible for the emergence of new social problems such as the ‘homeless with a roof,’ workers without the right to come and go as a result of the lack of money to pay the fare. . . . In the 1970s, according to IBGE (POF [Consumer Expenditure Survey] 1995/1996), families with a household income between 1 and 3 times the minimum wage had 5.8% of their household budget committed to transportation; in the beginning of the 1980s that spending became 12.4%, and in the 1990s it surpassed 15%. In a twenty-year period, the spending practically tripled.”⁴⁰

Within the general history of Brazil, the dates chosen here nearly correspond to the mandates of the only two directly or indirectly elected civil presidents who managed to complete their terms in recent decades: Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995–2002), from the *de facto* economically right-wing Brazilian Social Democracy Party (also known as PSDB), and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003–2010), the main political leader of the leftist Workers' Party (also known as PT), who, despite being considered a progressive president, was in fact unfriendly to the demand of free public transportation.⁴¹ As to the others, Tancredo Neves passed away without even being able to assume the presidency and was substituted by José Sarney (1985–1990). Sarney's successor, Fernando Collor (1990–1992) was impeached, and the then vice president, Itamar Franco, took over for the rest of the term until the end of 1994. Dilma Rousseff (2011–2016) suffered, after reelection, what significant sectors of the Left consider a coup *d'état* disguised as another impeachment process.

Connections

The new possibilities of virtual life were of course not total substitutes but complements, even catalysts, for face-to-face associations. An aspect that happens to have facilitated the conjunction between the Campaign for the Free Fare or the Free Fare Movement and the Florianópolis rock bands studied here (as well as the occurrence of the Turnstile Revolts) is the relatively unique demographic characteristics of that urban area. Even though the city-island of Florianópolis constitutes a capital, it stands as one of the only two capitals in the country that do not hold the simultaneous title of largest city of their respective states. In the state of Santa Catarina, Joinville is the largest city. Therefore, as an administrative center, Florianópolis concentrates a high number of important governmental, political, commercial, educational, military, and union-related structures while having a relatively low number of inhabitants. This led ideologically diverse left-wing groups and musical ensembles of heterogenous styles to cohabit spaces of socialization. The options for entertainment venues, for instance, were understandably limited by the size of the city. Those places that bore an especially progressive ethos were even more restricted.

From an interview by Daniel Guimarães comes a revelation on this matter. Today a psychoanalyst in São Paulo, he took over the bass guitar for *Guerra de Classes* in 1998 while living in Florianópolis. He would later contribute to the Free Fare Movement actively there, openly identified and identifiable as a participant in the struggle around public transportation on the island.⁴² As to the cultural and political climate of the city in the years around the advent of the new millennium, Guimarães explained:

It is very different from São Paulo. . . . Everyone stays together. There is only one bar that everyone goes to, . . . it is kind of bad to be sectarian

there. . . . In Florianópolis, at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, you were punk, straight edge, metalhead, supporter of the Workers' Party, all was more or less the same thing, so to speak; everybody spent time together: those who were of a similar age.⁴³

Another person who seems to agree with such a view is Yuri Gama. He had an important role in the activities of the underground, “free” (*livre*) FM station Rádio de Tróia and the local chapter of the Independent Media Center, besides later writing an extensive bachelor’s thesis on the Turnstile Revolts and related activities. For him also, the participants in Florianópolis’ activist and musical worlds often ran into one another: “People always saw each other; they frequented the same places. . . . The folks at Rádio de Tróia were the same at the Independent Media Center and, at the same time, they were part of the hardcore and punk scene of Florianópolis, those who organized the shows, made zines and everything else.”⁴⁴

To look further into this cultural and political confluence of people, one can add the example of the bassist Thiago Umberto Pereira, identified in the artistic and activist community by the nom de guerre “Garganta.” One can then trace even more connections from his activities. Besides hitting the strings for Black Tainhas, he would later join the band U Pai (The Father), which defined itself as a “hardcore/fastcore band . . . generally playing dressed up [*fantasiados*] and with a lot of sarcasm.”⁴⁵ Throughout the years, U Pai incorporated other members as replacements who came from bands active in Florianópolis’ scene. In addition to Garganta from Black Tainhas, there was the participation of Pedro, who had previously played for Sr. Limão & os Hiperbólicos (Mr. Lemon & the Hyperbolics) and Lixo Orgânico (Organic Trash), and there was Gustavo, who was also part of Lixo Orgânico.⁴⁶ One of U Pai’s founders, Bagri, had before been a member of Controvérsia (Controversy).⁴⁷ In June 2009, U Pai participated in a show organized by Coletivo Sala 13 (Room 13 Collective); this collective had Yuri Gama as one of its members.⁴⁸ Gama also helped to conceptualize the Turnstile Revolt commemorative poster (Fig. 1.1), and the show in which U Pai played was conceived precisely in alliance with the commission that undertook the debates over the commemoration of the 2004–2005 uprisings (Fig. 1.3).⁴⁹ Thus, even in the subsequent events that celebrated the Turnstile Revolts, the relationship between the constituents of the underground music scene and the militants for free public transportation in Florianópolis remained alive.

The synergy among the bands (and between the bands and the political movement) becomes evident when one sees the constant exchanges, absorptions, and collaborations that were carried out. Those collaborations would expand beyond the island. Coletivo Sala 13 arranged many more music concerts of hardcore, punk, and other subgenres of rock featuring a mix of local, national, and even international ensembles: Red Dons, Sweet Suburbia, Hit Me Back, Defect Defect, Ornitorrincos (Platypuses), Velho

de Câncer (Older from Cancer), Fornicators, Royal Ass Shakers, Pornô de Bolso (Pocket Porn), Cabeleira de Berenice (Berenice's Mane), Apicultores Clandestinos (Clandestine Beekeepers), Sengaya (a reference to the motion picture *Braintdead*), Black Tainhas, Ordinaria Hit, Republicaos (Republic Chaos), Sem Osso (Without Bones), and several others.⁵⁰ According to Gama, for those stationed in Florianópolis, members of São Paulo's rock scene functioned as a bridge to reach non-local bands:

I had a program at Rádio [de Tróia] that covered . . . music, vegetarian recipes, politics, gave news from the Independent Media Center, and covered the shows in the city too, shows from bands that came from elsewhere, and it was always an event to bring a band from elsewhere, and this was actually what we mostly focused on. . . . The main idea was to bring bands from elsewhere, not only from other states, but from other countries too, and, in order to do that, we had direct contact with São Paulo. São Paulo was actually our connection with bands from elsewhere . . . in the case of Defect Defect from Portland, Clorox Girls also from Portland. . . . [About these two] I am referring to [the shows organized by Coletivo] Sala 13.⁵¹

Coletivo Sala 13 (Room 13 Collective) is a useful example for one to picture the intricate connections then forming between the Internet, politics, and music. In its manifesto, Coletivo Sala 13 well synthesized the connections among (a) the new possibilities for alternative media outlets, (b) the struggle for free public transportation, and (c) punk music—not only regarding its unique sound but also (and perhaps of equal importance) its do-it-yourself ethos. That triad comprised the ground for Coletivo Sala 13's actions and seems to form a link that unites many of the actors behind the creation of the Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Free Fare Movement. Here is a fragment from the manifesto:

Is the bus fare expensive? Leave home, organize yourself collectively and take to the streets! – You don't like the songs that play on the radio? Forget AM/FM, go start your own band! – Do you hate the media? So be the media! Make your zine, your newspaper, your magazine, all of that in an independent way. We know that punk rock is not the main actor of big structural, revolutionary changes. We know our limitations in this environment and we act within our daily contradictions, going beyond all trash vomited by plastic churches, by the standard commonsense, by mega-corporations, by the state, and by Big Media. We remind you here of the need for us to organize against those social patterns based on capitalist interests and all forms of oppression.⁵²

Even though, in Coletivo Sala 13's manifesto, a clear reference is made to the iconic motto of former Dead Kennedys' vocalist Jello Biafra ("don't hate the media, become the media"), there is also the humble recognition that

punk rock will not be the center of a revolution.⁵³ Nevertheless, many bands still sing for that revolution. Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare also recognized that the movement demanding that students be exempt from paying for public transportation is not revolutionary *per se* but is a path in that direction, as is written in a document produced by the organization: "It is with the struggle for free public transportation that we can transform the student youth into a social category for itself, reconstruct the movement, reach all students with practical achievements of our struggle, and recruit them to new and possible struggles, such as the socialist revolution."⁵⁴ The later Free Fare Movement—whose origins I trace in this book through its musical and cultural associations—would in the future be the catalyzing force of the national June 2013 protests that shook the nation, spread across almost four hundred cities, and became one of the largest popular demonstrations in the recent history of Brazil.⁵⁵ One can now refer back to this chapter's epigraph taken from Boris Groys: if the great revolution will be carried out by a larger movement that encompasses most of the working class and will most likely take centuries to achieve its goals, punk is at least a means of gaining a more radical political awareness among the youth, another brick in the "construction of the ultimate utopia." This could also represent more than that: for those who cannot wait, punk-related happenings have the potency of being a brief but real incarnation of a utopic moment, the concretization of desire for new social relations that create other possibilities of bodies and minds, production and consumption, interests and exchanges; such alternatively established relations would seek to negate some aspects of capitalism before its destruction, anticipating how a less hierarchical and less repressive future would look.⁵⁶

The connections keep unfolding between cities and between those involved in music and politics. André Mesquita, who designed and co-conceptualized with Gama the 2009 poster for the critical tribute to the Turnstile Revolt (Fig. 1.1), was part of the Coletivo Verdurada (Vegetable Roast Collective), which took shape in the mid-1990s, and put together hardcore/punk rock spectacles for the public in São Paulo. However, the slogan used in said poster, "Toward a Life Without Turnstiles," was first imagined neither in Florianópolis nor in São Paulo but in the Distrito Federal (Federal District), which encompasses the city of Brasília, by a local chapter of the Free Fare Movement (known as MPL-DF).⁵⁷ In addition, in 2007, the Free Fare Movement of Florianópolis had already organized its own "Verdurada," transplanting to the south of Brazil the idea of an event mixing vegetarianism and hardcore/punk rock music that was previously developed by Mesquita's group in the north (Fig. 1.4). Furthermore, Mesquita did not restrict himself to a life as a cultural agitator. He became an academic writer and a curator for São Paulo's Museum of Art (MASP), arguably one of the most important museums in Latin America, besides having been a member of the bands Natimortus, Stand of Living, and Dissentiment and embarking on the solo project Eulalia.⁵⁸



Fig. 1.3: Bira Bird, *Gig Poster for Coletivo Sala 13*, Florianópolis, 2009.⁵⁹ CC BY-NC 4.0. The piece was originally published with the description “Coletivo Sala 13 [Room 13 Collective] (in collaboration with the collective of the event ‘Building the Memory of the Resistance—Five Years After the Turnstile Revolt’) presents, on June 13, ‘Cinema and Music at Pomar das Artes [Orchard of the Arts].’”⁶⁰ The multi-band show helped raise funds for the July 2009 commemoration of the Turnstile Revolts. Apart from the performances by the bands U Pai, Apicultores Clandestinos, Chilindrina’s Bullying, and São Paulo’s Homem Elefante (Elephant Man), the public would be given the opportunity to watch the politically engaged audiovisual productions.⁶¹



Fig. 1.4: Bira Bird, *Verdurada + Party: Free Fare Movement*, Florianópolis, 2007. This event featured the bands Sem Osso, Republicaos, and Fornicators and was advertised as offering “vegetarian grub all day.”⁶²

Both posters exhibit depictions of animals. In Fig. 1.3, cats appear as stars, participants, or observers of the party (*festa*). With different types of adornments, they are humanized, and their existence is brought closer to ours. In place of people, cats are those who enjoy the music shows. Some of them also inform the viewers about the price of admission and the planned

selection of films. Would the organizers also be cats or have the animal's abilities? Cats can embody the symbolic characteristics of "independence" and "mystery."⁶³ Precisely these same words can be used to describe attributes of both those who strive for free public transportation in Florianópolis (with their automatic nonalignment with political parties) and the members of the Brazilian hardcore/punk scene (with the opaqueness of their social and musical behavior and cultural codes that are almost impenetrable to those only accustomed to mainstream culture). The most critical feature of the poster, however, is the equalization between animals and humans, for it represents the merging between the Free Fare Movement, punk/hardcore music, and vegetarianism/veganism. One must remember that Gama, a central figure in Coletivo Sala 13 (the organization behind the shows announced in that poster), would divide his underground radio program's runtime between vegetarian cooking advice and political and music-related discussions. Such a relationship between activism for the free fare and that for vegetarianism/veganism is even clearer in Fig. 1.4, another poster authored by the same artist, Bira Bird. In that work, one can observe the drawing of a cow stylized as a punk rocker. The animal has a mohawk, possibly tattoos, and a pierced ear and wears a studded black belt. In the background, there is the bridge that connects the island that comprises most of Florianópolis with the mainland part of the city. Standing on two feet, the punk cow kicks and breaks a turnstile in half: it is a turnstile of the same type as those that are installed in the city's buses. At the same time, the punk cow becomes a militant for public transportation while defending the rights of fellow animals to have their lives considered as important as that of any person.

Another noteworthy phenomenon in the connections traced here is the later incursion into academia of members of rock bands with prior links to the Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Free Fare Movement. For example, Pablo Ornelas Rosa, who holds a PhD from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP) and until at least 2022 held the position of professor of graduate studies at Vila Velha University, played for several bands, including B-Driver. In 2007, he published the book *Rock Underground: Uma Etnografia do Rock Alternativo* (*Rock Underground: An Ethnography of Alternative Rock*), a study about that genre within Florianópolis' music world.⁶⁴ His band B-Driver, on the other hand, is enumerated as one of the ensembles that played at the 2003 Free Fare Rock Festival (Festival Rock Passe Livre 2003), an event put together by the Campaign for the Free Fare.⁶⁵ In a 2008 interview for the promotion of his book, Ornelas Rosa exposed, summarized, and confirmed links here pursued. Along the lines that would be later expressed by Daniel Guimarães and Yuri Gama, Ornelas Rosa confirmed that in the city-island many urban "tribes" were able to share the same environment during those times. The interviewer

subsequently asked if such an occurrence is not a consequence of the shortcomings in the variety of options available to Florianópolis' population, to which Ornelas Rosa replied:

What I see is that Florianópolis has a small population compared to other capitals such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Fortaleza, Porto Alegre, and Curitiba. Moreover, one perceives that Florianópolis is a very conservative city. It has an avant-garde, revolutionary youth, involved in social movements such as the Free Fare [Movement], which is a national reference. A great part of the activists from that movement experienced or experience this underground rock [scene]. The first event by the Free Fare [Movement] was a Rock Festival, which happened even before the demonstrations [of the Turnstile Revolts]. And, at the same time that we have this nonconforming youth [*juventude contestadora*], there is a conservative adult population with a provincial mentality. From that, the clashes take place.⁶⁶

Ornelas Rosa might be making a reference to the 2003 Free Fare Rock Festival, a festival that happened before the Turnstile Revolts; if this is the case, it is important to note the Campaign for the Free Fare had organized other cultural and musical events even before that festival.⁶⁷ However, what is important for the argument here is that for those battles, for the connection between the music scene and the movement for free public transportation, both physical places and the Internet were important. The community of people who circulated in Florianópolis' alternative spaces (fertile for ideas from the Left) helped to generate, occupy, and take advantage of the nascent channels of expression made possible by the digital medium. On the other hand, the ultramodern online universe that was coming into being served the purpose of coalescing even more individuals concerned with radical music and politics. The ability of anyone to become a cyber-correspondent and to publish news related to social movements on the Brazilian website of the Independent Media Center revolutionized the spreading of information regarding the political struggles and conflicts that were going on in the country. This is a nation in which the control of traditional communication outlets by only a few people (television stations, radio stations, large newspapers) is commonly noticed. Carlos André dos Santos precisely points out that "the Independent Media Center [CMI] was constituted from the social and political need for free access to the exchange of information and cultural productions and for free association in order to construct, above all, solutions to the monopoly of mass media."⁶⁸ Considering the impact, success, and volume of the work produced by the user-based news website of the Independent Media Center and its affiliates, one would need to alter Gil Scott-Heron's line to this specific case. If "the revolution will not be televised," as asserted by the American musician, the revolution could instead be posted online by the young militants from the southern hemisphere.⁶⁹

Hybrid: Analog/Digital

The Free Fare Movement's chapter in the city of Salvador would circulate (*circa* 2008 or before) a “Manual for the Formation of Local Committees” in which it explained and pondered how to use e-mail list servers, MSN Messenger, ICQ, Orkut, SMS, IRC, and Skype to foster its positions.⁷⁰ This contained a warning, though:

The Internet provides a great number of communication tools; each one can be adapted to the specific needs of the movement—circulation of materials, virtual meetings, archiving, etc. However, not all people have Internet at home and the number of individuals who have Internet 24/7 is even lower. Thus, its use must be explored to the maximum, *but one cannot lose sight of its limitations.*⁷¹

With this warning taken into consideration, it is then correct to say that much of the focus of the struggle for free public transportation still remained on face-to-face interactions. To advance its struggle and to construct the movement, the Free Fare Movement in Salvador proposed, for example, “film screenings”; “mobilization in schools [*passagem em colégios*]”; “seminars”; “mobilization in buses [*passagem pelos ônibus*]”; “production of T-shirts, stickers, video CDs, flags, banners”; “wall painting”; “pamphleteering”; “political rallies [*atos*], demonstrations, and direct actions”; “signature gathering”; “exhibition of banners over car traffic”; organization of “dinners [*feijoadas*], parties [*festas*], thrift shops, flea markets”; and the “creation and selling of the movement’s newspapers.”⁷² However, one cannot ignore the profound impact that the Internet had in making possible (or at least in contributing to the potential success of) those political actions. There was a recognition of the contemporaneous importance of cyberspace. More people could be reached faster, more easily, and more cheaply by the Free Fare Movement than could before. Some of the discussions and deliberations that led to those in-person events had most likely taken place in the digital medium (as a social movement spread throughout the country, the Free Fare Movement used, for example, IRC and later Skype to decide about its future and exchange information between its chapters semi-monthly).⁷³ Conversely, ideas conceived by the militants in physical events ended up as online publications. In the end, as one can understand from Vladimir Lacerda Santafé, the Internet, a creation by the government, is now being directed against governments. It became a radical paradox when observed from the perspective of the mid-to-post-1990s conflicts between political movements and the repressive apparatus managed by the state: “The Internet connects all spaces of the globe, . . . there is no longer a way to hide from ‘Big Brother,’ which however has never seen an emancipation of counterpowers so devastating. . . . The invention that should take care of the territorial and intersubjective disputes of the Cold War became the multitude’s weapon par excellence, a nomadic, virtual, and intensive weapon.”⁷⁴

According to Pablo Ortellado, for Brazilians, the establishment of the Peoples' Global Action (known as PGA in English or AGP in Portuguese) in the late 1990s had an important role in the country, especially from the 2000s onward, and was intrinsically connected to the Internet and its new possibilities for cooperation and resistance against capitalism. For Ortellado, the Free Fare Movement is an heir of the Peoples' Global Action (something that is corroborated by another militant/scholar, Leo Vinicius, when he refers to the more specific case of São Paulo and the anti-globalization protests, with groups linked to the Peoples' Global Action already in the beginning of 2003 discussing possible ways to oppose rising costs for riding buses, trains, and subways).⁷⁵ In the words of Ortellado, the Peoples' Global Action "in Brazil . . . was this: *the counterculture of hardcore and punk*, the student movement mainly at the University of São Paulo, not linked to political parties, and small collectives. . . . It was totally Internet culture. One of the totally distinctive things about the anti-globalization movement compared to former movements . . . is that it is totally organized on a global scale."⁷⁶

Innovative technologies proved central for bands too and not only for the incipient political movements (in a country undergoing an ever-growing process of digitalization) such as the Peoples' Global Action and the Free Fare Movement.⁷⁷ To grasp this transition from the analog to the digital, one can start by looking, for instance, at the statement of André Mesquita regarding São Paulo's punk/hardcore scene. In the late 1990s and the early 2000s, Verdurada's Collective used the postal service to promote *both* hardcore shows and protests:

At that time, we had direct mail for Verdurada. We used e-mail. But . . . the promotion of Verdurada was like this: it was posters in the streets and direct mail. . . . Fred [Frederico Freitas], for instance, would make a poster announcing Verdurada and in the middle he would insert [another] poster of the call for the protest that would happen on Paulista Avenue against the G8 summit. Then . . . *punks and activists* were there, occupying Paulista Avenue with, of course, a lot of police repression. I think we had there . . . the A20, which perhaps was the best-known protest in that period.⁷⁸

Frederico Freitas would not only design posters for Verdurada and mail those posters with calls for anti-globalization protests, as Mesquita commented, but he would also help to design the website for the Independent Media Center in Brazil, as Freitas later confirmed in an interview.⁷⁹ Thus, one can think that part of the punk aesthetics of the posters for shows was then transferred to or was in dialog with the posters for protests and finally the news website belonging to the youth that would chronicle the demonstrations, including the A20.⁸⁰ The A20 consisted in a protest opposing the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA in English or ALCA in Portuguese) that occurred on April 20, 2001.⁸¹ A mainstream newspaper reported then that about 600 people participated in the protest, with 34 being arrested: "While the Military Police cornered groups of demonstrators and beat them with

billy clubs, another group threw rocks at the policemen.”⁸² Punks with their mohawks and anarchist flags were captured on video by the Independent Media Center.⁸³ As one can infer, the analog direct mail campaign by Freitas and the Verdurada group delivered results: that moment, however, already represented a hybrid stage. The very collective of the Independent Media Center digitally documented the conflict in their website also built with the assistance of Freitas, and the subsequent response to the police violence was coordinated through the Internet as well: in an act of retribution and denunciation, two diplomatic buildings of Brazil were targeted by demonstrators on European soil.⁸⁴ The more time passed, the more the new digital possibilities would take over. In the words of Freitas:

I started in the Juventude Libertária (Anarchist Youth), which was a political anarchist group . . . [Toward the end of it] almost everybody who belonged to it was straight edge, from hardcore, and anarchist, and a lot of people from these folks had studied computer science in technical high schools. Then, they were already open to it. . . . Around 1997, 1998, the Internet began to become more popular among us. . . . Soon, we started to use IRC. . . . There was a do-it-yourself and rebellious and alternative, even a somewhat subversive culture in the Internet. . . . People had the somewhat utopic view about the power of liberation of the Internet, so much so that the Independent Media Center preceded a little that idea of the Internet 2.0, . . . in which you make your own content. . . . A lot of people who were in this hardcore scene that was more political, linked to straight edge, these people were very tuned in to all those technological changes.⁸⁵

In Florianópolis, *Guerra de Classes*—a punk rock group of strongly anarchist beliefs—took into its own hands the communication with individuals who could potentially be captivated by its lyrics and radical performances in the second half of the 1990s. As to its means of communication, one can see that the band still employed physical correspondence. *Guerra de Classes* used a post office box that allowed its listeners, other bands, and different political organizations to send letters, to establish a dialog with the musicians, receiving back information and replies from the group.⁸⁶ In *circa* 1998, they distributed a pamphlet with the title “Lyrics by the Band *Guerra de Classes*.⁸⁷ The pamphlet still contains the same post office box address, now for both the band and the anarchist Organização Autonomia (Autonomy Organization), along with citations from a graffiti from May 1968 in France, a letter by Ernesto “Che” Guevara, and a version of “The Star Thrower” by Loren Eiseley.⁸⁸ On the back of the lyrics, a manifesto called “From Strike to Revolution” is printed. The band there discloses part of its political thinking. The text reproves the student movement for not being critical enough of the limitations of any educational apparatus, including “public” and “free” ones, that functions within the capitalist society. They also denounce the electoral Left as not radical enough, albeit opposing the country’s then-president

Fernando Henrique Cardoso. The band indeed takes a stand against any belief in elections as a life-changing instrument:

Socialism was born as a desire to end human exploitation, a desire for equality. Today, the Left claiming to be socialist is submissive to the institutions created within the bourgeois society and makes elections its main battleground. . . . One gets closer to socialism when a human being does not tolerate the existence of someone with more rights than himself, rather than filling the Congress with red representatives. The Zapatistas know this very well! They reject being both the people [*povo*] and the government! A just society will not be constructed by human beings who elect their masters, who alienate their basic rights, and who give those rights to others, creating inequality with their own action. No to the pedagogy of servitude, alienation, and passivity of electoral parties and elections!¹⁷⁸⁹

Guerra de Classes was then most often communicating its ideas face-to-face, hand-to-hand, or through mail (the medium apparently employed as the de facto reliable, democratic, and far-reaching communication apparatus), as e-mail services could still be considered, according to the band member Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz, “rudimentary.”⁹⁰ Guerra de Classes’ music still circulated on cassette tapes, a medium that provided relatively simple reproducibility with amateur devices and facilitated the sharing of information that would gain full form only in the cyber age.⁹¹ These facts, however, do not indicate an inability to foster complex and transnational connections. Ortellado, for example, remembers that, in his adolescence in São Paulo, he was establishing contacts with punks around the world through pen-pal culture.⁹² Indeed, Brazilian punks created global networks already in the 1980s, as also claimed by Clemente, who played for the São Paulo bands Restos de Nada (Remains of Nothingness), Condutores de Cadáveres (Corpse Transporters), and Inocentes, and who stated the following: “This worldwide exchange was a characteristic of the punk movement in the 1980s. We talked with bands from all over the world, and that [happened] before the Internet, only through mail.”⁹³ As to Florianópolis’ Guerra de Classes, its work did find its way to the Internet before the dawn of the twenty-first century. In 1998, a cassette compilation made to gather funds for the Anarcho Punk Federation, an organization with a strong base in the US, was released under the title *We’re Here to Ruin Your Fun* and included two recordings by Guerra de Classes among other lineups from different continents. It is true that the contact between the US anarcho-punks and Guerra de Classes was conducted through analog letters.⁹⁴ However, information about the analog tape *We’re Here to Ruin Your Fun* was then posted online at the time by A//Political, a band originating from the streets of Baltimore (Fig. 1.5). Guerra de Classes’ lyrics also emerged on an anti-capitalist, hacking-activist webpage hosted by one of the 1990s digital, worldwide information highways: GeoCities (today only accessible in the form of an archived version). Those remnants bear witness to an era of hybridity between analog and digital media.



Fig. 1.5: Cover of the cassette tape album *We're Here to Ruin Your Fun*, Anarcho Punk Federation (also known as A.P.F.), Crasshole Records, 1998.

The compilation includes two songs by Guerra de Classes—the eponymous “Guerra de Classes” (“Class War”) and “Policía Bastarda” (“Bastard Police”)—together with works by several other bands from the US in addition to England, Canada, Australia, Austria, and Poland: Riot/Clone, Counterpoise, Ramraids, Inopposition, Decrimation of Authority, System Krank, Ni Olvido Ni Perdón, P.O.S., SETH!, Sanctus Iuda, Control, Against Me!, Political Suicide, The Tribe, Who Moved the Ground?, and A//Political.⁹⁵ The cassette sales were to “benefit . . . the Anarcho Punk Federation newspaper *Counterculture*.⁹⁶ The Anarcho Punk Federation was expressively supported by the Baltimore punk rock band A//Political and defined its intentions as “to make Anarcho Punk a real threat! [capitalized in the original] . . . This is the 90’s. We are fully aware of that and we have a whole new [millennium] looming before us. All political parties from left to right are growing[,] and profit-hungry capitalists are bleeding our [world] dry. Anarcho Punk is not a fad or a phase. We are anarchists above all and we seek to destroy this unbearable society and recreate our beautiful dream someday. And that day’s getting nearer with each voice added to the struggle. Stop stagnating, move forward!”⁹⁷ The Anarcho Punk Federation should then be “focused on networking anarcho punks worldwide,” which helps to explain the inclusion of Florianópolis’ Guerra de Classes in the compilation and reveals this network in action.⁹⁸

The importance of analog media would, however, diminish or at least experience a revolutionary transformation within a short period. Thiago Panchiniak, the vocalist of the mid-2000s group Black Tainhas, acknowledged that “the Internet was important mainly to stay in touch with the folks who liked us, liked our music.”⁹⁹ Black Tainhas followed the principle of distributing its music freely on the Internet, without much concern for enforcing copyrights, as one would expect from an underground, punk rock band. Its *EP 2005* (which apparently contained the songs “EMO GrindCore” and “Meu primeiro Molotov” [“My First Molotov”]) was posted in 2007 on its now-defunct website under the title “Totally complete EP [*Ep completinho*] for you to pirate and send to your friends” with a Rapidshare download link.¹⁰⁰ When the band member Garganta posted its last, 2008 album on Bandcamp, he made clear that people should not “pay for the downloads.”¹⁰¹

Black Tainhas, besides maintaining its own website, used the emerging world of modern social media networks such as Orkut and Fotolog.¹⁰² In fact, Orkut, the proto-Facebook, the first of its kind to be used widely by Brazilians, altered the landscape for the underground music scene. A local music group, without a record label to buy airtime or to promote them on the large or even small TV channels and radio stations, without having a manager or any professional guidance whatsoever, could establish direct contact with a fanbase in a simple way. In reality, a local music group could enlarge, cultivate, or perhaps even create its fanbase from scratch through fast and personal interactions: dates of shows, the release of new songs, private anecdotes, comments on the hometown scene, and political statements. Everything related to the band and the band members’ thoughts and actions were to be instantaneously shared with minimal monetary costs for both sides and with a theoretically endless potential for reverberation.

In a 2006 interview, F.O.M.I (a band from São Paulo’s ABC region that performed in Florianópolis for Coletivo Sala 13) summarized the radical transformation felt by underground bands. F.O.M.I made use of Fotolog, Okrut, Myspace, and e-mail: “Regarding the hustle and bustle of [organizing] shows, recordings, promotion . . . the Internet is the thing! It is impossible today to imagine anything without it.”¹⁰³ In addition, one cannot forget the existence of a parallel between the Internet—with its new possibilities for disseminating political and artistic ideas, where publication can be instantaneous, broad reaching, and at a low cost—and the very essence of the punk movement as it had surfaced in the 1970s. Decades after its birth and now transferred to Brazil, the tropicalized version of the Anglo-American music phenomenon kept alive the main premise that artists and activists should proceed in the creation of their own media networks. British author Nick Hornby expresses what in his opinion remained of the early days of the punk movement: the premise of self-publication, today facilitated by digital tools.¹⁰⁴

This “punk spirit” or “punk philosophy” that perpetuated into the digital world, making the passage from the analog into the digital, as seen with

bands from Florianópolis such as Guerra de Classes and Black Tainhas, also revolves around nonconformity. The very do-it-yourself principle (with self-publication of books, pamphlets, albums, and zines) emanates from being dissatisfied with the current state of things and the fact that one wants to turn this dissatisfaction into action. Even if sometimes a band like Black Tainhas does not necessarily or openly define itself as anti-capitalist, one can see that nonconformity is a driving force. Band member Garganta affirms that “we [were a] punk [band], surely a left-wing one, but without any definition. Each person had their own ideas. We were a hell of a young group too.”¹⁰⁵ They did not label themselves. They were adolescents, but of course they were leftists and punk musicians in the politically and musically conservative city of Florianópolis. The hybrid analog/digital, virtual/real confluence of means was then used as a rejection of conformity. This ethos can be felt not only in the discourse but also in the lyrics of such bands as Black Tainhas and Guerra de Classes. According to Craig O’Hara: “Many punk bands have built their platforms or messages with the advocacy and admittance of nonconformity. . . . Punks question conformity not only by looking and sounding different (which has debatable importance), but by questioning the prevailing modes of thought . . . about things that others take for granted related to work, race, sex, and our own selves.”¹⁰⁶ Nonconformity was expressed, therefore, not only in music terms but also in political combat. And those combats would happen in the streets of the city.

Notes

- 1 CMI Floripa, “Evento dos 5 anos da revolta da Catraca,” *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 29, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20111214105816/http://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2009/06/449134.shtml>; “Por uma vida sem catracas – Florianópolis,” *Tarifa Zero*, Sep. 14, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170507165718/http://tarifazero.org/2009/09/page/2/>; the original meeting title was: “5 anos da Primeira Revolta da Catraca – construindo a memória da resistência” and it took place between Jun. 26 and Jul. 3, 2009, at the Bank Employees’ Union of the Metropolitan Region Florianópolis (Sindicato dos Bancários de Florianópolis e Região), having the contribution of academics and militants (“Programação,” *Revolta da Catraca*, accessed Jan. 16, 2022, <https://revoltadacatraca.wordpress.com/programacao/>).
- 2 “5 anos da Revolta da Catraca – o 1º debate,” *Passa Palavra*, Jun. 28, 2009, <https://passapalavra.info/2009/06/7180/>; see additionally the photograph: Yuri Gama, “Untitled,” Flickr, Jun. 26, 2009, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/desvio/3664139015/in/dateposted/>; MPL-Curitiba, “[MPL-Curitiba] 5 Anos de Revolta da Catraca,” *CMI Brasil*, Jul. 9, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150509055856/midia independente.org/pt/blue/2009/07/449650.shtml>.
- 3 Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 220.
- 4 Boris Groys, *Ilya Kabakov: The Man Who Flew into Space from His Apartment* (London: Afterall Books, 2006), 1.
- 5 See: Coletivo dos 5 anos da Revolta da Catraca, “[Floripa] V anos da Revolta da Catraca – construir a memória da resistência,” *CMI Brasil*, Jul. 4, 2009, <http://web.archive.org/web/20150505121803/midia independente.org/pt/blue/2009/07/449399>.

shtml; also published as: Carolina Cruz and Leonardo Alves da Cunha, “Sobre o[s] 5 anos das Revoltas da Catraca,” *Revolta da Catraca*, n.d., <https://revoltadacatraca.wordpress.com/about/>; “A luta por transporte público a favor do povo,” *Jornal Sem Terra*, no. 268, Dec. 2006, <http://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=hemerolt&pagfis=13831>; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 56 and 62; Camarada D., “Revolta da Catraca,” *Tarifa Zero*, Jul. 22, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20171101233550/http://tarifazero.org/2009/07/22/revolta-da-catraca/>; Passe Livre, “Três processos a menos, dois processos a mais,” *CMI Brasil*, Jul. 26, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427092317/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/07/358543.shtml>; the dating of the first demonstration of the 2004 Turnstile Revolt as June 25 comes from: “Manifestações contra o aumento da passagem,” *CMI na Rua*, no. 1, Florianópolis, Jun. 26, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20050117122020/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2004/06/284510.pdf>; and: “Repressão não intimida população,” *CMI na Rua*, no. 5, Florianópolis, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150913021948/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2004/07/285065.pdf>.

6 Jacqueline Farid (Agência Estado), “Participação da mulher no Executivo é baixa,” *Folha de Londrina*, Nov. 25, 2006, <https://www.folhadelondrina.com.br/politica/participacao-da-mulher-no-executivo-e-baixa-585724.html>; see also: Redação Abranet, “IBGE mostra que provedores são responsáveis por levar Internet a 65,5% dos municípios,” ABRANET (Associação Brasileira de Internet), Dec. 21, 2015, http://www.abranet.org.br/Noticias/IBGE-mostra-que-provedores-sao-responsaveis-por-levar-Internet-a-65,5%25-dos-municípios-931.html?UserActiveTemplate=site#.XLFD7i_My3I.

7 “Usuários de Banda Larga e Internet no Brasil,” Teleco, Feb. 28, 2005, <http://www.teleco.com.br/comentario/com94.asp>.

8 “Cronologia: Internet no Brasil – 10 anos,” Terra, Jun. 2005, replicated by União dos Produtores de Bioenergia (UDOP), <https://www.udop.com.br/index.php?item=noticias&cod=27886>; the estimation for the 2003 Brazilian population comes from: “Estimativas da População,” IBGE, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas/sociais/populacao/9103-estimativas-de-populacao.html?=&t=downloads>.

9 “Anos 90: o desenvolvimento da internet no Brasil,” Terra, archived Jun. 6, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20050706083852/http://tecnologia.terra.com.br/internet10anos/interna/o,,OI541825-EI5026,00.html>; the Brazilian population in 2004 was estimated at 181 million inhabitants, and 186 million in 2005 (“Estimativas da População,” IBGE); from the sources, one might conclude that the estimation of Internet users in Brazil was based on the year 2004 and the percentage in relation to the total of inhabitants of the country was calculated based on the 2003 population.

10 Jon Porter, “Hundreds of thousands of ‘lost’ MySpace songs have been recovered,” *Verge*, Apr. 4, 2019, <https://www.theverge.com/2019/4/4/18295014/myspace-lost-songs-dragon-project-tracks-web-archive-internet-archive-450000-recovery>.

11 Porter, “Hundreds of thousands of ‘lost’ MySpace songs have been recovered.”

12 Maicon Cláudio da Silva and Lauro Mattei, “Breves notas sobre a demografia na região da grande Florianópolis na primeira década do século XXI,” *Revista NECAT*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Jan.–Jun. 2013), <http://incubadora.periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/nechat/article/download/2789/3318>.

13 See: MPL-SC, “Resoluções do 1º Encontro Catarinense do Movimento Passe Livre,” *CMI Brasil*, Oct. 18, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427072602/>

midia independente.org/pt/blue/2005/10/332668.shtml; for the Independent Media Center as a space of archive and “documentation,” see: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 175.

14 Adrienne Lafrance, “Raiders of the Lost Web,” *Atlantic*, Oct. 14, 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2015/10/raiders-of-the-lost-web/409210/>.

15 Yuri Gama, “Do It Yourcast #29,” Interview conducted by Alan da Hora, *Do It Yourcast*, Apr. 3, 2018, <http://www.doityourcast.com/do-it-yourcast-29-yuri-gama/>.

16 Gabriel Peixer, in conversation with the author, December 2021.

17 Manoel Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” *Cadernos do CEAS*, no. 231 (2008): 35 and 39, <https://periodicos.ucsal.br/index.php/cadernosdoceas/article/view/91/72>; as to the use of IRC by the Independent Media Center, see: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 128–129.

18 “Salvador: chat contra a tarifa,” *CMI Brasil*, Sep. 8, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150503073823/midia independente.org/pt/blue/2003/09/262794.shtml>.

19 Jason Webber cited in Stephen Dowling, “Why there’s so little left of the early internet,” *BBC*, Apr. 2, 2019, <http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20190401-why-theres-so-little-left-of-the-early-internet>.

20 See this discussion at: Steimmacher, *Sons de uma ilha subterrânea*, 89.

21 Vincent Miller and Gonzalo C. Garcia, “Digital ruins,” *cultural geographies*, vol. 26, no. 4 (2019): 451, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474019858705>.

22 Giselle Beiguelman, “Corrupted Memories: The Aesthetics of Digital Ruins and the Museum of the Unfinished,” in *Uncertain Spaces: Virtual Configurations in Contemporary Art and Museums*, ed. Helena Barranha and Susana S. Martins (Lisbon: Instituto de História da Arte, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2015), 74, <http://hdl.handle.net/10362/15208>.

23 Shannon Lee Dawdy, “Clockpunk Anthropology and the Ruins of Modernity,” *Current Anthropology*, vol. 51, no. 6 (December 2010): 771, <https://doi.org/10.1086/657626>.

24 Beiguelman writes: “Due to the continuous speed with which technologies are discarded in shorter and shorter periods of time, the solutions provided for the time being are bound to create the same problems we seek to resolve. The transposition and adaptation of works to new equipment or their reprogramming does not result in definitive solutions. On the contrary, these procedures indicate the need for continuous updating, which, at some point, may also produce a quite distinct result from the work created by the artist in a given historical context” (Beiguelman, “Corrupted Memories,” 78).

25 Miller and Garcia when analyzing virtual worlds seem to focus more on the digital ruins’ characteristic of intact preservation, whereas I, when analyzing the archived or long-abandoned versions of websites, had my attention called to their decay: “What these abandoned virtual worlds demonstrate is a particular kind of temporal stasis. They do not ‘age’ as much as they become out of date, precisely because they do not change. Outside the abandoned world, time marches on. Software changes, aesthetic tastes and styles change, players’ expectations of, for example, interface quality, speed or game playability change. Links to external websites are broken when those websites disappear. Even legal regulation changes. Digital ruins are a kind of time capsule which demonstrate not how much they have aged, but how much we have. While they may possess some elements of decay, the overall experience of these places is dominated by their preservation” (Miller and Garcia, “Digital ruins,” 441).

26 Beiguelman, “Corrupted Memories,” 66–67 (corrected for punctuation).

27 Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 460.

28 Coletivo dos 5 anos da Revolta da Catraca, “[Floripa] V anos da Revolta da Catraca – construir a memória da resistência”; also published as: Cruz and Alves da Cunha, “Sobre o[s] 5 anos das Revoltas da Catraca.”

29 Coletivo dos 5 anos da Revolta da Catraca, “[Floripa] V anos da Revolta da Catraca – construir a memória da resistência”; also published as: Cruz and Alves da Cunha, “Sobre o[s] 5 anos das Revoltas da Catraca”; about this early history of transformations in the transportation system of Florianópolis and the collective actions that emanated, see also: Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, Chapter 3; and: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 296.

30 Coletivo dos 5 anos da Revolta da Catraca, “[Floripa] V anos da Revolta da Catraca – construir a memória da resistência”; also published as: Cruz and Alves da Cunha, “Sobre o[s] 5 anos das Revoltas da Catraca”; according to an article by Rádio de Tróia, a previous 1993 project to revamp Florianópolis’ public transportation, presumably more effective, was already being carried on when it was discarded in 1996. Then, a new Integrated System of Transportation was architected, one that would be disastrously implemented in the years to come (Rádio de Tróia, “Falhas estruturais no Sistema Integrado de Transporte em Florianópoli[s],” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 26, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141002011103/midaindependente.org/pt/blue/2003/11/268781.shtml>).

31 Camarada D., “Revolta da Catraca” (my emphasis); the association of Daniel Guimarães with the pen name of Camarada D. or camarada_d comes from several sources as, for example: “arquivo de ‘daniel guimarães,’” *Tarifa Zero*, archived Nov. 3, 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20161103200210/http://tarifazero.org/category/blogs/camarada_d/; Daniel Guimarães (@camarada_d), “daniel guimarães,” Twitter, archived Jun. 6, 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20160606163808/https://twitter.com/camarada_d.

32 The words between quotations marks come from: *Amanhã vai ser maior*, dir. and prod. Alex Antunes, Fernando Evangelista, Juliana Kroeger, *sarcastico.com.br* [a collective], and Vinicius (Moscão) (Florianópolis: SARCASTICOcomBR, 2005), video, <https://vimeo.com/9309659>; see also: Camarada D., “Revolta da Catraca”; for a discussion about the film *Amanhã vai ser maior* placed among other examples from this (2003–2012) Brazilian generation of independent and politically inclined documentary productions, see: Roberto Camargos de Oliveira, “No olho do furacão: olhar engajado e cinema documental,” in *História & documentário: arte de fazer, narrativas filmicas e linguagens imagéticas*, ed. Maria Clara Tomaz Machado and Cairo Mohamad Ibrahim Katrib (São Paulo: Edições Verona, 2015), <https://books.google.com/books?id=N21GDwAAQBAJ>; Bianca Chiaradia defines the filmmakers’ work in *Amanhã vai ser maior* as “information militancy” (Bianca Chiaradia, “Sem Título,” c.2005, replicated at “Amanhã vai ser maior,” *Tarifa Zero*, May 12, 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170507213801/http://tarifazero.org/2010/05/12/amanha-vai-ser-maior/>).

33 Frente Contra o Aumento da Tarifa, “Sobre mais um aumento na tarifa,” *Amanhã Vai Ser Maior!*, *Alquimidia.org*, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090405045052/http://www.alquimidia.org/amanhavaisermaior/index.php?id=2500&mod=noticia>; regarding the Brazilian real to US dollar conversion, I here use the rates published by the Central Bank of Brazil (Banco Central do Brasil) of 1.00 for Jul. 1, 1994, in the “livre” (free) class and “venda” (sale price) category, and of 2.3248 for Jan. 16,

2009, in the “venda” category: (“Cotações e boletins,” Banco Central do Brasil, <http://www4.bcb.gov.br/pec/taxas/port/ptaxnpesq.asp?id=txcotacao>).

34 Inflation calculated through the tool made available by the Central Bank of Brazil, which utilizes the IPC-A (IBGE): “Correção de valores,” Banco Central do Brasil, <https://www3.bcb.gov.br/CALCIDADAOPublico/exibirFormCorrecaoValores.do?method=exibirFormCorrecaoValores>; “Aumento no preço das passagens de ônibus de Florianópolis passa a valer no domingo,” *Diário Catarinense*, Jan. 16, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090324044104/http://clicrbs.com.br/diariocatarinense/jsp/default.jsp?uf=2&local=18§ion=Geral&newsID=a2371551.xml>; Frente Contra o Aumento da Tarifa, “Sobre mais um aumento na tarifa”; the piece “Sobre mais um aumento na tarifa” by Frente Contra o Aumento da Tarifa contains a weblink to the news published by *Diário Catarinense* entitled “Aumento no preço das passagens . . .” and also includes, in the table of Florianópolis’ yearly bus fare values, comparative numbers for the Brazilian inflation throughout the years. I, however, decided to use the calculator provided by the Central Bank of Brazil as that table only has the accumulated inflation until 2007 and it does not give either the name of the index used or specific months. Nonetheless, its numbers are similar to the ones found through the Central Bank of Brazil’s tool when using the IPC-A (IBGE) index; the translation of IPCA as “Broad National Consumer Price Index” comes from: Renato Jansson Rosek, coord., “Price Indices in Brazil: Information up to June 2016,” Central Bank of Brazil, Investor Relations and Special Studies Department (Gerin), 2016, <https://www.bcb.gov.br/conteudo/home-en/FAQs/FAQ%2010-Inflation%20Targeting%20Regime%20in%20Brazil.pdf>.

35 IBGE, “Santa Catarina: 1995,” *Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios*, vol. 17, no. 28 (1997): 12, https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/periodicos/59/pnad_1995_v17_n28_sc.pdf; IBGE, “Tabelas Completas: Unidades da Federação,” *Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios – 2009* (2009), https://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/trabalhoerendimento/pnad2009/brasil_defaultzip_unidades.shtml; inflation calculator, utilizing the IPC-A (IBGE) index: Banco Central do Brasil, “Correção de valores”; the fare hike from R\$0.30 to R\$0.40 took effect in May 1995, according to: Luiz Carlos Bertotto and Aguinaldo Mignot Grave, *Evolução das tarifas de ônibus urbanos: 1994 a 2003* (Brasília: Ministério Das Cidades, 2004), 55, <https://jornalggn.com.br/sites/default/files/documentos/369490.pdf>; Frente Contra o Aumento da Tarifa, “Sobre mais um aumento na tarifa”; *Diário Catarinense*, “Aumento no preço das passagens de ônibus de Florianópolis passa a valer no domingo.”

36 *Desterro Underground*, 2009–2010, <https://desterrounderground.wordpress.com>; Mateus Pinho Bernardes, “Apontamentos sobre a cidade do Marechal: a denominação da capital catarinense no alvorecer republicano,” *Revista Santa Catarina em História*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2010): 92–104, <https://seer.cfh.ufsc.br/index.php/sch/article/view/122>.

37 Ordinaria Hit, 3, released January 5, 2011, mp3, <https://ordinariahit.bandcamp.com/album/3>.

38 Ordinaria Hit, 4,40, released January 1, 2020, mp3, <https://ordinariahit.bandcamp.com/album/440> (please note that the original title is 4,40 as the decimal separator in Portuguese is a comma instead of a dot); Ordinaria Hit, 4,30, released January 7, 2019, mp3, <https://ordinariahit.bandcamp.com/album/430>; Ordinaria Hit, 4, released January 7, 2018, mp3, <https://ordinariahit.bandcamp.com/album/4>; Ordinaria Hit,

3,80, released January 9, 2016, mp3, <https://ordinariahit.bandcamp.com/album/380>; Ordinaria Hit, 3,50, released January 6, 2015, mp3, <https://ordinariahit.bandcamp.com/album/350>; Ordinaria Hit, 3,20, released Jun. 6, 2013, mp3, <https://ordinariahit.bandcamp.com/album/320>.

39 There seems to be an error in the table no. 2 (page 28) of the federal government study, as Florianópolis is shown as having a July 1994 fare of R\$0.40 and not the historically recorded R\$0.30 and Recife is shown as having a July 1994 fare of R\$0.35 instead of R\$0.33. This appears to have led to the conclusion in parts of the work that the total hike in Florianópolis was only 275% and not 400% as in Porto Velho and Rio Branco, not placing the capital of Santa Catarina beside those other two cities (pages 12 and 28). The apparent error is not reproduced either in the table no. 9, which brings the timeline of prices for Florianópolis' bus fare (page 55), or in its resulting chart (page 57). It also does not give the impression of yielding any noticeable visual effect on the national, overall chart present in their study (page 29) (see: Bertotto and Grave, *Evolução das tarifas de ônibus urbanos*, 12, 28, 29, 55, and 57); for an introduction to the several Brazilian inflation indices, consult: Jansson Rosek, "Price Indices in Brazil: Information up to June 2016."

40 Bertotto and Grave, *Evolução das tarifas de ônibus urbanos*, 7; inflation calculator, IPC-A (IBGE) index: Banco Central do Brasil, "Correção de valores"; the translation of POF as "Consumer Expenditure Survey" comes from: "Consumer Expenditure Survey – POF," IBGE, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <https://www.ibge.gov.br/en/statistics/social/health/17387-pof-2008-2009-en.html?=&t=o-que-e>.

41 About the antipathy of Lula to the idea of free public transportation, see: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 14–15.

42 Daniel Guimarães, "Do It Yourcast #20," Interview conducted by Alan da Hora, *Do It Yourcast*, Jan. 5, 2018, <http://www.doityourcast.com/do-it-yourcast-20-daniel-guimaraes-clinica-publica-de-psicanalise/>; see also: Daniel Guimarães, "Pulou a catraca e foi ao psicanalista," *Outras Palavras*, Jan. 10, 2018, <https://outraspalavras.net/pos-capitalismo/pulou-a-catraca-e-foi-ao-psicanalista/>.

43 Guimarães, "Do It Yourcast #20"; about the fact that bands of diverse genres were in dialog in Florianópolis, see also: Steinmacher, *Sons de uma ilha subterrânea*, 43; and: Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 50–51 and 60.

44 Gama, "Do It Yourcast #29"; see also: Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 8; and: Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 166–167 and 179.

45 U Pai, "Biografia – U Pai," Letra da Música, accessed May 19, 2019, <https://www.letradamusica.net/u-pai/biografia-artista.html>; Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

46 U Pai, "Biografia"; Tatyana de Alencar Jacques claims that the name of the band Lixo Orgânico should appear without the diacritic, as Lixo Organico, but I followed the spelling in the documents from the Campaign for the Free Fare that I have encountered (Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 110).

47 U Pai, "Biografia"; according to Jacques, the traffic of band members from one group to another in the rock scene of Florianópolis is a general phenomenon (Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 46–47).

48 "Sem título [2]," *Revolta da Catraca*, Jun. 10, 2009, <https://revoltadacatraca.wordpress.com/2009/06/10/131/>; Bira Bird, "Punk Art & Gig Posters (2007 – 2013)," Behance, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, [https://www.behance.net/gallery/27125183/Punk-Art-Gig-Posters-\(2007-2013\)](https://www.behance.net/gallery/27125183/Punk-Art-Gig-Posters-(2007-2013)); Gama, "Do It Yourcast #29."

49 *Revolta da Catraca*, "Sem título [2]."

50 Other bands that played in shows put together by Coletivo Sala 13 and that are mentioned in sources I consulted were: F.O.M.I (an acronym for “*foda-se o mundo inteiro*” meaning “fuck the entire world” that is also a homophone of the Portuguese word for hunger, even though the band disliked such association), ROT, M.ine, Regime Tentáculo (Tentacle Regime), Beach Dogs, Popstars Acid Killers, Vendetta Brothers, Alarme (Alarm), Roberto e Erasmo Carlos (a band parodying the names of the mainstream Brazilian singers), Cätärro (Catarrh), Tomatensoep, A Besta (The Beast), La Carne, Stallones, Os Cafonas (The Tacky), Pogo Zero Zero, Nunca Inverno (Never Winter), Bring It to Life, Falso Branco (Fake White); sources: (Gama, “Do It Yourcast #29”) (Sala Sala Treze, “Photos,” Myspace, accessed May 18, 2019, <https://myspace.com/salatreze/photos>) (Bird, “Punk Art & Gig Posters [2007 – 2013]”) (Sengaya, “Entrevista – Sengaya,” Interview conducted by No Te Calles Zine, *No Te Calles Zine*, Jan. 17, 2013, <http://notecalleszine.blogspot.com/2013/01/entrevista-sengaya.html>) (Marcos Espíndola, “Projeto Coletivo 13 – God Save the Punk!” *Blog do Marquinhos*, Dec. 17, 2007, <http://wp.clicrbs.com.br/marquinhosespindola/2007/12/17/projeto-coletivo-13-god-save-the-punk/>) (F.O.M.I, “F.O.M.I,” Interview conducted by Crixxx, *ZP*, Dec. 1, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180906144947/http://zp.blog.br/?m=interviews&id=122>) (Roberto e Erasmo Carlos, “Photos,” Myspace, accessed May 20, 2019, <https://myspace.com/robertoerasmocarlos/photos>) (Marcos Espíndola, “Never die [2],” *Blog do Marquinhos*, Jul. 11, 2008, <http://wp.clicrbs.com.br/marquinhosespindola/2008/07/11/never-die-2/>) (Rafael Weiss, “Muito som punk no sabadão em Floripa,” *Mundo 47*, May 28, 2008, <https://mundo47.wordpress.com/2008/05/28/muito-som-punk-no-sabadao-em-floripa/>) (Rafael Weiss, “Coletivo Sala 13 faz fextênhia róque em Floripa,” *Mundo 47*, Sep. 17, 2008, <https://mundo47.wordpress.com/2008/09/17/coletivo-sala-13-faz-fextenhia-roque-em-floripa/>); in a public webpage “Velho de Câncer” appears translated into English as “Older of Cancer,” I preferred to modify it to “Older from Cancer” (“Velho de Câncer,” SON.GY, accessed May 20, 2019, <http://son.gy/artist/Velho-de-Câncer>).

51 Yuri Gama, in conversation with the author, May–July 2019.

52 Coletivo Sala 13, manifesto reproduced at: Marcos Espíndola, “Projeto Coletivo 13 – God Save the Punk!”

53 About Biafra’s motto and the Indymedia Center, see: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 240–241; for Biafra’s own explanation of the motto in a contemporary context, see: Jello Biafra, “Jello Biafra on How to Stand Up to Trump, Why Punk Still Matters,” Interview conducted by Steve Knopper, *Rolling Stone*, Jan. 3, 2017, <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-features/jello-biafra-on-how-to-stand-up-to-trump-why-punk-still-matters-125407/>.

54 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 7–10 (fragment between quotes on page 10); see also: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 297.

55 Fernanda Odilia, “5 anos depois, o que aconteceu com as reivindicações dos protestos que pararam o Brasil em junho de 2013?” *BBC Brasil*, Jun. 9, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-44353703>.

56 The ideas developed here about punk are in dialog with: Groys, *Ilya Kabakov*, 1.

57 Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 71.

58 André Mesquita, “Do It Yourcast #09,” Interview conducted by Alan da Hora, *Do It Yourcast*, Aug. 13, 2017, <http://www.doityourcast.com/do-it-yourcast-09-entrevista-com-andre-mesquita-coletivo-verdурada/>; Stand of Living, “Sounds Like 90’s: Stand of Living,” Interview conducted by Sounds Like Us (Amanda

Mont'Alvão and Vinicius Castro), *Sounds Like Us*, Oct. 26, 2015, <http://slikeus.com/sounds-like-90s-stand-of-living>.

59 Bird, “Punk Art & Gig Posters (2007 – 2013)”; the poster’s artist assigns the date of the work as 2008 in his webpage, but the event took place in 2009, see: *Revolta da Catraca*, “Sem título [2].”

60 *Revolta da Catraca*, “Sem título [2].”

61 *Revolta da Catraca*, “Sem título [2]”; the audio visual productions screened at the event were: *Criança: A Alma do Negócio* (*Target Market: Kids*) by Estela Renner, *Hiato* (*Hiatus*) by Vladimir Seixas, *Justa Causa* (*Just Cause*) by Fórum Contra o Choque de Ordem (Forum Against the Order Shock), and *Saída de Emergência* (*Emergency Exit*) by Leonel Camasão; the English titles and names of the directors of the films *A Alma do Negócio* (*Target Market: Kids*) and *Hiato* (*Hiatus*) came from and/or were identified through: (1) *Target Market: Kids*, dir. Estela Renner (São Paulo: Marinha Farinha Produções, 2008), <https://vimeo.com/15027345> and <https://youtu.be/MWPzP7fGTFc>; (2) Lis Kogan, *VII Semana dos Realizadores* (Rio de Janeiro: Petrobras, 2015), 47, http://www.semanadosrealizadores.com.br/2015/wp-content/themes/semana_2015/catalogo.pdf; (3) *Hiato*, dir. Vladimir Seixas (Rio de Janeiro: GumeFilmes, 2008), <https://youtu.be/UHJmUPeDYdg>; Vladimir Lacerda Santafé, “Problemas da imagem cinematográfica: entre as ideologias, o autômato e as imagens nômades,” *Revista Nexi*, no. 1 (2011): 18, <https://revistas.pucsp.br/nexi/article/view/2863>; the authorship of *Justa Causa* as being by Fórum Contra o Choque de Ordem is given at: Lacerda Santafé, “Problemas da imagem cinematográfica,” 18.

62 MPL-Florianópolis, “Verdurada+Festa!!” *MPL-Floripa*, Nov. 24, 2007, <https://mplfloripa.wordpress.com/2007/11/24/verduradafesta/>; according to Yuri Gama, “1/6 of the profit went to [Coletivo] Sala 13 and the rest to the [Free Fare] movement” (Yuri Gama, “Relato do meio hardcore/punk – Scene Report Florianópolis,” Five Parts, *Punk Rock Press*, Jul. 22, 2008, <http://punkrockpress.blogspot.com/2008/07/relato-do-meio-hardcorepunk-um-recomeo.html>).

63 Hope B. Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in World Art* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 72–73.

64 Rafael Weiss, “Underground Rock Bar: o livro e a cena,” *Mundo 47*, Feb. 26, 2008, <https://mundo47.wordpress.com/2008/02/26/underground-rock-bar-o-livro-e-a-cena/>; Rafael Weiss also lists examples of other bands for which Pablo Ornelas Rosa played: Piñacolada, Zero-E3, Sempre (Always), Voodoo Revenge, The New Outsiders, and The R.I.Ps (Weiss, “Underground Rock Bar.”); “Pablo Ornelas Rosa,” Núcleo de Estudos Interdisciplinares sobre Psicoativos, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <https://neip.info/pesquisadore/pablo-ornelas-rosa/>; Ornelas Rosa, *Rock Underground*.

65 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 4.

66 Pablo Ornelas Rosa, “Lero-Lero discute o Rock Underground!” Interview conducted by Marcos Espíndola, *Blog do Marquinhos*, Jul. 8, 2008, <http://www.clicrbs.com.br/blog/jsp/default.jsp?source=DYNAMIC,blog.BlogDataServer,getBlog&uf=2&local=18&template=3948.dwt§ion=Blogs&post=83759&blog=278&coldir=1&topo=4023.dwt>; for another important scholar dedicated to the scene of the city, Tatiana de Alencar Jacques, Florianópolis is also perceived as “conservative” by rock musicians (Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 117–118).

67 See: CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 3–4.

68 Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 15; for a US perspective of the Independent Media Center (and predecessors) as a reaction to media monopoly, see: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 15, 53, 74, 89–90, 167–168. Wolfson also argues that digital

technologies impacted social movements globally, which shows that this is not only a Brazilian phenomenon (Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 4, 7 and 198n27).

69 Gil Scott-Heron, “The Revolution Will Not Be Televised,” track A1 on *Pieces of a Man* (London: Beat Goes Public; Ace Records, 2014), vinyl; discussing the Occupy and Indignados movements of 2011, Maria da Glória Gohn created the sentence “the revolution will be tweeted,” but this alone slightly defers from the point I want to emphasize, as the revolutionary individuals were using the Internet broadly since its opening in the 1990s and were even creating their own non-commercial platforms, so I prefer to use “the revolution will be posted online” (Maria da Glória Gohn, “A revolução será tuitada,” *Revista Cult*, no. 169 (June 2012), 23–27 cited in Moreira Oliveira, *Uma ‘Praia’ nas Alterosas*, 139); Gohn’s article can be fully read online here: <http://www.fndc.org.br/clipping/a-revolucao-sera-tuitada-875783/>; see also: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 89–90 and 113–114.

70 MPL-SSA, “Manual de formação de comitês locais,” n.d. [uploaded Oct. 15, 2008], <https://es.scribd.com/document/6771649/Manualformacaodecomites-Final>; for another example, this time from MPL Joinville, see: Roberta Iara Rodrigues da Silva, “O movimento passe livre e a luta por transporte coletivo no Brasil: o caso do MPL-Joinville,” *Cadernos do CEAS*, no. 230 (2008): 18, <https://cadernosdoceas.ucsal.br/index.php/cadernosdoceas/article/view/99/79>; Yuri Gama writes about the role of the Internet for the Free Fare Movement toward the end of the 2000s in Florianópolis: “Both the Struggle Front for Public Transportation [Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Público] and the Free Fare Movement [MPL] and its supporters used the Internet as a means of propaganda and communication, that is to say, it was not only through seminars, pamphlets, bulletins, booklets, and public announcements [that they communicated and spread their word]. The very Free Fare Movement of Florianópolis [MPL-Florianópolis] used profiles in the social networks Orkut and Twitter, as well as its blog” (Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 125–126).

71 MPL-SSA, “Manual de formação de comitês locais” (my emphasis).

72 MPL-SSA, “Manual de formação de comitês locais”; face-to-face interactions remained even in greatly digitalized endeavors such as the Independent Media Center and neozapatismo (see for example: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 17, 46–47, 75, 125, 149, 153 and 177–179).

73 Lucas Oliveira (Legume), in conversation with the author, January 2022.

74 Lacerda Santafé, “Problemas da imagem cinematográfica,” 14; see also: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 4, 13, 36 and 102–103.

75 Pablo Ortellado, “Pablo Ortellado: experiência do MPL é ‘aprendizado para o movimento autônomo não só do Brasil como do mundo,’” Interview conducted by Coletivo DAR and Desinformémonos, Coletivo DAR, Sep. 10, 2013, <http://coletivodar.org/pablo-ortellado-experiencia-do-mpl-e-aprendizado-para-o-movimento-autonomo-nao-so-do-brasil-como-do-mundo/>; Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 25, 262–263, 291–292, and 311.

76 Ortellado, “Pablo Ortellado” (my emphasis); see also: Ortellado, “Sobre a passagem de um grupo de pessoas por um breve período da história,” 10; as Ortellado in this cited passage, Duncombe and Tremblay also make a connection between punk culture and the anti-globalization movement, in their case, internationally (“White Riot?,” 17).

77 For the importance and impact of the Internet to the bands of Florianópolis and beyond, see, for example: Beatriz Tironi Sanson, *Uma década de rock independente em Florianópolis* (BA Thesis, UFSC, 2004); Ornelas Rosa, *Rock Underground*, 127; and: Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 38, 80, and 94.

78 Mesquita, “Do It Yourcast #09” (my emphasis); see also: Frederico Freitas, Tagori Mazzoni, André Mesquita, and Felipe Madureira, “Conversação c/ Designers da Verdurada #3,” Interview conducted by *Rubrica*, *Rubrica*, Jun. 14, 2020, <https://orubrica.com.br/conversacao-verdurada/>; Freitas, “Do It Yourcast #45”; and: Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 127–128.

79 Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

80 Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

81 Mesquita, “Do It Yourcast #09.”

82 “Protesto contra Alca na av. Paulista acaba em confronto com PM,” *Folha Online*, Apr. 20, 2001, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/cotidiano/ult95u27377.shtml>.

83 CMI-Rio, “A20 – Não começou em Seattle, não vai terminar em Quebec,” Internet Archive, Apr. 20, 2001, video, <https://archive.org/details/A20SeattleQuebec>.

84 Ortellado, “Pablo Ortellado.”

85 Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022; see also: Freitas, “Como um sintoma do mundo”; about the Independent Media Center anticipating the Internet 2.0, see additionally: Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 227–228; and: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 23, 60, 70, 81, 89–90, 162–163, 167–168 and 191.

86 See also: Léo Fernandes, “Anarquia,” AN-ARKE, archived at the end of Oct. 2009, <http://www.oocities.org/sunsetstrip/cabaret/3986/anarquia.htm>; Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.

87 Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.

88 Guerra de Classes, “Letras da banda Guerra de Classes,” available at Nenomengo’s comments to Guerra de Classes, “Povo em armas,” recorded 1999, audio streaming, <https://youtu.be/bfnvviGKCFc>; Bureau of Public Secrets, “May 1968 Graffiti,” accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <http://www.bopsecrets.org/CF/graffiti.htm>; Ernesto Che Guevara, “Despedida final a sus hijos,” *Cuadernos de Historia de la Salud Pública*, no. 83, 1998, http://bvs.sld.cu/revistas/his/vol_1_98/his13198.htm; Loren Eiseley, “The Star Thrower,” in *The Star Thrower* (New York: A Harvest Book, 1979), 169–185.

89 Guerra de Classes, “Da greve à Revolução,” available at Nenomengo’s comments to Guerra de Classes, “Povo em armas.”

90 Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.

91 “The iconicity of the pirated demo cassette: amateurishly recorded, easily copied, impossible to authenticate, economically necessary, expressively democratizing. . . . Cassette technology represented the most antiproprieted form of musical circulation that existed before the digital music era—and the primary mode of pirated musical circulation outside the ‘First World’ centers of cultural industrial monopolization” (Greene, *Punk and Revolution*, 37 and 49); Gustavo Steinmacher argue that “the cassette tape appears as an intermediary medium between the analog paradigm of LPs and the digital, anticipating [future] music practices” (Steinmacher, *Sons de uma ilha subterrânea*, 6).

92 Pablo Ortellado, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

93 Clemente [Nascimento], “36 – Clemente (Inocentes) – entrevista,” Interview conducted by Rubens Leme da Costa, Mofo, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <http://www.beatrix.pro.br/mofo/entrevistas.htm>; the translation into English of the band name “*Condutores de Cadáveres*” as “Corpse Transporters” comes from: Alvaro Neder, “Bio”; for an example of those international punk networks in another Latin American country, see: Greene, *Punk and Revolution*, 36–37; about the global network of punk being created with the help of Brazilians before the mid-1990s, see also: Lopes de Sousa, *Punk*, 57; independent rock bands in general, and not only punk groups, also created

their own network through analog correspondence before the digital era (Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 80).

94 Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.

95 “V/A: We’re Here to Ruin You[r] Fun CS,” A//Political, archived at the end of Oct. 2009, <http://www.oocities.org/sunsetstrip/hall/8691/crasshole/ruin.html>; the website with the cassette-tape description cites three songs by the band SETH!—“Shut Down the World,” “Hate Me,” and “I’m an Anarchist”—which are not included in the mp3 version of the album I had access to (*We’re Here to Ruin Your Fun*, Anarcho Punk Federation (A.P.F.), Crasshole Records, mp3, <https://www.anarcho-punk.net/threads/v-a-were-here-to-ruin-your-fun.2654/>); “We’re Here to Ruin Your Fun,” A//Political, archived Oct. 9, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20081009202931/http://www.piratedradio.net:80/band/apolitical/ruin.html>.

96 “Crasshole Records,” A//Political, archived at the end of Oct. 2009, <http://www.oocities.org/sunsetstrip/hall/8691/crasshole/chrecords.html>.

97 “Anarcho Punk Federation,” Anarcho Punk Federation, archived at the end of Oct. 2009, <http://www.oocities.org/sunsetstrip/hall/8691/apf/main.html>; “A//Political,” A//Political, archived at the end of Oct. 2009, <http://www.oocities.org/sunsetstrip/hall/8691/APolitical.html>.

98 A//POLITICAL, “Interview,” Interview conducted by Profane Existence, *Profane Existence*, no. 36, archived Sep. 10, 1999, <https://web.archive.org/web/19990910050113/http://profaneexistence.com/Pe36apolitical.html>.

99 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

100 Garganta, “Ep completinho pra você piratear e mandar para seus amigos!!!” Black Tainhas, Mar. 14, 2007, <https://web.archive.org/web/20071224144159/http://www.blacktainhas.com.br/>; Black Tainhas, *Demo 2005*, recorded c.2004, digital audio streaming [no longer working], <https://myspace.com/blacktainhas/music/album/demo-2005-5816981>; Black Tainhas, *EP 2005*, recorded c.2004, digital audio streaming [no longer working], <https://bdg.uol.com.br/artist/blacktainhas/DB3F15C6-7E88-42A1-9317-35949B3CFDD9>.

101 Black Tainhas, *Black Tainhas 2008*, recorded c.2007, mp3, <https://blacktainhas.bandcamp.com/album/black-tainhas-2008>; Garganta in the album’s website on Bandcamp claims that the group disbanded most likely in 2007. However, in their Myspace page some songs are dated from 2004, even though they are included in the “demo 2005” album, and there is a photo of a show by the band with a caption of Jun. 6, 2008 (Black Tainhas, “Black Tainhas,” Myspace, accessed Apr. 11, 2019, <https://myspace.com/blacktainhas>); in their Orkut community, the year of disbandment appeared as 2008 (“Black Tainhas,” Orkut, archived Aug. 7, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160807065743/http://orkut.google.com/c1103103.html>).

102 Orkut, “Black Tainhas”; the Fotolog webpage used to be hosted at: <http://www.fotolog.com/blacktainhas>; their website address was: <http://www.blacktainhas.com.br>.

103 F.O.M.I, Interview conducted by Crixxx.

104 Nick Hornby, “Ruptura em 3 acordes,” Interview conducted by Enrico Franceschini, trans. [into Portuguese] Maurício Santana Dias, *Folha de São Paulo*, Mar. 19, 2006, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/mais/fs1903200606.htm> (the interview was first published in the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica*, then translated into Portuguese for the Brazilian audience in 2006).

105 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

106 O’Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk*, 27–28.

CHAPTER TWO

Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Youth

From Salvador to Florianópolis

The young people: the great laboratory of society, where society reinvents itself.

A former protester of
Salvador's 2003 Bus Revolt.¹

The Young Take to the Streets

“June 2013 is a month that has never ended”—when sociologist Ângela Alonso proclaimed this sentence, five years had already passed.² Just a few days earlier, Brazilians had watched and felt the developments of the 2018 Brazilian truck drivers’ strike and protests, which de facto brought the country to a standstill for more than a week.³ That strike shared many similarities with the previous June 2013 protests, such as having a lack of clear leadership, which caused an embarrassing moment for Michel Temer (the then president of Brazil following the fall of Dilma Rousseff in 2016). After the federal administration negotiated and came to an “agreement” with the proclaimed “leaders” of the truck drivers, the politicians were appalled at the fact that the strikers, who were blocking roads and highways across the country, would stand their ground, showing that their movement was “horizontalized.”⁴ Moreover, the truck drivers organized themselves through WhatsApp, the phone message software that has some similarities to social media. This technological aspect of mobilization had already been a characteristic of the June 2013 protests, even though other online platforms were used.⁵ The idea of a movement that should be “horizontalized,” “autonomous,” “non-partisan,” and “without leaders” had entered into public conscious in part thanks to the Free Fare Movement and the 2013 protests. Those protests, which started against the hike of bus fares in São Paulo, became a massive mobilization in a matter of weeks. They paralyzed core urban areas in the country, gathering over a million people, and can be considered among the most important mass

protests in the history of Brazil—the Free Fare Movement was the main political actor that initiated those demonstrations.⁶

The Free Fare Movement's recent origins can be found mainly in two events: the 2003 Bus Revolt in the city of Salvador and Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare, which was launched in 2000 by Lucas de Oliveira, Osvaldo Pomar, Alice El Assal, and Alex Marchi; they prepared a petition in favor of free public transportation for students, gathered more than 20,000 signatures during the first seven months of that year, and staged “the first demonstration to deliver the petition.”⁷ This campaign would culminate in the so-called Turnstile Revolts of 2004 and 2005. The Free Fare Movement itself defines the timeline of its struggles (including the pre-history that led to the establishment of it as an organization) as follows:

2003—Bus Revolt in Salvador (August–September).

2004—The Turnstile Revolt stops the hike in Florianópolis (June) and leads to the approval of the law granting the free fare to students (October 26); São Paulo's Free Fare Committee emerges.

2005—Plenary Session for the Foundation of the Free Fare Movement-Brazil at the Fifth World Social Forum in Porto Alegre (January); struggle against the hike in São Paulo (February); Second Turnstile Revolt stops the hike in Florianópolis (June); mobilizations revoke the hike in Vitória (July).

2006—Free Fare Movement's National Meeting (June); struggle against the hike in São Paulo (November–December).

2008—The great struggle against the hike in the Distrito Federal [Federal District] (October).

2009—Passing of the student free fare [law] in the Federal District (July); occupation of São Paulo's Secretariat of Transport (November).

2010—Struggle against the fare hike in São Paulo (January).

2011—Struggle against the fare hike in São Paulo and several other state capitals (January–March); mobilizations revoke the hike in Teresina (August).

2013—Struggles in São Paulo's metropolitan area win the revocation of the hike in Taboão da Serra (January); mobilizations bring down the hike in Porto Alegre (April); June Protests win the revocation of hikes in more than one hundred cities.⁸

The revolts of Salvador and Florianópolis from 2003 to 2005 were not only a trial at a smaller scale for the subsequent, massive uprisings of 2013. They also provide a panorama of the relations between political action and art that would later be repeated (with contextual differences) nationally. Those earlier protests are closely related to music productions (which encompass song lyrics and political chants), photography, and documentary filmmaking. Salvador's Revolta do Buzu (Bus Revolt) seems until now to have passed into history with an overwhelming link to cinema rather than music. A documentary directed by Carlos Pronzato in Salvador served as an instrument of

mobilization for the Campaign for the Free Fare in Florianópolis, being shown to students on VHS tapes before the First Turnstile Revolt, causing a mobilizing impact on the viewers.⁹ However, punks with their music were also involved in the protests in Salvador.

One of those hardcore punks who enthusiastically took part in the Bus Revolt in the city of Salvador answers to the name of Róbson Véio. At the time, he was an acquaintance of the Bus Revolt's main filmmaker, Pronzato, and performed as one of the two lead vocalists of the band Lumpen; with a long personal history of cultural and political activism in the city, Véio entered the punk scene in the 1980s and, in that same decade, had already written about issues related to the transportation system for a contemporaneous zine.¹⁰ Lumpen remained active between 2003 and 2010.¹¹ The group defined themselves as revolutionaries who used hardcore as a platform for their political discourse: "Lumpen is . . . the student who graduated from college and is unemployed, the single mother, the indigenous person who has their culture raped, the Black person who has to put up with people saying there is no racism, the broadcasters from underground radio stations who are persecuted, *the bro from the outskirts who has to ride a crowded bus*."¹² In 2003, the same year of the Bus Revolt in Salvador, Lumpen's song "Zona de processamento para exportação" ("Exportation Processing Zone") appeared in a collective CD of several artists. In the song, one can clearly identify its left-wing radicalism and anti-capitalist stance mixed with the heavy distorted sounds of electric guitars:

*Tudo para melhorar seu país!
Tudo para melhorar a sua vida!*

*Everything to make your country better!
Everything to make your life better!*

*Trabalho escravo como promessa de salvação
Marcas não produtos, o grito que ecoa
Água e açúcar como alimentos
Zona de processamento de sua força de trabalho
Produção de sonhos alicerçada em sofrimento
É inegável toda a angústia, valores extremos
[como base*

*Unfree labor as salvation promises
Brands not products, the echoing cry
Sugar and water as food
The processing zone of your ability to work
Production of dreams based on suffering
All this anguish is undeniable, extreme values
as its basis*

*[2X]
Você compra, você financia
Seu estilo de vida é a morte implantada*

*[2X]
You buy, you finance
Your lifestyle is implanted death*

[...]

...¹³

Through punk songs such as those of Lumpen and documentaries like the one of Pronzato, scholars might have, then, an opportunity to read the political events that erupted against fare hikes and for free public transportation in Brazil through the artistic creations that were catalyzed by and catalysts of

the revolts or that showed the spirit of the epoch, the *Zeitgeist*. Moreover, I mention the country as a whole, as protests were not restricted to Salvador and Florianópolis, even though the two cities faced the largest and most radicalized demonstrations. In the same month of August 2003 in which Salvador started to face its Bus Revolt, other student protests linked to issues surrounding public transportation took place in several cities: Feira de Santana, Bahia; Caxias do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul; São Bernardo do Campo, São Paulo; and Goiânia, Goiás.¹⁴ In the beginning of September, the protests of Salvador spread to Lauro de Freitas.¹⁵ Then on September 16, when the Revolt in Salvador had already cooled down considerably, it reappeared in another city in the state of Bahia, this time in the neighboring municipality of Simões Filho:

For some students [from Simões Filho], participating in the demonstration had a feeling of a debut: “It is the first time I’ve come. We cannot accept the fare hike, and we also need to guarantee our right to pay half fare,” said Daniela Magno, 16, a student from Colégio Estadual de Aratu. . . . Adriano Santos Ramos, 15, a student from Escola Polivalente, claimed that joining his friends was worth it: “It is great to be here.”¹⁶

The mayor of Simões Filho eventually “agreed with most of the [students’] demands,” but what mainly calls our attention here is that he bent to the forces coming from such young protesters.¹⁷ This age phenomenon was a repetition of what had happened in Salvador, where one could encounter even younger people joining the marches, demonstrations, sit-down strikes, and the resistance against police repression. One participant of Salvador’s 2003 Bus Revolt bore witness to the engagement of the youth: “Everybody had a voice. [The assemblies] lasted for hours. Hours and hours and hours. Everybody had a voice, everybody spoke. . . . Then, 12-year-old boys spoke, saying that ‘I’m only leaving the streets when the fare goes down to R\$1.00!’ There were more politically conscious discourses from the 18-year-old folks: ‘No, because we have to see the level of our accumulated forces.’”¹⁸ The local press confirmed this and called attention as well to the age of some of the protesters in the capital city of the state of Bahia. On September 3, the newspaper *A Tarde* published the following: “The young folks [*meninada*] took over the streets, . . . blocked the main streets, sitting on the pavement. . . . Two characteristics marked the demonstrations—*spontaneity*, without the presence of leaders, and the low age of the demonstrators; *the average [age] is somewhere around 12 and 13 years old.*”¹⁹ Even though the protesters had such limited life experience, they presented themselves with self-assurance and decisiveness. According to Manoel Nascimento:

In the assembly of September 4, one of the most striking scenes, in the middle of a war for the microphone, was to see a boy who must have been around 10 or 12 screaming: “While you are here fighting, [Salvador’s Mayor] Imbassahy is out there raising the fare; let us take to the streets!!” According to press reports, he was not the only one. The most striking presence in the blockade of September 1 in [the neighborhood of] Rio

Vermelho was a group of students who were 11 or 12; one of them said he had gone “to protest too, because my mother is spending a lot on transportation.”²⁰

Looking at their discourse, one can see how the economic situation in their homes led to the gaining of early political consciousness and to the taking of direct action. Paying a higher fare meant that the adult members of one’s family would also have to spend more money on their own transportation. Further illustrating the connection between the protests and family economics, one of the rallying cries during the revolt was: “R\$1.50 is for bread.”²¹ When asked why she was on the streets, a 12-year-old student replied straightforwardly: “We have to protest because the fare is expensive and we have no money.”²² Those most affected by the consequences of that urban revolt, the transportation companies, had to acknowledge a certain degree of perplexity with the young age and the methods of the protesters.²³ First, they were facing a significant loss of profit owing to street blockages that primarily aimed at halting buses, and they even had some of their vehicles attacked and partly destroyed.²⁴ The tactic was simple: students from a school would organize in groups and block the streets, sometimes close to their own educational institution, halting the traffic as increasingly more students would do the same in different parts of the city, generating a snowball effect.

Already in 2003, the press described the protests in Salvador as analogous to “flashmobs,” but they emphasized the more political and objective characteristics of what was happening in the tropical country: “The blockages formed by students . . . [are] similar to flashmobs, a youth movement that uses the Internet to schedule concentrations in strategic places in order to carry out actions without logic. . . . The difference to flashmobs is that [during the Bus Revolt] the dispersal of people does not occur quickly . . . [and] Salvador’s student movement has a well-defined purpose, despite being a celebration.”²⁵ Students also agglomerated together in main arteries and walked through the streets until reaching Praça da Piedade (Piety Square) in the heart of the city; additionally, the burning of tires in the open air became another means of protesting.²⁶ The total number of people demonstrating in Salvador in 2003 reached a projected mass of 20 to 40 thousand, as reported by the conventional media and by the Free Fare Movement itself.²⁷ With all the methods and the extensiveness of engagement by the student population, traffic jams became the new normal. The students brought the city to a standstill. Stores and malls looked deserted.²⁸ A report stated: “The agenda of the day is mobilization, and everything is allowed, even to turn a bus into a stand. . . . They were there once again, fearless, defying the traffic, united in order to overturn the hike and to gain the right to pay half the fare for the whole year. In the streets, making a racket, with good humor and lots of energy, they once more brought Salvador to a standstill.”²⁹ On September 2, 2003, it was estimated that the stationary traffic spread for almost 22 miles.³⁰ Lines of stopped buses would form and the flow of money coming from the passengers’ fares and entering into the companies’ registers would decline.



Fig. 2.1: LuC4S, *Salvador: Students in Revolt*, 2003. Copyleft CMI Brasil – Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil (see note for details).³¹

The image shows a line of buses forming from one of the many road blocks that groups of students would undertake at different points in Salvador as part of their Bus Revolt. Two scholars described it thus: “In 2003, [the students] spread out among buses and cars in the main streets of the city so as to stop the traffic completely for several hours over almost 20 days.”³² A reporter flew over the city by helicopter on September 2 to register the exceptional consequences of the protests: “The city below pulses chaotically in several of its crucial points—high traffic avenues are motionless; the jams go on for miles and miles. Groups of students impede the normal circulation of vehicles. . . . Just like that, an adolescent uprising in school uniforms manages to halt the city. The streets are theirs.”³³

The material consequences for the bus owners represented nothing new in a context of protests. Salvador had a history of uprisings concerning the public transportation system. In 1981, for two weeks, the population violently attacked hundreds of buses against a hike of 61% in the price of the fare. This demonstration of rage became known as the *Quebra-quebra*, an informal word in Portuguese for “riot.”³⁴ The list goes further back in history: “In 1930, mothers set more than 80 streetcars on fire in a protest against the end of the free fare for students.”³⁵ This event from the beginning of the twentieth

century places the Free Fare Movement in a different historical perspective, as the free fare in itself is actually a right that *was taken* from students. It had already existed before in at least one important city in Brazil, and it is not simply a new idea that emerged recently and for which they were fighting. We cannot forget that Salvador is currently the fourth-largest city in the country, one position below compared to 2003, the year of the Revolta do Buzu.³⁶ In more recent times, the city of Rio de Janeiro itself implemented the free fare for a segment of the student population. It has become a milestone and an example of what could be conquered by the young inhabitants of other cities.³⁷ Rio de Janeiro established the free fare for part of the student population in 1990, propelled by “marches organized by high school students.”³⁸

However, if the stoning of vehicles and losses in profit were not a novelty for Salvador’s bus companies, the social composition of the protesters participating in the Bus Revolt, many not even high schoolers but middle schoolers, appeared to have caught them and the city administration by surprise. How to negotiate with or stop a stratum of society that was seen or portrayed as mostly a mass concerned with daily school activities, pop idols, sports, romance, soccer, and other games? In a fit of social and historical analysis, one of the spokespersons for the private transportation companies that operated the bus system of Salvador summarized the events: “This is the most unusual protest I ever saw in the almost 30 years in which I have worked in Salvador’s transportation system. Young people who are 13 and 14, lying on the pavement in order to prevent the buses from circulating.”³⁹

Spontaneity, Anarchists, and Punks

The age of the protesters is a component that also contributed to the *spontaneity* of such a historical event, spontaneity being a characteristic observed by the press and by at least one important commentator.⁴⁰ From the considerations of Nascimento, one can understand Salvador’s Bus Revolt as spontaneous not in the sense of it coming out of nowhere, but in the sense that the student body took the revolt into their own hands without waiting or being to a great extent restrained by a leadership, even though formal organizations joined or even initiated the protests.⁴¹ At least 56 student organizations of different levels and sizes engaged in the protests of Salvador and, in one of the first demonstrations of August 22, one can see flags from the Brazilian High School Students’ Union (known as UBES) and the Communist Party of Brazil (known as PCdoB), as registered in a photograph by the press, which corroborates the argument that the events of the Bus Revolt had the established political organizations as one of their main engines in the initial stages.⁴² In fact, already by August 13, students had blocked access to a bus terminal in Salvador called Estação da Lapa, carrying out one of the first steps in a series of protests that would grow until reaching the level of a revolt.⁴³ This protest appears to have caused some anxiety in the city administration; on the following day, the local newspaper *A Tarde* published a piece claiming

that the announcement of the hike was suspended: “The city administration does not say how, when, and how much the hike would be. The Municipal Secretary of Transport, Ivan Barbosa, argues that the population is against the wall, but he recognizes that it is time for a revision [of the fare].”⁴⁴

On August 21, the city of Feira de Santana, the most populous city in the state of Bahia after Salvador, registered protests against the hike of the bus fare led by students from the local state university Central Students’ Union (known as DCE da UEFS).⁴⁵ Moreover, in the demonstration of August 22, the same one in which one can see the flags of the Brazilian High School Students’ Union and the Communist Party of Brazil, about 150 of Salvador’s students threatened “to occupy the building of the mayor’s office” in case the city administration went on with the hike.⁴⁶ It is only on August 29 that the protests took the shape of an uprising in Salvador. *A Tarde* reported that “as in the 1970s, more than five thousand young people take the lead and protest against the hike of the bus fare.”⁴⁷ On that day, a group of students were able to enter the City Council building, turning that public space into their territory.⁴⁸ With this act, the building in fact became a space of the popular will and not only a place of bureaucratic politics. It was a true example of democracy and real-world democratization.

The initiative of calling the first demonstrations did not erect a shelter protecting the traditional student organizations from criticism as the conflict between the masses and the city administration escalated: “The great characteristics of this movement . . . were the overtaking of the sponsoring organizations by the rebelling multitude, the unexpected radicalization, and the impossibility of finding a ‘leadership’ in charge of it. . . . The often-mentioned ‘spontaneity’ of the movement . . . resides in the students’ actual refusal to accept the leadership of general organizations (UNE, UBES, ABES, DCEs)—as Nascimento writes.⁴⁹ This type of radicalization was extreme to the point that anarchists themselves would face negative reactions from the masses in specific circumstances, which does not mean their absence from the revolt.⁵⁰ In a report published by *A Tarde* on September 4, its journalists composed the profiles of four demonstrators, including an anarchist identified as Perverso Smith, in which he says, “We defend the civil disobedience to this fare of R\$1.50. . . . This is a movement that happens in an autonomous way.”⁵¹ Additionally, Júlia Ribeiro de Oliveira and Ana Paula Carvalho would later interview several former participants of Salvador’s protests, including among the selected individuals a person named “Marcos César,” who was defined as “a member of the anarcho-student and anarcho-punk movements [MAP]” at the time of the revolt and at other times as someone who “belonged to the Anarchist Popular Organization [Organização Popular Libertária] and the Free Fare Movement [MPL].”⁵²

Besides the participation of anarchists in general, punks in particular were also involved. Surely the main soundtrack of the revolt, if there were such a thing, should have come from the African-derived drum beats and percussion instruments (for which Salvador is a “Mecca”) instead of the noise of

electric guitars with high distortion applied.⁵³ But videos recorded at the time registered banners with and people wearing typical anarchist and punk symbols.⁵⁴ In his “Theses on the Bus Revolt,” Nascimento (an individual of anarchist ideals and a militant with links to the Independent Media Center and later the Free Fare Movement) uses the very word *punks* to refer to some of the users of Salvador’s transportation system.⁵⁵ One must pay attention to the fact that Nascimento wrote such a text in the wake of the then still-recent events, starting the “Theses” at the end 2003 and concluding it about one year later.⁵⁶ Why should he identify punks among other examples of people riding the buses if not to characterize a social phenomenon he was witnessing? Let us take a closer look at a passage:

The same bus that the worker uses to arrive at their workplace also takes *pagode* players [*pagodeiros*] to the beach, transports groceries bought at supermarkets to the houses of consumers, *carries the punk from the outskirts to and from the night shows*, moves students from home to school and vice versa, and so on. However, it is through the use of transportation to arrive at the workplace that one obtains the means to purchase a *cavaquinho* for *pagode*, to buy groceries, *to get a ticket for a show and soap for spiking one's mohawk*, to buy military uniforms and school supplies.⁵⁷

In an interview conducted about 17 years later, Nascimento came back to this passage and confirmed the indication that punks and anarcho-punks had a meaningful contribution to the uprising in the northeastern Brazilian city and that the mentioning of them represented an intentional register of the forces comprising the diversity seen in the streets:

When I wrote that article, I was thinking about something that, at the same time, could synthesize those factual elements in the history of Revolta do Buzu and, on the other hand, make an interpretation of those facts that could be interesting to *the folks who I knew as having been in the streets*. . . . What I thought in relation to punk was this: who was I seeing in the streets in that moment? Folks who were . . . 14, 15, 16 years old. . . . Many of those with such a profile were also members of the punk movement. . . . Naturally, then, if one of the groups I'm thinking about in order to write that article is comprised of those punks, let me talk about them in there. Because, then, he [will say]: “Hey, it's me here!” And, thus, he can relate his life to other aspects of social life. . . . If we think that left-wing politics here in Bahia were basically composed by the Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Brazil, and the anarchists and anarcho-punks, . . . it's impossible not to talk about your own people, it's not possible not to talk about those who are closer to you. . . . I was among the anarchists, I presented myself as such, I participated in groups with these characteristics. I was sympathetic toward anarcho-punks but was never one of them.⁵⁸

Despite the involvement of punks in the revolt, some of them were critical of the outcomes of the protests, such as the member of the band Lumpen,

Véio. Let us initially look at the first part of the lyrics of Lumpen's song "Zona de processamento para exportação" in order to better understand the band's ideology: there is clearly a denunciation of the capitalist economic roots of society. That part of the song ends with two sentences condemning anyone who mainly lives for the consumption of commodities: "You buy, you finance / Your lifestyle is implanted death." Even with such an anti-capitalist stance, or perhaps because of it, Véio (the vocalist of Lumpen) had some critical reservations about those 2003 events in Salvador that were essentially a struggle for a better and cheaper public service. For him, no doubt a supporter of the revolt, the disdain for political leadership that arose does not necessarily mean the youth had a shaped awareness of what a strong and long-lasting leaderless movement should look like. Véio criticized the Bus Revolt particularly for not surpassing the condition of "not wanting to have a leader" in order to achieve "the desire for self-organization," being something that we can interpret as a limitation of the spontaneity linked to the movement.⁵⁹ He also says the following:

[This is a] criticism, not a complaint . . . self-criticism, let's put it this way, toward me and the movements, which is exactly that: we often [depart] from a presupposition that not having a leadership will make everything good. . . . Political party structures, . . . with all their problems, end up giving a direction, even if it is a mistaken or a wrong or a malicious one . . . Thus, when we are without those leaders, . . . [and with] this lack of study, perspective, even models, . . . what ends up happening is what we saw. For example, in my view, most of the time what happened is that there was a kind of fetish much more toward having no leaders rather than making things work. . . . It's not a problem [only] with the Revolta do Buzu; it's a problem with most movements that claim to be anarchist, which is exactly about how to deal with this non-hierarchy, you know, this lack of control of some people or a group over the others.⁶⁰

The reading of the Revolta do Buzu as a spontaneous political event recalls in part the examples of spontaneity given by the Trotskyist political figure and one of the leaders of the Workers' Cause Party (known as PCO), Rui Costa Pimenta, given during his political analyses on current issues in Brazil, in the sense that sometimes the masses take action despite the lethargy of traditional leadership.⁶¹ Let us look closer at one of those talks from 2019, where he articulates that "popular participation is what characterizes [a revolutionary movement]: really popular, from the great masses of poor workers, including mainly the presence of workers that are not organized. . . . To say that . . . [a] demonstration . . . became a revolution, we would need to have the presence of those sectors that normally do not participate in anything, who are the great majority."⁶² Of course, what happened in Salvador was not a revolution (even important participants were aware of that), but it should at least deserve the title of a popular student revolt because the sectors of students who were not organized became one of the chief actors in it.⁶³ They even kept the revolt

alive and kicking after an agreement between the mayor and representatives of traditional student organizations. Many students would later oppose that arrangement openly, others even denounced it as a kind of betrayal.⁶⁴ They were students from the lower classes of the city, from the popular sectors, and not mainly from the middle class. In the words of Nascimento: “The sons and daughters of that population affected by unemployment, precarious work, and progressive impoverishment were the main protagonists of the Revolta do Buzu.”⁶⁵

The Leaders, the Police, and the (Black) Revolt

According to Oliver Scarcelli, during Salvador’s Bus Revolt, self-proclaimed “leaders” belonging to the traditional student movement rode roughshod over the masses and negotiated directly with the municipal government to end the protests in exchange for the fulfillment of some demands, which excluded the main one: “the revocation of the hike.”⁶⁶ The traditional student movement is mainly represented by the National Students’ Union (UNE) and the Brazilian High School Students’ Union (UBES), which are controlled by a division of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB) called the Socialist Youth Union (UJS). On September 3, the crowd gave a hard time to the president of Bahia’s Association of High School Students (ABES), a militant of the Workers’ Party (PT), when he appeared in public to announce the agreement between the leadership of the traditional student organizations and the city administration: “Roque Peixoto . . . received a huge boo when saying [that] ‘what was approved is something much better than the reduction of the fare, which is the reactivation of the Municipal Transportation Board and a Mixed Commission to study the lightening of fare costs.’”⁶⁷ On September 4, it became clear that the masses of students had rejected the pact between the leaders of traditional student organizations and the city administration, deciding to stay mobilized.⁶⁸ Besides the reactivation of a Municipal Transportation Board with members from the urban student body and the creation of a Mixed Commission, the arrangement included the extension of the half fare that students already enjoyed during the school calendar (from Monday through Saturday, excluding holidays) to every day of the whole year, a 12-month freeze of the R\$1.50 new fare price (but not a revocation of the hike), the payment of half fare on transportation vans and not only buses, and the addition of graduate students and students from high school equivalency programs (*supletivos*) to the categories of those who could pay the half fare.⁶⁹

The denunciation of such a political deal represented the moment when the masses unequivocally took the leadership of the protests in their own hands, “and a new way of making demands emerged: spontaneous, without party leaders, and adolescent by nature.”⁷⁰ The sentiment against the organizations reached its climax when “a group blatantly tore a flag from UNE [the National Students’ Union, during the September 4 plenary that objectively overruled the agreement].”⁷¹ An older man, whose profession was to teach

students about the conflicts and contradictions of the past, ended up giving a statement about his own discipline: "*History is here today*. The fare struggle is no longer restricted to students. It belongs to the lower-class population that uses buses, and those who are impeding the right to come and go are the bus owners."⁷² On September 5, the betrayal of the masses by the traditional student organizations reached its pinnacle when the latter sat at the same table with forces from the state judiciary to reach another deal, which included a personal effort to demobilize the students: "The student leaders admitted that the movement is out of control and that at least 15% of the demonstrators are acting on their own or are being directed by political groups and that, in order to turn the situation around, a person-by-person job will be undertaken . . . in the schools."⁷³

One of the few mitigating factors of the reactionary stance adopted by the student organizations was that the newspaper *A Tarde* started to report that the demonstrations began to lose some of their massive popular appeal owing to the several days of traffic disruption within the city.⁷⁴ However, even this narrative can be disputed, as Nascimento argues that, at a certain moment during the Revolt, *A Tarde* changed its sympathetic approach toward students and began to publish articles that one could interpret as potential contributions to the demobilization of the youth: "There started to appear [in the newspaper] some signs that the editorial policy of *A Tarde* in relation to the Revolta do Buzu would change."⁷⁵ On September 7, Brazilian Independence Day, some students took advantage of the previously scheduled demonstration called Grito dos Excluídos (Cry of the Excluded), which habitually happens on the same day as the patriotic celebration, in an attempt to keep the protests against the hike of the bus fare alive.⁷⁶ On that day, the police also intensified their repression, and the press reported flagrant cases of police brutality. A 17-year-old female student, who was filming the aggressions, declared: "[A policeman] came in my direction to take my camera . . . I fell, and they started to beat me, kick me, step on me. Then, they dragged me along the floor, pulling my hair, my neck. They wanted to take my camera by all means."⁷⁷

At the height of Salvador's revolt, the Military Police tried to claim publicly that they were not using violence to repress the demonstrations, instead opting, according to them, for strategies of mediation.⁷⁸ However, already during the protests of August 28, still in the beginnings of what would become the full-fledged Bus Revolt, the press reported instances of police brutality against students in both Salvador and Feira de Santana.⁷⁹ The attitude of Salvador's police during the protests was ambiguous, to say the least. It represented the good cop/bad cop tactic applied to protests. As mentioned, the police department assumed a public discourse of non-violence. Many of the demonstrators' roadblocks in fact dissipated when the students felt it was the right moment. On September 3, a senior police officer declared: "The order is to avoid conflicts with students. They are children and adolescents, and we are not here to [undertake] a violent repression."⁸⁰ Another officer added: "The men of the riot police are what we call the Pit Bulls. Their

mission is to use all power, and you are children.”⁸¹ In the same newspaper edition in which those declarations by the police appeared, one could also read a contrasting piece: “Shocking images showed by some TV stations from Salvador bear witness to the beating of students by the Military Police.”⁸² During the protests in Salvador, even policemen without identification on their uniforms were seen.⁸³ The lack of identification often indicates that they are ready for physical confrontation. On September 7, a rumor circulated saying that the governor had instructed his military subordinates to use violence.⁸⁴ The governor at the time was Paulo Souto from the Liberal Front Party (known as PFL), who denied the allegations.⁸⁵ If the allegations were true, Souto’s supposed hardline would be in accordance with the September 3 editorial of *Correio da Bahia*, which asked for a tougher repression of the protesters—the “newspaper belongs to relatives of [then senator] Antônio Carlos Magalhães. . . [and] the space . . . [was] often used to publish the senator’s opinions on political opponents.”⁸⁶ Magalhães, perhaps the main political figure in the state of Bahia at the time and an extremely conservative politician who was also a member of the Liberal Front Party, later confirmed that the authoritarian words used in *Correio da Bahia*’s editorial were his.⁸⁷

Enough with disorder. It is shocking the lack of action by the mayor, Antonio Imbassahy, concerning the chaos that has happened in the city after the announcement of the rise in the bus fare. . . . It is up to us to protest against the surprising tolerance of the mayor, who forgot one of the required qualities to exercise the position he occupies: authority. And one should not relinquish it; otherwise, turmoil becomes the norm.⁸⁸

It seems then that the call for repressive action in Magalhães’ editorial had an effect. On September 8, the police seemed much more proactive in preventing student roadblocks, new instances of police brutality were reported, and the protests were less massive than in the days before.⁸⁹ At some moments, students had to resist a warlike effort on the part of the police. On September 9, the mainstream national newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* published the following account: “Under the orders of Governor Paulo Souto from the Liberal Front Party [PFL], 59, the Military Police established a ‘war operation’ to repress the students who . . . are protesting against the hike of the bus fare in Salvador. But not even the riot police, helicopters, motorcycles, camcorders, and photo equipment were able to reinstate normalcy in the city.”⁹⁰ On the same day, students organized another plenary in which they “decided to radicalize the movement, demanding the freezing of the fare at R\$1.30 for a year.”⁹¹ On September 10, the situation was still unsolved.⁹² On the one hand, *A Tarde* reported that the protests were fading. On the other hand, the editorial of the same newspaper, which circulated on September 11, brought a message of uncertainty: “Salvador continues to be at the mercy of the struggle between students and authorities. The meetings keep happening with a lot of back and forth, and no solution has come to light.”⁹³ Still, on September 11, the city of Lauro de Freitas saw the end of the protests.⁹⁴ In

Salvador, no protests were documented by *A Tarde* on that day, only “empty classrooms” and meetings to discuss the future of the movement.⁹⁵

On September 19 and 22, two weaker demonstrations appeared to show that momentum had gone away and the Bus Revolt seemed to be coming to an end.⁹⁶ However, the protests had a revival toward the end of month. On September 24, students marched again through the streets, causing long lines of cars and buses to form behind them; they also attempted to restage the sit-down strikes but were repressed by the police: “When they arrived in front of the [Iguatemi] mall, some of them started to sit on the ground in order to stop car traffic, but they were immediately pushed and forcibly removed by the military policemen.”⁹⁷ Such a protest occurred when mayors of major Brazilian cities were in Salvador to discuss the high costs of the transportation system, an event called upon by Salvador’s own mayor as a consequence of the Bus Revolt: “Outside the meeting, however, the mayors could attest that we still live[d] in the gloomy times of dictatorship, with the classic beating of students by the police.”⁹⁸ At nightfall, on September 25, a group of a few students stormed the City Council building and stayed there for a couple of hours as a form of protest; they left, fearing for their well-being, not trusting the City Council’s security forces.⁹⁹

In such a complicated relationship with the police institutions, the lack of a clear leadership for the Bus Revolt became an advantage. As an example, a police officer was caught on camera asking somewhat impotently for someone to step up and assume the consequences for the protests in Salvador.¹⁰⁰ Without the police being able to simply arrest a “leader,” even though some party and union-affiliated persons proclaimed to be the leaders or tried to question the spontaneity of the Revolt, the repressive apparatus of the state became weakened, as the political cost of violently suppressing a mass of students is considerably higher.¹⁰¹ Thus, this spontaneity of the movement—spontaneity here defined as a lack of control by the long-established student organizations—was beneficial for mitigating the repression by the police. One student involved in the Revolta do Buzu explained the extent to which the masses were distanced from the traditional institutions during the protests:

This time we produced [*puxamos*] a non-party movement, even if it is not totally like that. The National Students’ Union [UNE] and the Brazilian High School Students’ Union [UBES] are deep-rooted in political parties. And, what is worse, they use an entire class to defend a political cause. When we are in the streets, we fight for an entire system. We do not care about the political party of the mayor. We do not want to be part of UNE or UBES. We are thinking outside the box, with a new perspective, a new movement. There must be political consciousness, but nothing is an absolute truth, and we cannot entrust a political party, and that is it. This is very straightforward in my mind.¹⁰²

There is still another definition of spontaneity that we should look at. The proto-Free Fare Movement (that is, before the movement became an

official national organization) once stated that its struggle could be considered spontaneous because it “emerge[s] from the material necessity of the people.” Such an affirmation appears in one of the main ideological documents published in 2004 by (what was then called) the Campaign for the Free Fare in Florianópolis.¹⁰³ One of the reasons for the revolt in Salvador resided in the fact that there were two hikes in the first eight months of the year.¹⁰⁴ The Revolta do Buzu was initiated after the second of those hikes, a rise of R\$0.20 (US\$0.06) in the price people paid to ride buses at the end of August 2003.¹⁰⁵ It may appear to be a small hike, but one must remember that the new price of the bus fare, R\$1.50, was reported by a protester to be the equivalent of 2.2 pounds of beans, an elementary component of the Brazilian diet.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps the protester was then speaking in more figurative terms, however, in that same year in Salvador: “A fare of R\$1.30 . . . [indeed] represented 28% of the minimum salary of those who traveled two ways per day from Monday through Saturday . . . [and] the raised fare (R\$1.50) represent[ed] 30%.”¹⁰⁷ Salvador was also known as “the capital of unemployment.”¹⁰⁸ It is true that the hike was below the price requested by the transportation companies, which was R\$1.65.¹⁰⁹ However, even the smaller hike would be an extreme burden for the general population.¹¹⁰ In Salvador in 2003, *A Tarde* reported that “those who earn the minimum salary travel on foot most of the time or they receive transit passes given by [their] employers.”¹¹¹ Moreover, even before the protests started in Salvador and while the city administration was considering the extent of the hike, the same *A Tarde* had already denounced the poor conditions of the city’s bus network, which, together with the gloomy economic situation just described, can help to explain the amount of support the students would later receive from the general population during a revolt that they were able to carry on for several weeks: “Passengers lose more time standing at a bus stop than inside buses. The number of routes is low, as well as the actual number of buses—2,400. During rush hour, the buses are always crowded. Old people, pregnant women, people with disabilities are often made to stand, sharing the small aisle with workers, beggars, peddlers, and all kinds of objects.”¹¹² An opinion poll conducted between the days of September 3 and 5 pointed out that an overwhelming number of people supported the protests: “For the great majority (90%), the students are right; for 89%, the protests of the last several days might have positive results; and, for 85% of the people interviewed, the demonstrations by the students gained a broader appeal and became characterized as a struggle in defense of the popular economy and not as a political action like many tried to cast it.”¹¹³ At one point, popular support for the Bus Revolt appeared so massive that the following account was published by an observer:

Pride: It is what I feel when I see the student demonstrations that exploded in the city in the last few days. Yesterday, I had to walk for an hour and a half from Iguatemi to my house in Rio Vermelho. However, I walked bearing a smirk. No inconvenience, don’t even imagine it. Not even the

people who were endlessly waiting at the bus stops seemed irritated. I saw the faces of the very old people who were sitting in the buses [that were] at a standstill; none of them were worried, none of them were bored. Even the drivers were smiling. . . . Long live the Revolution.¹¹⁴

Salvador's 2003 events could even enter history as a Black revolt, as the city's urban area is comprised of the highest relative number of Black inhabitants among Brazil's state capitals, "reaching 82% according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics," explains Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho: "This proportion becomes evident in the documentaries and records of the demonstration[s], in which the presence of White students is bigger in private schools on the . . . shore."¹¹⁵ When police brutality escalated during the Bus Revolt, the students accused the police of racial profiling. According to a protester named Roquildes Ramos, "although the movement does not have a color, the police act in a prejudiced, racist way, selecting those who should be beaten and those who should be arrested."¹¹⁶ The movement, however, in fact had a color, even though it was not solely composed of Black people. Blacks seemed to have become the avant-garde of the movement as the masses took over the leadership of the protests from the traditional student organizations. This still did not exclude the possibility of racial profiling by the police, especially in a nation dominated by the myth of racial democracy, that is to say, the untrue belief that there is no racism in the country and that people of different colors live harmoniously, without oppressions of any kind, a falsehood that is demolished especially by the violence typical of the Brazilian police against Black people. Perhaps not coincidentally, the band Lumpen, with its vocalist Véio engaged in the protests of Salvador's Bus Revolt, would two years later release a song titled "Palavras sinceras não são agradáveis de ouvir" ("Sincere Words Aren't Pleasant to Hear"). The 2005 piece stands precisely in harsh criticism to the myth of racial democracy:

[discurso falado]

[spoken words]

Páginas brancas da história

Democracia racial oficializada através do estupro
Fim da escravidão, das senzalas para as favelas

White pages of history

Racial democracy officialized through rape
End of slavery, from slave houses to slums

[canto]

[singing]

*Sequestrados de nossa morada,
massacrados pelo deus-branco
Não aceitamos suas mentiras,
falso ideal de liberdade*

*Seus filhos serão os senhores de amanhã?
Nossos filhos escravizados mais uma vez?*

*Kidnapped from our home,
massacred by the White-god
We don't accept your lies,
a false ideal of freedom*

*Will your children be the masters of tomorrow?
Will our children be slaved once more?*

*Não deixaremos isso continuar,
uma guerra contra seu racismo está declarada!*

*Sua cruz será quebrada
Não fazemos parte do seu rebanho
A pobreza aqui tem cor
O sofrimento aqui tem cor*

*A pior de todas as angústias
é sentir nosso orgulho ferido
Injetando vergonha em nossas crianças,
cabelos alisados, imitando o opressor
Mulheres em ascensão,
quem cuida de suas crianças
[enquanto vocês se libertam?
Mulheres negras excluídas,
sufocadas, duas vezes discriminadas*

*Nossa voz você tentou calar,
com dinheiro
E armas, mas não estamos mortos,
ecoa a luta dos antepassados
Você não quer ouvir, mas a verdade bate forte
contra seu cínico respeito pelas diferenças
Pede paz, veste branco,
enquanto a periferia continua a sangrar
O sofrimento aqui tem cor?
O que o passado responde?
O sofrimento aqui tem cor?
O que o presente responde?
[4X] Qual é a cor?*

[...]

Palavras sinceras não são agradáveis de se ouvir

*We won't let it go,
a war against your racism is declared!*

*Your cross will be broken
We don't belong to your herd
Poverty has a color here
Suffering has a color here*

*The worst of all types of anguish
is to have our pride wounded
Injecting shame in our children
straightened hair, imitating the oppressor
Successful women,
who takes care of your children
while you become independent?
Marginalized, repressed Black women,
they're two times discriminated against*

*You tried to shut us up,
through money
And through guns, but we aren't dead,
the struggle of our ancestors echoes today
You don't wanna listen, but the truth hits hard
against your hypocritical respect for diversity
You ask for peace, dress in white,
while the outskirts keep bleeding
Does suffering have a color here?
What does the past say?
Does suffering have a color here?
What does the present say?
[4X] What is the color?*

[...]

Sincere words aren't pleasant to hear¹¹⁷

Salvador's band Lumpen leaves no doubt about racial inequalities in Brazil. According to the lyrics, it is the Black people who suffer the most in physical and psychological terms. Those who defend the end of bloody conflicts in society and freedom in abstract terms, in a country dominated by violence against Blacks, are just dishonest or intellectually limited. Lumpen even adds gender issues to the discussion, arguing that White women sometimes benefit from racism and that female Blacks are more deeply oppressed than other groups. It is not by chance that this radical hardcore-punk song

denouncing racism comes from such a city. Ethnic composition is a significant difference between the Bus Revolt of Salvador and the Turnstile Revolts of Florianópolis, where the history of European immigration in the south of Brazil created different demographics. It seems that the protests for free public transportation in Salvador were already born with significant racial awareness, perhaps thanks to the decades of collective opposition against racism. The modern collective Black resistance in Salvador was initiated back in the 1970s by organizations such as the carnival *bloco Ilê Aiyê*.¹¹⁸ This may be a singularity in that city and a difference in comparison with places such as Florianópolis, which has a significantly larger White population.

The Black population of the state of Santa Catarina is almost an inverted mirror when compared to the state of Bahia's: 11.7% as estimated in 2005, the year of the Second Turnstile Revolt.¹¹⁹ Interestingly enough, and against all odds, the person who became known as the main political figure of Florianópolis' protests, Marcelo Pomar, is Black. However, it was not the same with the majority of the people who attended the music shows at the Underground Rock Bar, the de facto venue for punk rock in Florianópolis, or the protests against fare hikes in that same city-island. In the opinion of Evandro Piza, the protests for free public transportation in Florianópolis and later in São Paulo were *also* an attempt by sectors of the middle class, most of them White, to occupy public space in a different fashion, even though they do *not* solely compose the movement. In this endeavor, they faced and perhaps even discovered the country's police brutality, which was mostly concentrated in poorer urban areas with a greater presence of Black people.¹²⁰

The Victory Is the Movement

The 2003 Revolta do Buzu in Salvador had several implications for democracy, the public sphere, and the general political mobilization in terms of the role of the youth in such matters. After the Revolta do Buzu, a significant number of young people in Brazil realized that they could perform as a decisive power in the historical course and politics of their city and, consequently, their country. The events in Salvador meant that a new generation joined the debates and discussions occurring within a weak and still-nascent democracy. A large part of the students participating in the protests had been born in the years surrounding the proclamation of the 1988 Brazilian Constitution. Having been raised under the formal democratic principles of freedom of thought, speech, and assembly, they put those principles to the test. They sought to break any still-existent limitations on the rights of the people (in this case, the right to protest and to obtain respect for their economic conditions). The public sphere had to welcome a new group of political actors, who had their own desires that rejected (in practice, even if not consciously) neoliberal measures adopted by governments throughout the previous years. That generation started to demand from the state better (and eventually free) public transportation. They also learned, sometimes intuitively, how to

mobilize, and how to use intelligently social institutions such as school (in which they had an obligation to participate) in their favor. Schools became a natural *soviet* from which they departed to take the streets over. The older population did not feel threatened: it supported and, in some cases, joined its younger counterparts.

Salvador's revolt was essential for the national organization of a general movement for the free fare.¹²¹ It is true that the revolt mainly revolved around the revocation of the fare hike. Even while the movement increasingly radicalized itself, the students in the streets retained their main goal as being the lowering of the personal cost to ride buses: they started to demand not only the revocation of a hike that raised the fare from R\$1.30 to R\$1.50, but also the reduction of the fare to R\$1.00.¹²² The idea that the “free fare for students from public schools” should become a demand by the protesters was put on the table, even though it failed to win the hearts of the rebel masses.¹²³ In the following year, that would change, with a demonstration of hundreds of people in Salvador demanding the free fare for students: “In September 2004, [a demonstration] gathering 400 students, . . . with war cries such as ‘Here nobody is a baron, either free fare or we stop the bus,’ had as its list of demands the free fare for public high school students and the freezing of the fare at R\$1.50 for an additional two years”—as Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho write.¹²⁴

The main victory of Salvador's Bus Revolt was political, even though the city administration eventually maintained the hike and conceded only to the less significant demands of the protesters. The idea that young students could organize themselves to put pressure on the government became a reality for that generation: “We pushed apathy away,” one participant later wrote.¹²⁵ “I'm not just one more in the multitude. It is as if I were the multitude,” a 17-year-old female student declared to a journalist.¹²⁶ In the streets, these students stood as the protagonists of urban events and not as mere spectators: “Above all, the movement generated a positive outcome related to civics [*cidadania*]. The high school students knew how to fight for their rights. New leaders emerged and nobody saw professional politicians in control of the movement.”¹²⁷ Augusto Vasconcelos, a political militant who participated in the Bus Revolt, gave a statement following the same line of thought: “I believe the demonstrations contributed a lot to create good human capital, to create a new generation that is entering the political struggle of our city.”¹²⁸

There is also a link between the Bus Revolt (Revolta do Buzu) in Salvador and the First Turnstile Revolt (Revolta da Catraca) in Florianópolis the following year. Manoel Nascimento establishes that “Florianópolis . . . [had a] movement very similar to the Revolta do Buzu and directly inspired by it.”¹²⁹ Guilherme Duarte Ragepo do Carmo writes in the same vein: “The demonstrations against the raise of the bus fare in Salvador inspired movements in other states of the country such as Santa Catarina and Ceará.”¹³⁰ A similar statement is also offered by Leo Vinicius and reinforced by Thais Ikuhara Santos.¹³¹ The lessons learned in Salvador, especially those coming

from witnessing the betrayal of the student masses by the traditional organizations, helped to shape the principles on which Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare and consequently the national Free Fare Movement would stand in the subsequent future.¹³² The Free Fare Movement first emerged already cautious so as to not be co-opted (*aparelhado*) by the old political organizations, and the Revolta do Buzu was keen for the establishment of the movement's non-hierarchical principles and independence.¹³³ As explained by Ortellado: “[The Free Fare Movement] is born from the lessons of the Revolta do Buzu in Salvador. The Revolta do Buzu was a spontaneous movement by the youth . . . and they were betrayed by the National Students' Union [UNE].”¹³⁴ In the second half of the 2000s, Salvador's chapter of the Free Fare Movement would disseminate the group's philosophy as being “autonomous,” “independent,” a “united front,” “non-partisan [*apartidário*] but not anti-partisan [*antipartidário*],” “consensual,” and structured by the idea of “horizontality.”¹³⁵ One can consider that this posture of the Free Fare Movement of Salvador was not singular but was shared with the rest of the movement as it developed in other cities. The Free Fare Movement of Curitiba published a document also employing some of these terms in 2006.¹³⁶ The radicalization of the struggle for the free fare was so profound in Salvador and later in Florianópolis that the Free Fare Movement came into being already with an anti-capitalist discourse, seeing themselves as

a tool of the working class that seeks to problematize an economic sector dominated by capitalism (the transportation system) and that carries out struggles that seek a just society, using the method of direct democracy. It is the only organizational formula that we believe capable of bringing down capitalism, not diverting into another very authoritarian and repressive system like the current one.¹³⁷

For the Free Fare Movement, the destruction of the current model of public transportation in vogue in the main cities of the country should be a step toward the destruction of the capitalist system. The struggle for the free fare would function as a micro-revolution, which encompasses at a smaller scale the contradictions, difficulties, and lessons of a total revolution. According to Matheus Felipe de Castro, the “proposal of the Free Fare Movement that emerged in Florianópolis is . . . the decommodification of an activity that . . . [they] understand as fundamental, essential for the development not only of the cities but also of the human being.”¹³⁸ In 2005, the movement had already evolved from demanding no form of payment for the youth, as in its beginnings, to envisaging that “the transportation system must be public, namely, controlled by the public sector . . . and free to all students and also to society in general, to the workers,” which led Castro to conclude that the struggle for the youth's right to not pay to use the cities' modes of transportation would be only a step in the direction of an extremely broad zero fare.¹³⁹ In this perspective, still in the 2000s, the Free Fare Movement included the unemployed together with students as one of the societal groups

that should primarily have free access to public transportation before that right would be universalized.¹⁴⁰

Implementing the free fare for most or all of the population would have been such a major accomplishment in a developing country that reaching this objective would have implied a potential transformation of Brazilian society as we know it. If the Brazilian people reached such a level of social consciousness that the country decided (through protests and collective debate) to implement unrestricted public transportation for its inhabitants, that would mean that the whole community would be a step closer to being a socialist society and in a higher stage of rejecting the commodity model as a guide for important social relations. This anti-commodification stance regarding urban transportation was similarly highlighted in the encounter that led to the founding of the Free Fare Movement nationally in the last days of January 2005 during the Fifth World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre.¹⁴¹

According to a statement by group member Carol Cruz, the rally for the formal creation of the Free Fare Movement during the World Social Forum was organized by the Florianópolis militants.¹⁴² This information contributes to demonstrating how Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare was foundational in the rise of the wider, national organization, the Free Fare Movement. Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare had already defined itself as based on a radical leftist ideology, and the struggle for public transportation was inserted in the logic of class struggle, making it a proving ground for the larger population.¹⁴³ For activists, more than only being beneficial for the youth, the free fare for students, defined as "pre-workers," would be an achievement for the whole proletariat: "The working class has to demarcate that it is the bourgeoisie that has to pay for the transportation of their children," and the students need to join forces among themselves to avoid "being no more than a bunch of beasts of exploitation."¹⁴⁴ The free fare struggle should "transform the student youth" and engage them in future endeavors, exemplarily the "socialist revolution."¹⁴⁵

However, there is no denying that protests were increasingly spreading to other cities besides Florianópolis. Marcelo Pomar, Camarada D. (most likely Daniel Guimarães under a pen name), and Leo Vinicius registered that up to 2005, the year of the Free Fare Movement's national foundation and the year of the Second Turnstile Revolt, protests and demonstrations took place in the cities of Maceió, Alagoas; Belém, Pará; Fortaleza, Ceará; Guaíba, Rio Grande do Sul; Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul; Vitória, Espírito Santo; Uberlândia, Minas Gerais; Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais; Criciúma, Santa Catarina; Joinville, Santa Catarina; Blumenau, Santa Catarina; Aracaju, Sergipe; Brasília, Federal District; Curitiba, Paraná; Maracanaú, Ceará; Vitória da Conquista, Bahia; Campinas, São Paulo; and Recife, Pernambuco.¹⁴⁶ One of the decisions taken during the plenary that founded the Free Fare Movement consisted in the creation of a campaign to collect signatures nationally with the objective of starting the legal procedures for the approval of a new federal law granting the free fare for students within the whole country. The text that

would be presented by petitioners to random people in the streets in order to reach the movement's objectives reads more like a short manifesto, summing up the desires of the youth who wanted to be seen as the future of Brazil:

Millions give up their studies owing to a lack of resources, and this absence from school opens a path to drug trafficking, gangs, and a countless list of options without any perspective. The young person when learning, seeking to do research, having contact with *school and culture* that are the synthesis of society, can produce well-being, developing technology in all essential branches of life, learning to take pleasure in the sciences. There is no path that does not involve investment in the youth.¹⁴⁷

Unrestricted public transportation for students is considered by the Free Fare Movement as part of a package comprising universal education. For them, when the government does not grant students unlimited use of city buses, it is in fact reducing access to learning and culture.¹⁴⁸ Culture was, therefore, of ultimate significance to Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare and later to the national Free Fare Movement: it was not only seen as a commodity to be enjoyed. The activists were in a struggle to win the hearts of the youth in competition with media alienation, urban violence, and the escapism of drugs. Art represented, for political militants, a weapon that could be used to engage the youth in the struggle surrounding public transportation and to enlighten them about alternatives to the capitalist way of living. With such an ideological foundation, the Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Free Fare Movement intentionally sought contact with and support from the hardcore/punk scene of Florianópolis, because, in their view, the people who played in bands and attended the shows of such a music genre were young people who had a greater inclination to engage in direct action.

The section [inside a free fare campaign] responsible for art is a bit more complex and *extremely important*. It consists in establishing contact with artists (in the broadest sense) who are willing to collaborate with the free fare campaign. *It is up to us to create spaces for presentations by those artists* (generally young and commercially marginal), therefore promoting cultural events on behalf of the free fare campaign and attracting several sectors of the youth to the campaign. In Florianópolis, we created ENCARTI (Meeting of Independent Artists), which gathered more than 30 different artists, among them: groups of hip-hop, reggae, hardcore, and other genres, besides graffiti artists, poets, jugglers, musicians, and so on. There were four ENCARTIs, which were successful, giving a small financial return but a huge political one to the free fare [campaign]. *Still about this subject, it is fundamental to highlight the potential of the shows—especially those by hardcore and hip-hop groups—for mobilizing aggressive sectors of the youth, which are of interest to us.*¹⁴⁹

As one can see in this document published by Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare, hardcore/punk rock music shows were an important part of the

activities aimed at promoting, helping to finance, and especially growing the movement. Rafael Popini, a member of Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare and the underground rock scene in the early 2000s, remembers that, at the time, he realized that, in punk/hardcore, “there were . . . some folks with a rebelliousness (so to speak), which could be used, channeled to a praxis.”¹⁵⁰ The Campaign for the Free Fare was then keen to connect art and politics in that metropolitan area, recognizing the marginality of hardcore/punk rock music and their own role in creating spaces for the presentation of such genres. Between 2000 and 2003, the Campaign for the Free Fare organized so-called EPAIs (Encontro por uma Arte Independente, or Meeting for an Independent Art), ENCARTIs (Encontro dos Artistas Independentes/Encontro da Arte Independente, or Meeting of Independent Artists/Meeting of Independent Art), the Festival Rock Passe Livre (Free Fare Rock Festival), and a musical performance in Downtown Florianópolis that, according to their estimate, was extremely successful in terms of public attendance.¹⁵¹ The expression “independent art” had been used before by Leon Trotsky in the “Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art,” which was signed by André Breton and Diego Rivera.¹⁵² There, the ideas of Trotsky and his companions are clear in the sense that any attempt at deep, radical social change should look for support among those making art, and on the other hand, art should be laying the foundation for the creation of a new society: “True art is unable not to be revolutionary, not to aspire to a complete and radical reconstruction of society. . . . The role of the artist in a decadent capitalist society is determined by the conflict between the individual and various social forms which are hostile to him. This fact alone, in so far as he is conscious of it, makes the artist the natural ally of revolution.”¹⁵³

The adaptation of an expression from a manifesto coauthored by Trotsky in order to designate some of the Campaign for the Free Fare’s activities involving artists and musicians does not seem to be a coincidence. The Campaign for the Free Fare was initiated in Florianópolis by militants belonging to Revolution Youth (Juventude Revolução, known as JR), a youth division of a *corrente* (faction) named O Trabalho (The Labor), then a component of the Workers’ Party.¹⁵⁴ Revolution Youth’s motto, as expressed in a 2000 archived version of their website (which most likely went online in 1999 at the latest), was “Land, Work, Education, Freedom, and Fight for Socialism.”¹⁵⁵ The faction O Trabalho, characterized as a Trotskyist organization, split, and nowadays the majority of it has formed Esquerda Marxista (Marxist Left) and comprises the Partido Socialismo e Liberdade (Socialism and Freedom Party, known as PSOL).¹⁵⁶ Nonetheless, the Florianópolis arm of Revolution Youth would cut ties with the rest of its national organization, and consequently with the O Trabalho faction and the Workers’ Party, in 2002.¹⁵⁷ This split created Independent Revolution Youth (Juventude Revolução Independente, or JRI), which focused itself on issues related to the municipal public transportation system, having its name reflecting once again the title of the manifesto by Trotsky even though it did not call itself

a Trotskyist organization *per se*.¹⁵⁸ What is significant is that in that 1938 manifesto there is the proposition of an alliance between Marxists and anarchists to foster freedom of art and the revolution, and such an alliance was precisely what one would witness in the real-world events surrounding the Turnstile Revolts of Florianópolis many decades later.

A Left-Wing, Musical Melting Pot

Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare (and the later Free Fare Movement) during one of their high points (the Turnstile Revolts of 2004 and 2005) had a peculiar confluence between the significant Marxist, Trotskyist ideology from some of their key members and the anarchist propensities that could be seen in the punk-derived musical tendencies of many rock bands that supported the movement. However, neither the Campaign for the Free Fare (or the Free Fare Movement) nor the underground rock scene were homogeneous—far from it. The Campaign for the Free Fare would be defined by Marcelo Pomar and Lucas de Oliveira in 2003 as a “united front.”¹⁵⁹ On the other hand, the rock bands of the underground scene of Florianópolis as a whole, and even some of the music groups that directly supported the struggle for free public transportation between 2000 and 2005, were not comprised solely by hardcore and punk ensembles, or by bands with anti-capitalist content or with lyrics characterized by an opposition to a middle-class lifestyle. Let us consider, for instance, two bands: Pipodélica and Ilha de Nós. Pipodélica used to play in the legendary Underground Rock Bar (a music venue active from 1995 to 2004, first called Trópicos or Bar do Franck until its expansion into a full music venue when it moved to a larger building and adopted its most famous name); Ilha de Nós was cited in 2004 as a group of artists with a history of supporting the Campaign for the Free Fare; both bands are characterized by a less aggressive aesthetic, with songs varying from existential introspection, wordplay, and sound innovation to the depicting of romantic adventures and references to the nature and culture of the island-capital of Santa Catarina.¹⁶⁰

One also has to recognize that the Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Florianópolis' chapter of the Free Fare Movement established connections with Black cultural manifestations such as the rap and dance scenes of the city. In 2004, the list of artists who supported the political movement included KSG (hip-hop), Nicolas e Neguinha (afro-dance), Squadrão da Rima (Rhyme Squad; rap), in addition to *maracatu* and *capoeira* group leaders.¹⁶¹ A 2005 document registering the “First Santa Catarina’s Meeting of the Free Fare Movement” reports on the need to make the “connection with the cultural sectors that develop the arts among the youth, *above all hip-hop*, but also other diverse genres, establishing political relations with these sectors based on persuasion about the justness of our struggle.”¹⁶² Leo Vinicius, an important anarchist member of the Free Fare Movement, author of the most detailed account of the Turnstile Revolts, describes an event

organized by the movement during the 2004 rebellion, in which rappers from poorer communities were invited to perform. He described it as a possible encounter between the “rockers” and the “rappers.”¹⁶³ In 2021, when asked to reflect on this passage, Vinicius added an explanation:

I did not remember that I had used those expressions. I had to search where I had used them and the context. I think I used [these expressions] between parentheses and showing doubt with a question mark, for in that paragraph I was writing about the artists who would take part in that show in that day of ultimatum of the revolt, and they were rappers. Then, I pointed out that one of the interesting things about the revolt was to have somewhat put together young people who lived in the slums [*morros*] with young people “from the asphalt,” that is, more from the middle class. I do not know [if it is the case] today, but it was a kind of common sense until that decade that rock in general is the music that young people most listened to, at least young people with that student, middle-class profile. However, those young people from the slums [*morros*] seemed to listen more to rap. But, mind you, in that passage, I am not referring to the people linked to the Free Fare Movement as rockers. I am talking about the Turnstile Revolt and about the youth that participated in it, which goes well beyond the then Campaign for the Free Fare.¹⁶⁴

If I decided to concentrate this study on the relationship between the protests for free public transportation and the underground rock scene of important Brazilian cities, it was precisely because of instances like this one presented above. One has a key figure like Vinicius describing the people participating in the Turnstile Revolt as potentially being rockers. (If not totally sure of such a thing, he at least raises it as a possibility). This could mean that the musical environment that influenced and was influenced by the political movement had the chance of encompassing manifestations of counterculture surrounding hardcore and punk, among other so-called alternative rock forms that are characteristic musical expressions from the youth. Such a hypothesis needed an investigation, even though other musical genres were also present.

The diversity in the range of musical expression related to the underground music scene and the bands that supported the movement is mirrored in the political composition of the Campaign for the Free Fare, defined, as already seen, as a united front. Even though the (Independent) Revolution Youth was the leading organization or at any rate the initial creator of the Campaign for the Free Fare in Florianópolis, the movement also listed among its adherents, for at least some time during the campaign, many other political organizations. These are: the Socialist Party of Unified Workers (PSTU), a political party on the extreme left; members of the Workers’ Party (PT); sectors emanating from the Catholic Church and evangelical churches, alongside workers’ and students’ unions, such as the high-school-level union Grêmio do Colégio de Aplicação da UFSC; members of the

center-left Labor Democratic Party (PDT) and the center-right Liberal Party (PL)—the latter would combine itself with the right-wing National Order Rebuilding Party (PRONA) in 2006, creating the Republic Party (PR); JPSDB, the youth division of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB), an effectively “electoral-pragmatic” party with a certain at-first-glance contradictory stance ranging from heavily capitalistic economic ideas (which could receive the description of “neoliberal,” such as “economic deregulation, economic opening to foreign capital, and privatization of state-owned companies”) to a left-leaning “social justice” discourse present at the time of its foundation.¹⁶⁵ The Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB) would also be present in an important way. Matheus Felipe de Castro, then a member of this party (the largest in the country with the “communist” denomination) and a graduate student at the Federal University of Santa Catarina, became the *de facto* lawyer for the Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Florianópolis chapter of the Free Fare Movement, remarkably defending their main figure at the time, Marcelo Pomar, against judicial prosecutions for his role as one of the exponents of the movement in Florianópolis. Castro would later be elected a City Council member of Florianópolis (2013–2016), besides becoming a professor of law at the same university where he was once a graduate student.¹⁶⁶

These connections with political parties do not mean that the Campaign for the Free Fare or the Free Fare Movement hoped for an electoral solution to the issues concerning the public transportation system of Florianópolis and beyond. Their position would oftentimes go in the opposite direction. There was suspicion of and disbelief in any answer solely or even mainly based on the Brazilian so-called system of representative democracy: direct action should put pressure on legislators until they bent to the movement’s demands. Mobilization and protesting were seen as the only effective ways to achieve the proposed goals. In the 2004 “Resolutions About the National Campaign for the Free Fare,” those involved in the struggle over public transportation made clear their view: “THE ELECTION IS A FARCE, THE VOTE IS AN ILLUSION, LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION! This is the statement that unifies the National Campaign for the Free Fare regarding the elections.”¹⁶⁷ This approach of giving zero credit to the bourgeois democracy is very close to what one should expect from a more radical left-wing political group and from the discourses of punk rock bands (many naturally of anarchist tendencies) that took the time to sing about the subject, as it is well known that anarchists feel contempt for the notion of political representation as a way to resolve conflicts in society. Republicaos (Fig. 2.2), a band that played, for instance, in the 2007 Florianópolis Verdurada show dedicated to help the Free Fare Movement, had a song, composed by its drummer André, that almost mirrors the sentence from the 2004 manifesto of the national free fare campaign.¹⁶⁸ It is called “Voto Nulo” (“Spoiled Vote”). In fact, both the recording and the manifesto are from the same year:

<i>[3X]</i>	<i>[3X]</i>
<i>Acordo nove horas</i>	<i>I wake up at nine</i>
<i>e saio pra votar</i>	<i>and I go out to vote</i>
<i>Olho para a urna</i>	<i>I look at the ballot box</i>
<i>e em quem vai me mandar</i>	<i>and at whom will tell me what to do</i>
<i>Isso é deprimente</i>	<i>This is depressing</i>
<i>Isso é um absurdo</i>	<i>This is absurd</i>
<i>Quando for a minha vez, vou votar nulo!</i>	<i>When my time comes, I'll spoil my vote!</i>
<i>Nulo, nulo, nulo, voto nulo!</i>	<i>Spoiled, spoiled, spoiled, spoiled vote!</i> ¹⁶⁹

Fig. 2.2: Yuri Gama,
Republicaos in the Yellow House,
Florianópolis, December 1,
2007. CC BY-NC 2.0.¹⁷⁰ In the
photograph, one sees the guitar
player Tadeu.¹⁷¹

“The relationship between the band [Republicaos] and the Free Fare Movement happened as a consequence of a show that we did in 2004, in which people linked to that movement were present. After the show, we started to talk and, thus, we began to have a relationship with the movement and with some college students from the Federal University of Santa Catarina [UFSC] who were musicians and punks and were getting the scene going in Florianópolis at that time. Before that, only I, the bass player [Wander Pacheco], was involved with the Anarcho-Punk Movement (MAP), in which we carried out street demonstrations (before the advent of the Internet): such demonstrations had as their objective to propagate anarchist ideas and not only to fight for rights such as riding the bus without paying. We had a clear objective of changing society as a whole, fighting to end capitalism, racism, religions, the state, borders, armed forces, police, weapons, violence. . . . In short . . . we fought for a society with self-governance, based on cooperation, on respect for human and animal lives: the old utopia that unfortunately appears to be ever more utopic.”¹⁷²



By comparing the fragment from the “Resolutions About the National Campaign for the Free Fare” side by side with the lyrics by the band Republicaos, one can argue that, even though the Campaign for the Free Fare was strongly influenced by a Marxist political ideology, it also showed features that could be considered as in harmony with anarchist principles and characteristics, which could have facilitated the integration of members of punk/hardcore bands, as well as people from other sectors of society. In fact, the organization Revolution Youth (before creating the Campaign for the Free Fare) had already defined itself as an “*autonomous* youth organization,” since at least 1999, before the split in Florianópolis that generated the Independent Revolution Youth. They even made the national newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* publish a correction in 1999 for calling them a “Trotskyist” organization when reporting on how the group used the Internet to attract new militants and to propagate their ideas.¹⁷³ But, even though the Revolution Youth appeared to negate the label of Trotskyism in that particular stance, the split that generated the Independent Revolution Youth in Florianópolis seems to be a further radicalization of autonomy, proclaimed since at least the end of the twentieth century, *within* a Trotskyist organization. By interpreting some considerations given in interviews by Pablo Ortellado, one could say that the Independent Revolution Youth is indeed a deeper incursion of “Trotskyism” into “autonomism,” autonomism being “an anti-authoritarian branch of Marxism.”¹⁷⁴ In other words, this mixture of a strong negation of authoritarianism (extremely appealing to anarchists in general) and traditional Marxism in the Campaign for the Free Fare can be partly explained by its “*autonomous*” character that was present already in the (Independent) Revolution Youth. Ortellado then explains the genesis of the concept of autonomy, its practice in the real world, and the connections it went on to establish with Marxists in general:

It began to emerge [in anarchism] this idea of the autonomous movement, also under the inspiration of the more autonomist political theory, be it the French tradition such as [Cornelius] Castoriadis or the Italian one such as [Antonio] Negri or Mario Tronti . . . and this understanding was being developed, also an understanding of uniting forces with the more horizontalist, dissident Marxists—who had never been welcome in the anarchist movement for historical reasons. Autonomy concerning the state and the market. That was a construction from the end of the 1990s, beginning of the 2000s.¹⁷⁵

Such a blend of political ideologies encompassed other *sui generis* combinations in the process of creating the Free Fare Movement: “Several militants of the anti-globalization movement composed the original Free Fare Movement in Florianópolis. . . . The Independent Media Center was practically the mediatic expression of the anti-globalization movement. . . . And it served as the medium of dissemination for the Free Fare Movement, so much so that I think almost all of the first Free Fare Movement’s chapters



Fig. 2.3: Jorge L. S. Minella, *Demonstrators in an Assembly at Paulo Fontes Ave., in Front of the Downtown Bus Terminal, Florianópolis, June 9, 2005.*

in 2005 came from Independent Media Center's collectives.”¹⁷⁶ These words of Ortellado can be linked to others of Yuri Gama, who explained not only how the alternative Internet news outlet Independent Media Center and the Free Fare Movement were interrelated, but also how the punk rock scene was part of it too: “All of that gets kind of mixed . . . the punk posters with the Independent Media Center's posters, with the Free Fare Movement's posters, with wheatpaste posters. That thing gets kind of juxtaposed, and I didn't know very well where I'd focus my efforts more. Sometimes, I stayed a lot in the Free Fare Movement; sometimes, I stayed a lot in the shows; sometimes, I stayed a lot at the Independent Media Center.”¹⁷⁷

The transition from Trotskyism into autonomism, or the incorporation of the latter by the former, consisted of an embrace of horizontality as well, for the split that generated the Independent Revolution Youth in Florianópolis represented a breakup with the hierarchical structure that linked and subjugated young people to an adult organization: the faction O Trabalho.¹⁷⁸ This ideal of horizontality becomes then a shared good between the Independent Revolution Youth and the Free Fare Movement, as we must remember that the Independent Revolution Youth ended up forming and being incorporated into the Free Fare Movement: in practical terms, it “dissolved itself” into the Free Fare Movement.¹⁷⁹ As explained in an article published in 2006 by the Landless Workers' Movement (known in Brazil as MST): “The Free Fare Movement is organized . . . without the

appointment of a president or coordinators. In order to join the struggle for free fare, one only needs to participate in the regional meetings that happen periodically.”¹⁸⁰ The Landless Workers’ Movement publication then proceeds to quote an interview with Pedro Nicoletti, who was engaged with activities for free public transportation in the federal capital, Brasília: “People . . . have an idea that serious things have a hierarchy, an established order. It is precisely against this popular imaginary that we fight.”¹⁸¹

Police and Rockers—Rockers and the Free Fare Movement

The non-vertical organization of the movement not only exhibited an advantage for the diversification of hands-on supporters, but it also became invaluable during the highpoint of the events encompassing the Second Turnstile Revolt and its noteworthy characteristic of “direct democracy, without the traditional leadership [*protagonismo*] of political parties.”¹⁸² At that point, the repressive state forces presented themselves without the veil of republicanism, without the posing as servants of the will of the people or being mostly concerned with the protection of their everyday rights. Besides violently repressing the protests, police conducted the arrests of several important figures of the Free Fare Movement in an attempt to halt the demonstrations. However, even with such major casualties, the revolt progressed and was victorious in the end.¹⁸³

Police repression held a remarkable parallelism during the 2000s in the city-island of Florianópolis: it sought to exercise control over both the activities conducted by the Campaign for the Free Fare (later the Free Fare Movement) and the underground music environment through either physical violence or institutional repression. While the Military Police would crash the protests and arrest those seen as the leaders, the Civil Police (Polícia Civil) undertook the task of wiping off the map Florianópolis’ main venue for punk and non-commercial alternative rock music: the Underground Rock Bar (Fig. 2.4). Instead of maintaining a well-defined division of labor, the machineries of both the Military Police and Civil Police indeed overlapped. The peculiar institutional figure of the *delegados*, civil servants whose position could be loosely translated into English as “police chiefs,” would have the bureaucratic responsibility of opening investigations into and bringing charges against both the militants for free public transportation and the owner of the Underground Rock Bar. The Military Police, in its turn, was also carrying out the actual termination of that music venue when the enforcement of a *delegado*’s verdicts became necessary. Those verdicts were often full of narrowness in terms of acceptance of differences, as in the case of the one given by the police chief Gentil Ramos, responsible for orchestrating the eradication of the Underground Rock Bar:

The customers are the worst ever: only bad people. There, we really have youth that is not concerned with having fun at all. They only want to use

drugs, to get drunk. . . . We want quality in Lagoa [the neighborhood of the Underground Rock Bar]. We want to change the image of Lagoa, that it is a bad place at night, with only worthless people [*porcarias*] in the streets after 3 am in some places. I am not referring to all [places], but this Underground is really a place with a concentration of people like that, a problem. . . . They must have better customers. It is not a problem with me. I can bring about 10 people that cannot walk there late at night: residents, fishermen. . . . Everybody dressed in black, those hair styles. It is one of the worst places that exist in Lagoa da Conceição.¹⁸⁴

Although the police did not succeed in causing the collapse of the struggle for free public transportation, they were in the end able to shut down the main location for punk rock shows in Florianópolis through the force of state authoritarianism. The difficulty of securing long-lasting venues for punk music was not unique to Florianópolis. It is a recurring issue that punks face all over the world, many times as a consequence of prejudice and capitalist urban development.¹⁸⁵ Such a tyrannical closing of the Underground Rock Bar was something that, for instance, had already happened tragically before within the Brazilian punk movement: it is another chapter in the constant attack on urban spaces that punks use to congregate. It mirrors, in some respects, the 1980s eviction of the iconic São Paulo store Punk Rock—owned by Fábio Sampaio, member of the band Olho Seco (Dry Eye)—after the moral panic provoked by an overdramatized primetime television piece aired by the channel Rede Globo.¹⁸⁶

In Florianópolis, there seemed to be greater resistance. A public, activist-like campaign to save the Underground Rock Bar was organized, which included an attempt at mass e-mailing city authorities.¹⁸⁷ In April 2003, regulars even organized a “two-day Festival [called Rock Against the State] with the intention to gather funds.”¹⁸⁸ The most striking characteristic of the Rock Against the State Festival was that it was being publicized at the Independent Media Center’s website by none other than Camarada D., the pseudonym almost certainly used by Daniel Guimarães to publish many of the news stories about the Free Fare Movement of Florianópolis.¹⁸⁹ This is further evidence of the link between the punk rock scene in that city and the Free Fare Movement. In addition, the struggle to keep the venue open became a certain type of resistance against what today is called gentrification, a battle connected to the (im)possibility of using certain urban spaces for a specific group of people, something also at the center of the Free Fare Movement. Under the pen name Camarada D., most likely Guimarães then explains how the closing of the Underground Rock Bar was essentially connected to urbanism: “Encouraged by a climate of ‘cleaning’ regarding the social dirt of the city, they are turning an old desire into reality, which is to destroy the Underground Rock Bar only because it is a space directed at people with lifestyles and preferences that differ from the majority.”¹⁹⁰



Fig. 2.4: Unidentified photographer, *Underground, 2002: Public in Trance Listening to Thee Butchers' Orchestra*, Florianópolis, 2002. From Beatriz Tironi Sanson's personal collection.¹⁹¹

Besides the connection between the Free Fare Movement and the campaign to save the Underground Rock Bar through Camarada D. (a pen name used by Guimarães), some of the bands that played in the Rock Against the State Festival also participated in events organized by the Campaign for the Free Fare, such as B-Driver, Sempre, and The Dolls.¹⁹² Despite all the effort to save it, in March 2004, after almost nine years of activity, it was time for the Underground Rock Bar to encounter its fate, being permanently closed owing to police persecution and leaving numerous bands orphaned, without the main venue in which they could present their authorial work.¹⁹³ One employee of the music venue later stated: “The Underground Rock Bar closed owing to prejudice. For the residents of [the area around] Lagoa da Conceição, it was ugly to have to coexist with people different from them. Moreover, Franck refused to pay the bribe imposed by Lagoa’s police officers in an implicit manner.”¹⁹⁴

The closing proved to be a hard blow to Florianópolis’ punk rock scene, which had to reinvent itself in the subsequent years. The e-zine *Desterro Underground* emerged at the end of that decade to respond to the feeling that “since the closing of the Underground Rock Bar . . . people conclude that the Florianópolis underground is beyond dead. I hear these people and I challenge them by saying that our underground is alive and kicking.”¹⁹⁵ It is true that *Desterro Underground* saw as its mission the task of alerting

the community that there were still bands and concerts that shared similar musical and political stances as in the years before, but the perception seemed otherwise. The Underground Rock Bar was, to borrow a thought from Pablo Ornelas Rosa, the *de facto* “ritual space” of a counterculture.¹⁹⁶ That physical location was the area of congregation for people immersed in the rock scene; it was the center of a world with its own artistic and social rules. A significant chilling effect undoubtedly took place with its disappearance. Further, some of those bands that had to face this chilling effect had a relationship not only with the Underground Rock Bar but also with the general movement for the free fare. The audience of the bands also dissipated to some extent. Gabriel Peixer, a participant of the scene and someone close to hardcore-punk bands such as S288, for which he performed as an invited vocalist on at least one occasion, went into electronic music and the rave culture after the disappearance of the Underground Rock Bar.¹⁹⁷

The 1999-founded band FAKE, which played at the Free Fare Rock Festival, publicly commented on the importance that the Underground Rock Bar had for them in a city with limited options such as Florianópolis: “We very much thank Franck and the folks of the Underground Rock Bar for giving us a chance to present our work.”¹⁹⁸ The band was composed of Bart (vocals and electric guitar), Tarcísio (electric guitar and vocals), Victor (drums and vocals), and Zeh (bass guitar).¹⁹⁹ The lyrics of FAKE’s songs could be characterized as mostly romantic compositions with the exception of the utopian “Porque” (“Why”):

[...]

...

Então vamos continuar a lutar

[pois assim não dá mais pra ficar

Vamos todos unidos em busca de um só ideal

Um lugar onde todos possam ser vistos

[de igual para igual

Sem preconceito nenhum e ninguém

[pra roubar em nosso quintal

Then let us continue fighting

because it can no longer stay like this

Let us go united in the search for one only ideal

A place where everybody can be seen

on equal terms

Without any prejudice and nobody

to steal in our backyard

[...]

...²⁰⁰

Rafael Popini, from the early 2000s band Insurreição (Insurrection), also commented on the importance of the Underground Rock Bar, which was able to unite under the same roof diverse genres such as “alternative rock, metal, and punk, from nascent and local to even international bands.”²⁰¹ Another band, The Dolls, which was fully active between 2001 and 2005, followed by reunions in subsequent years, once released a music video of a song called “Junky Doll.” The audiovisual piece was directed by Marco Martins and was recorded in the Underground Rock Bar in 2004.²⁰² The band—then formed of Bruno Barbi (bass), Asdra Martin (vocals), Domingos Longo (electric

guitar), and Xando Passold (drums)—is not known for political lyrics but rather for a mix between post-punk and glam rock, with their inspiration coming from David Bowie, New York Dolls, and The Stooges (their music video, particularly the version without the heavy visual effects, has become a historical document of the Underground Rock Bar).²⁰³ In the video, one can clearly see the small stage of the venue, its dark and rough atmosphere with people smoking inside, and the youthful musicians, with a glimpse of an apparently predominately female audience (at least on that day). The Dolls also played in the Free Fare Rock Festival in 2003, in addition to being a recurring attraction at the Underground Rock Bar.

If The Dolls participated in the Free Fare Rock Festival, a music event organized by a movement that would lead the Turnstile Revolt in Florianópolis, it means that explicit political lyrics were not a requirement for rock bands and the Free Fare Movement to come together, to support and nurture each other. The Free Fare Rock Festival, which occurred in the north of the island, hosted other bands and artists besides The Dolls and FAKE, including B-Driver, Borboletas Acrobáticas e o Menino Isoladinho (Acrobatic Butterflies and the Very Lonely Boy), Cabeça Armada (Armed Head), Enduros, Euthanasia, Insurreição, Liquid Squid, Sadhana, and Sempre (Always). It also hosted the hip-hop group KSG.²⁰⁴ Lucas de Oliveira, who reported on the music festival, also registered the attendance of Skárnio, most likely the cultural activist Thiago Skárnio, who would later come to national attention during the 2013 wave of protests that spread throughout the country.²⁰⁵ Flora Lorena Müller, one of the main organizers of the festival (the event took place in a smallholding belonging to her family), remembers the following:

It was 12 hours of shows. We had to get several permits. . . . A few hours before the beginning of the festival, my cousin was in the ticket office. He came back running: . . . “Flora, the riot police are up there! They want to put an end to it!” . . . Talks took place, authorizations were shown. . . . We had the preoccupation of making the life of the police difficult in case they wanted to crack down on us. . . . We tried to have all the paperwork.²⁰⁶

The festival went on after the negotiation with the police, and the bands performed as scheduled. The Dolls then played its music with lyrics that, although not openly political, can in fact be interpreted as an opposition to bourgeois morality. The song “Junky Doll,” which is performed in English, could send the listener to a major reference for the word “junky”: the American beat generation and the novel *Junky* by William Burroughs, which depicts the life of a heroin addict.²⁰⁷ In addition to such a reference to complete outsidersness through the use of the word “junky,” The Dolls are described as possessing an “androgynous” appearance.²⁰⁸ This androgyny could be seen in their performances in the early 2000s. In one of their shows, for instance, the male vocalist Asdra Martin would wear a white, furry scarf that gave a queer look to his persona.²⁰⁹ Of course, through the band’s own

lyrics, he proclaims himself to be a “junky doll.” But, even more obviously, androgyny is present in the name of the band itself. The Portuguese word for doll, which is *boneca*, can be used to refer to a gay man.²¹⁰

[I] wanna find somebody to treat me like a doll
 [I] want someone special to make me feel it like a doll
 [I] wanna fuck somebody who fucks it like a doll
 [I] want someone to fuck me and fuck me like a doll
 . . .²¹¹

The band The Dolls in some respects breaks with the aesthetics of the *macho* rocker and his overmasculinized persona when in front of an audience. On the contrary, the poetic voice of “Junky Doll” wants to stay in a passive position during a sexual encounter, enjoying being at the pleasure of the other. Even more than that, the lyrics show that it may not be an easy task for people to find themselves in such a place of subjectivity. The song is totally in opposition to the figure of the rock star as a powerful, strong, and dominant individual. It is true that the band does not sing in Portuguese, which makes its message more obscure to many of the natives of Brazil. However, the performance of the vocalist leaves no doubt about the negation of gender stereotypes. In a sense, all this posturing can be seen as an ideological position of the band. If not directly political, an alternative worldview is present, especially if one considers the pressure for gender conformity in Brazil in the early 2000s. The conservatism of the country in sexual terms is attacked by The Dolls. The erotic meeting sought does not belong to the idea of the traditional family, one of the pillars of the former military dictatorship (at least in its public discourse), which was in alliance with sections of the church and the bourgeoisie. In the end, The Dolls bring a message of liberation, even if it is a personal one.

Even though The Dolls—a band that both inhabited the scene at the Underground Rock Bar and participated in at least one important event related to the Campaign for the Free Fare—is not characterized by openly political lyrics but more by an oppositional stance to bourgeois morality, other bands were much more engaged with a radical contestation of aspects of the capitalist system through their songs or performances. One band that had this anti-capitalist instance and was extraordinarily linked to the Campaign for the Free Fare in Florianópolis was *Insurreição*. According to one of its members, Rafael Popini, *Insurreição* was initiated in 2002 and its sound could be heard until 2004. It started as a project between Popini and Marcelo Lazzaris, who played the guitar. It counted on a close relationship with another band, S288, which contributed transitorily with two members for *Insurreição*, Fabrício “Zum” Cardoso and Rodrigo Brasil. The project consisted in playing their own compositions and covers, with a special interest in the American bands Beastie Boys, Refused, and Rage Against the Machine.²¹²

After some time searching for other members, we invited Eduardo Stosick, who was the guitarist of a punk rock band, to take over the bass, and we convinced the drummer Ginho Bernardes, who had runs with several bands of alternative rock (Swelty), to complete the band. Little by little, we created a repertoire of our own songs (along the lines of rap metal and hardcore), with lyrics in Portuguese about several themes: cultural industry; political economy; overcoming in the making of art; revolutionary poetry; philosophy of history; ethics; civil disobedience; alterity and intersubjectivity. I can say that *Insurreição* was born from the student movement of Florianópolis, especially from the Free Fare Movement. The band played in shows/demonstrations and helped in political/artistic events in the student world.²¹³

According to Popini, 15 years after the end of *Insurreição*, its members decided to revive the musical group. The four of them recorded an EP named *Restrito ao Caos* (*Restricted to Chaos*), which is from 2019 and presents the band under a new name, Furial. However, the songs remain the same ones from the early 2000s. Its lyrics became documents of those times. Popini was an exceptionally dedicated member of the Free Fare Movement, being responsible for logistics of shows and cultural affairs related to the struggle for free public transportation. *Insurreição* not only played in the 2003 Free Fare Rock Festival, but in many other events connected to rock and politics: a show for the Campaign for the Free Fare at the end of 2003 in the downtown of Florianópolis; a tribute to the American band Rage Against the Machine organized by the Campaign for the Free Fare in 2004; and three more shows still in 2004, all of them in benefit of the Campaign for the Free Fare and one also in support of the independently run Rádio de Tróia (Trojan Radio) and the students union (DCE) of the Federal University of Santa Catarina. Their recent reunion under the designation Furial seems to have occurred as a reaction to the new wave of fascism that took over Brazil (symbolized the most by the president, Jair Bolsonaro). Evidently influenced by the thought of situationism and Guy Debord, in the EP *Restrito ao Caos*, there is the track “*Insurreição*.” In the music video of the song, the band composed a collage containing seminal images of the Florianópolis Turnstile Revolts. The protests in opposition to the fare hikes appear to be still relevant more than a decade later.²¹⁴ Overlayed with the distortion of the guitars, the poetic voice claims for subversion:

*Bem-aventurados, sejam bem-vindos
Na geração de estrelas de metal
Conectam à nova guerra
Sem fronteiras o bombardeio visual*

*Monsieur Debord, abra as cortinas
Que seja assim! Ó, senhores Messias*

*The blessed, you are welcome
In the generation of metal stars
They connect to the new war
Without borders the visual bombardment*

*Monsieur Debord, get the show on the road
Let it be! Oh, you the Messiahs*

*Clamam por sangue, juros e fobia
E reacionários vomitam suas demagogias
Velha fogueira da Inquisição ainda queima
A 100.000 watts de potência
Em capitâncias hodiernas
A mando do senhor feudal
[da era pós-moderna]*

*(O que será? Será? Será...)
O fim da História? O fim da História?!*
(*O que será? Será? Será...)*
Que ela dá voltas? Que ela dá voltas?!

*Paz americana, 11 de setembro
Legitimado o banho de sangue pelo medo
Às vezes cinco, não, às vezes três
Às vezes todas as guerras de uma vez
E com minha rebeldia
Apresentam a doutrina
Agenda-setting difundida
Compre um prazer e venda sua vida
Mas cansado de estar
Dentro deste falso versículo a ser docilizado
Sob ferros e a monitorar
Punho no ar, a História me absolverá!*

*Esse é o peso que abalou o seu ouvido
Então, saca
Saudações a quem se pronifica
À roda-viva revolucionária
Face à passividade meramente
[consumista e egoísta]
Insurreição! A sua voz é subversiva*

*Eles não têm controle sobre nós
Eles não têm controle sobre minha voz
Eles não têm controle sobre nós
Nada tem, nada tem, sobre nós!*

*[2X]
(O que será? Será? Será...)
Eles não têm controle sobre nós
Eles não têm controle sobre minha voz*

*They demand blood, interest, and phobia
And the reactionary ones vomit their demagogies
The good and old Inquisition's bonfire still burns
At 100,000 watts of power
In hodiernal captaincies
Under the command of a feudal lord
of the post-modern era*

*(What will it be? Will it be? Will it be. . .)
The end of History? The end of History?!*
(*What will it be? Will it be? Will it be. . .)*
Turned upside down? Turned upside down?

*American peace, 9/11
The bloodbath is legitimized through fear
Sometimes five, no, sometimes three
Sometimes all wars at once
And with my rebelliousness
They present the doctrine
Agenda-setting disseminated
Buy pleasure and sell your life
However, wary of being
Within this false versicle that will domesticated
In irons and under surveillance
Raised fist, History will absolve me*

This is the weight that shook your ear

*Then, take a look
We salute him who offers to join
The revolutionary whirlwind
In the face of a merely
consumerist and egoistic passivity
Insurrection! Your voice is subversive*

*They have no control over us
They have no control over my voice
They have no control over us
Nothing does, nothing does, over us!*

*[2X]
(What will it be? Will it be? Will it be. . .)
They have no control over us
They have no control over my voice*

*Eles não têm controle sobre nós
Eles não têm controle sobre minha voz*

*They have no control over us
They have no control over my voice*

*[3X] Faça sua história
Esta é a hora*

*[3X] Make your own history
The time is now²¹⁵*

Insurreição is clearly one of the epitomes of the convergence of rock music, anti-capitalism, and activism for free public transportation in Brazil. Yuri Gama, in his “Account of the Hardcore/Punk Environment” in Florianópolis, also named other key local bands that were playing in the first half of the 2000s and that, at the same time, were connected to hubs of cultural and political activism: “The city never had many bands linked to that environment, but those that come to mind now are Única Chance [Only Chance], S288, and Guerra de Classes, . . . Euthanasia and Cabeça Armada, . . . Monstro da Garagem [Garage Monster] and Ambervisions.”²¹⁶ Even if Gama understands that a low number of music groups were linked to at least a branch of the avant-garde triad he cites—the anarchist political/cultural group Coletivo Folha, the underground radio station Rádio de Tróia, and the alternative news outlet Independent Media Center—one can still appreciate the quality and profundity of the bands he mentions, which were unequivocally engaged with local politics. One of those bands that might be of special interest here is S288.

S288 was a hardcore band from Florianópolis, active during the first half of the 2000s. They cited as their main influences more nationally known groups: D.F.C. (Distrito Federal Chaos), Dead Fish, Garotos Podres (Rotten Boys), and Ratos de Porão (Basement Rats); throughout S288’s existence, it shared the stage with local bands such as Insurreição, Liquid Squid, Open the Door, Sadhana, Squeeze, Swelty, Nempb, and Única Chance.²¹⁷ Like The Dolls, S288 had the Underground Rock Bar as a central venue for their shows, being an authorial collective of young musicians. S288 chiefly played songs with clear anti-systemic content, as in the case of the song “Apodrecidos pelo sistema” (“Rotten by System”):

*Você não vai entender
nem se eu tentar te explicar
todo o ódio que eu sinto
em seus olhos não consigo olhar
toda a sua vivência
só pensando em lucrar
tentando ser o melhor
para sempre poder explorar
você é um porco desumano
egoísta, filho da puta*

*You won’t understand
even if I try to explain to you
all the hate I feel
I can’t look at your eyes
all your living
only thinking about profiting
trying to be the best
to always be able to exploit
you’re an inhuman pig
egoistic, son of a bitch*

*só pensa em si mesmo
em ganhar qualquer disputa*

Apodrecidos pelo sistema

[refrão 1]

*Você não tem mais sonhos
não acredita num ideal
acha que nunca irá mudar
acha que toda a podridão é normal
prefere que seja assim mesmo
já que está no lucro
não imagina o penar
de alguém que trabalha e vive no duro
porque todos os dias
vivem a ser explorados
por porcos que nem vocês
patrões que limitam a vida de seus empregados*

*only thinking about yourself
about winning any dispute*

Rotten by the system

[chorus 1]

*You have no more dreams
don't believe in an ideal
think you will never change
think all rottenness is normal
prefer it to be like that
as you already profited
you don't imagine the struggle
of someone who works and lives hard
because every day
they live to be exploited
by pigs like you
bosses that limit their employees' lives*

[refrão 2]

*Apodrecidos pelo sistema
Apodrecidos pelo sistema
Apodrecidos pelo sistema
Apodrecidos pelo sistema*

[chorus 2]

*Rotten by the system
Rotten by the system
Rotten by the system
Rotten by the system*

[refrão 1]

[...]

[chorus 1]

[...]

[refrão 2]

[...]

[chorus 2]

[...]²¹⁸

S228's reason for the anti-capitalist sentiment evident in "Apodrecidos pelo sistema" was described by some of its members as the following: "[Our] lyrics were inspired by situations and behaviors that seemed invisible or not very important to most of the people owing to ignorance or individualism, but, if they are analyzed from a broader and more collective viewpoint, one can be aware of how revolting and unacceptable [those situations and behaviors] in fact are."²¹⁹ With this in mind, it is not extraordinary that S228, during its trajectory, was able to establish connections—departing from the Underground Rock Bar—with the struggle for the free fare, as one can understand from their own explanation of the band's history:

The Underground Rock Bar was very important to the band and to the general [rock music] scene of Florianópolis. It was one of the only places that was worth its name and used to give opportunities to new bands. Our

first show was at the Subway, [a bar] located at the Escadaria do Rosário, together with friends from Sadhana (still called Samadhi at the time). The Tulipa's Bar, opened after the closing of Subway, was an important bar for the scene as well. We also played in several other occasional shows and events such as the Passe Livre [Free Fare], and [in the city of] Balneário Camboriú with the fellows from Dhementes [The Demented], Dead Fish, and D.F.C.²²⁰

S288 started with the following line-up: Zé Luiz (electric guitar), Ronei (bass), Fabrício “Zum” Cardoso (vocals), and Marcos Hoffmann (drums)—the last two were also part of the band Killing Machine.²²¹ According to the account given by former band members, Uriel Oliveira joined the band later and stayed with them for some time, and the same is true of Rodrigo Brasil:

The guys used to get together at Marcos' house to play some music, very unpretentiously. Zé Luiz then invites Uriel [Oliveira], a school friend, to play the rhythm guitar. With the passage of time, Zé Luis started to lose interest and decided to leave, the same with Ronei. In [Ronei's] place, Rodrigo Brasil joins the band: he was a childhood friend of Zum and Marcos. It is with this formation that the band takes shape and adopts its name [S288]. In 2002, Uriel decides to leave the stage and joins the audience, giving place to Breno Turnes and Daniel, [the latter] in the second electric guitar.²²²

It is significant to note that Uriel Oliveira, after leaving S288 in 2002, went on to be an important contributor to Rádio de Tróia: he “developed the first version of their website and helped to set up the online streaming of the programming.”²²³ Rádio de Tróia, the “free” underground radio station, was originally headquartered at the Federal University of Santa Catarina and unsurprisingly broadcast the events of the Turnstile Revolt of 2004: “The movement had its media. Rádio de Tróia . . . divulged news and reports about the demonstrations, many of them live”—as Vinicius once wrote.²²⁴ S288 performed in support of the free fare in a show organized by the movement itself that took place in downtown Florianópolis: “We also shared the stage several times with the band Insurreição, whose vocalist Rafael Popini was engaged with the movement and was the band's personal friend.”²²⁵ Moreover, among some of S288's members, there was dedication to hands-on political engagement as well. Uriel Oliveira was an activist at the GECA (Grêmio Estudantil do Colégio de Aplicação), which is the union formed by students from the innovative public school that is a branch of the Federal University of Santa Catarina for elementary and secondary education; Rafael Popini was also part of the GECA; and Marcos Hoffmann “collaborated with NGOs for the well-being of animals and other social actions.”²²⁶ If one were to establish a historical parallel, Colégio de Aplicação in Florianópolis would occupy an analogous place to São Paulo's Escola Estadual Tarçísio Álvarez Lobo (known as EETAL), situated in the neighborhood of Vila Carolina. In the 1970s and

1980s, that state high school provided members for several bands from the Brazilian punk scene that was emerging in the largest city of the country.²²⁷

Those connections help to demonstrate the interactions between Florianópolis' rock bands such as S288 and the general struggle for the free fare, concerning the endeavor of establishing new means of both political and artistic expression through radio stations and websites, as was the case with Rádio de Tróia, Brazil's Independent Media Center, and Sarcástico: according to Vinicius, “besides Rádio de Tróia and the Independent Media Center, there was also the project Sarcástico (www.sarcastico.com.br) covering the demonstrations [of the First Turnstile Revolt].”²²⁸ Such activities happened with the dedicated participation of Florianópolis' youth, comprised mostly of students. Uriel Oliveira was born in 1984, and the other members of S288 were about the same age during the events of the first half of the 2000s, attesting to how young they were when deciding to move on with projects that ended up having a decisive role in the uprisings against the city transportation system.²²⁹ It was the youth that changed the history of the city both politically and culturally, inscribing a new chapter through deep struggle, subversion of political clichés such as the strict separation between Marxism and anarchism, and of course, the creation of rebellious music.

Notes

1 Júlia Ribeiro de Oliveira and Ana Paula Carvalho, *A Revolta do Buzu – Salvador (BA): Manifestações dos estudantes secundaristas contra o aumento da tarifa de ônibus* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Análises Sociais e Econômicas; São Paulo: Instituto Pólis, 2007), 22, https://ibase.br/userimages/revolta_do_buzu_final.pdf.

2 Ângela Alonso, “‘Junho de 2013 é um mês que não terminou’, diz socióloga,” Interview conducted by Vinicius Mendes, *BBC Brasil*, Jun. 3, 2018, <http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-44310600>.

3 “Greve dos caminhoneiros: a cronologia dos 10 dias que pararam o Brasil,” *BBC Brasil*, May 30, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-44302137>.

4 Amanda Rossi, “Como o WhatsApp mobilizou caminhoneiros, driblou governo e pode impactar eleições,” Jun. 2, 2018, *BBC Brasil*, <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-44325458> (in the piece, Marcos da Costa comments to the reporter that “today we see liquid, absolutely horizontalized movements”).

5 Rossi, “Como o WhatsApp mobilizou caminhoneiros, driblou governo e pode impactar eleições.”

6 Odilla, “5 anos depois, o que aconteceu com as reivindicações dos protestos que pararam o Brasil em junho de 2013?”; see also: Alfredo Saad Filho, “The Economic Context of Social Protests in 2013,” in *Democratic Brazil Divided*, ed. Peter Kingstone and Timothy J. Power (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), <https://books.google.com/books?id=Y1pDDwAAQBAJ>; Mariana S. Mendes, “Brazil’s popular awakening – June 2013,” in *Global Diffusion of Protest: Riding the Protest Wave in the Neoliberal Crisis*, ed. Donatella della Porta (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), <http://doi.org/10.5117/9789462981690>; Jeff Garmany and Anthony W. Pereira, *Understanding Contemporary Brazil* (Oxon: Routledge, 2018), Chapter 7, <https://books.google.com/books?id=SgF-DwAAQBAJ&dq>.

7 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 2 and 5; see also: Fábio Bispo and Maurício Frighetto, “Movimento Passe Livre nasceu em Florianópolis e tomou o Brasil: Revolta da Catraca, em 2004, simboliza o início da luta para que a tarifa do transporte seja zerada,” *ND+*, Jun. 30, 2013, <https://ndmais.com.br/noticias/movimento-passe-livre-nasceu-em-florianopolis-e-tomou-o-brasil/>; Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 291; Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 171–172; and: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 49–51 and 81.

8 MPL-SP, “Não começou em Salvador, não vai terminar em São Paulo,” in *Cidades rebeldes: Passe Livre e as manifestações que tomaram as ruas do Brasil*, ed. Paulo Eduardo Arantes and Roberto Schwarz (São Paulo: Boitempo; Carta Maior, 2013), Loc 264, Kindle edition.

9 James Tavares, “Protestos são parte de ‘revolução juvenil,’” *Folha de São Paulo*, Jul. 13, 2004, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/cotidian/ff1307200405.htm>; see also: Lucas Oliveira, “Entrevista com o Movimento Passe Livre: Lucas Oliveira: Movimento Passe Livre – São Paulo,” Interview conducted by Maria Caramez Carlotto, *Revista Fevereiro*, 2013, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190625015641/http://www.revistafevereiro.com/pag.php?r=06&t=10>; Mané Ludd [Leo Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa,” *CMI Brasil*, Jul. 14, 2004, [https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2004/07/286542.shtml](https://web.archive.org/web/20140902025021/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2004/07/286542.shtml); Leo Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa* (São Paulo: Faísca Publicações Libertárias, 2005), 26, <https://editorafaisca.files.wordpress.com/2015/02/leo-vinicius-guerra-da-tarifa.pdf>; Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 295; Flora Lorena Müller, in conversation with the author, January 2022; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 54–55 and 81.

10 Róbson Véio, “Entrevista: Robson Véio, banda Lumpen-BA,” Interview conducted by Nelson Maca, Overmundo, Oct. 30, 2008, <http://www.overmundo.com.br/overblog/entrevista-robson-veio-banda-lumpen-ba>; Róbson Véio, in conversation with the author, July–August 2020.

11 Before 2003, the band Lumpen was called No Deal, subsequently changing its name to Sem Acordo (which is “no deal” in Portuguese) and briefly to Ideafix (Róbson Véio, “Fim da Lumpen ou o que uma banda pode fazer pela revolução,” Lumpen, Mar. 8, 2010, <https://xlumpenx.wordpress.com/2010/03/08/fim-da-lumpen-ou-o-que-uma-banda-pode-fazer-pela-revolucao/>) (Lumpen, “Entrevista – Lumpen,” Interview conducted by XchristopherX, XpãoX & Vitor Trust Yourselfxxx, *Pequena Ameaça*, Feb. 12, 2009, <http://pequenaameaca.blogspot.com/2009/02/em-sua-visita-sao-paulo-banda-lumpen.html>) (Véio, in conversation with the author, July–August 2020).

12 “Sobre o caminho...” Lumpen, accessed Aug. 6, 2020, <https://xlumpenx.wordpress.com/imagens/>.

13 Lumpen, “Zona de processamento para exportação,” track 10 on various artists’ compilation, *4 Cavidades, 1 Coração*, 2003, audio streaming, https://open.spotify.com/album/3i8RiFr8cTmDNMskezKCda?si=_Palavras_sincer...; “Palavras sinceras...” Lumpen, accessed Aug. 4, 2020, <https://xlumpenx.wordpress.com/letras/> (lyrics changed for capitalization, spelling, and punctuation).

14 “Estudantes lutam contra as altas tarifas de ônibus,” *CMI Brasil*, Aug. 31, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150426194211/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2003/08/262282.shtml>.

15 Nikas Rocha and Cleidiana Ramos, “Em Lauro de Freitas, luta pelos mesmos benefícios,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 5, 2003, 9; Nikas Rocha, “Porta aberta para o diálogo,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 6, 2003, 6.

16 Cleidiana Ramos, “Estudantes protestam em Simões Filho,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 17, 2003, 7; see also: Fernando Vivas, “A Rua é deles,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 17, 2003, 1.

17 Haroldo Aquiles, “Passeata em Simões Filho,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 26, 2003, 3.

18 Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho, *A Revolta do Buzu – Salvador (BA)*, 19.

19 Adilson Fonsêca et al., “Policial se considera ‘mãezona,’” *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 4 (my emphasis).

20 Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 38.

21 Jair Mendonça et al., “Reação,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 2, 2003, 5.

22 Thiago Fernandes, “O grande barato da participação,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 9.

23 Haroldo Aquilles and Nikas Rocha, “Empresários temem quebra-quebra,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 11.

24 Rita Conrado, “Primeira conquista: meia-passagem o ano inteiro,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 6.

25 Adilson Fonsêca et al., “Tempo presente,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 7.

26 Jair Mendonça et al., “Cidade paralisada contra o aumento,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 2, 2003, 3; Guilherme Duarte Ragepo do Carmo writes that, “on September 1st, students from Salvador engaged totally with the cause. . . The young people gathered in several parts of the city and slowly marched with a preconceived destination: Praça da Piedade” (Guilherme Duarte Ragepo do Carmo, *O troco: por trás das manifestações estudantis de 2003* [BA Thesis, FIB, 2005], appendix, 5); moreover, Augusto Vasconcelos, one of the participants of the revolt, remembers, in a statement collected by Duarte Ragepo do Carmo, that “demonstrations popped up in all parts of the city and they met at Praça da Piedade in a apotheotic encounter, which makes me emotional when I just talk about it. There was a sea of people – more than 20 thousand students, in a modest estimate, participated in that demonstration at Praça da Piedade” (Duarte Ragepo do Carmo, *O troco*, appendix, 5).

27 Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 43; MPL-SP, “Não começou em Salvador, não vai terminar em São Paulo,” Loc 187.

28 Danniela Silva, “Falta de transporte esvazia lojas,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 10; according to Guilherme Duarte Ragepo do Carmo, “the SINDILOJAS—Store Owners’ Union of Bahia—showed that there was a 60% reduction in sales” (Duarte Ragepo do Carmo, *O troco*, 6).

29 Adilson Fonsêca et al., “Sem ponto de parada,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 10.

30 Adilson Fonsêca et al., “População espera, mas apóia,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 5.

31 LuC4S, “Salvador: Estudantes em Revolta,” *CMI Brasil*, Sep. 4, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427230020/midia independente.org/pt/blue/2003/09/262598.shtml> (copyleft <http://www.midia independente.org>; reproduction for non-commercial use is free as long as the author and the source are cited and this note is included); see also: Editoria de Arte, “Principais pontos de manifestação,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 3.

32 Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho, *A Revolta do Buzu – Salvador (BA)*, 6.

33 Regina Bochicchio, “Um vôo sobre a cidade travada,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 3.

34 Ceci Alves, “Da Fundação da UNE ao ‘agosto do buzu,’” *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 7; “Ônibus faz mal a prefeito, história adverte,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 5, 2003, 4.

35 “Bonde e ônibus na mira dos protestos,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 11, 2003, 4.

36 Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 32; “Salvador perde o posto de 3º maior capital do país para Brasília, diz IBGE,” *Gi*, Aug. 30, 2016, <http://gi.globo.com/bahia/noticia/2016/08/salvador-perde-o-posto-de-3-maior-capital-do-pais-para-brasilia-diz-ibge.html>.

37 Ortellado, "Pablo Ortellado."

38 Dandara Lima, "A luta do movimento estudantil pelo passe livre," *Portal Vermelho*, Jan. 21, 2015, <http://www.vermelho.org.br/noticia/257485-8>; see also: Marjorie de Almeida Botelho, *A ação coletiva dos estudantes secundaristas: passe livre na cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (MA thesis, UFF, 2006), http://www.emdialogo.uff.br/sites/default/files/Passe_Livre___Marjorie_Botelho.pdf.

39 Aquilles and Rocha, "Empresários temem quebra-quebra," 11.

40 For the press characterization of the Bus Revolt as spontaneous, see: Ana Paula Boni, "Entusiasmo ajuda a organizar," *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 9.

41 Nascimento, "Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu," 38.

42 Adilson Fonsêca, "Estudante protesta e fecha a Lapa," *A Tarde*, Aug. 23, 2003, 3(?); the translation of the name of UBES into English comes from: Brian Mier, "May 30 Brazilian Education Strike: Meet the Organizers," *Brasil Wire*, May 29, 2019, <http://www.brasilwire.com/may-30-brazilian-education-strike-meet-the-organizers/>; the number of organizations that participated in Salvador's Bus Revolt comes from: José Castro, "Secundaristas não conseguiram escolher representantes," *A Tarde*, Sep. 17, 2003, 7.

43 Rita Conrado, "Estudante pára estação contra nova tarifa," *A Tarde*, Aug. 14, 2003, 3.

44 Adilson Fonsêca, "Adiado novo aumento para tarifa de ônibus," *A Tarde*, Aug. 15, 2003, (?); see also: Adilson Fonsêca, "Aumento de ônibus sai na sexta," *A Tarde*, Aug. 27, 2003, 3.

45 Rodrigo Vieira Júnior, "Protesto de estudantes fecha BR-116," *A Tarde*, Aug. 22, 2003, 8.

46 Fonsêca, "Estudante protesta e fecha a Lapa," 3(?).

47 Adilson Fonsêca, "Nas ruas, estudantes dizem não!" *A Tarde*, Aug. 30, 2003, 3.

48 Fonsêca, "Nas ruas, estudantes dizem não!"

49 Nascimento, "Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu," 34 and 38; "ABES" stands for Associação Baiana Estudantil Secundarista (Bahia's Association of High School Students) and DCEs are university-level students' unions.

50 Nascimento, "Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu," 38.

51 Adilson Fonsêca et al., "Lideranças e suas opiniões," *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 3.

52 Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho, *A Revolta do Buzu – Salvador (BA)*, 14; according to Renato Maia, "in the northeast of Brazil, the main characteristic of punks, for a long time, was the proximity with anarchism. Since the end of the 1980s, there had already been several organized groups within a profusion of acronyms: NCL-RN, GAL-PB, GANNA-SE, NCCL-CE, ULMA-MA, GEA/PI... All of those groups had a strong contact with each other and were majorly composed by anarcho-punks. In the beginnings of the 1990s, a great part of those groups started to call themselves Movimento Anarco Punk [Anarcho-Punk Movement] and, thus, emerged the groups organized around the acronym MAP (MAP/RN, MAP/AL, MAP/BA, MAP/CE, and a MAP existed in states like Paraíba in Campina Grande and João Pessoa). . . . MAP/BA also had a strong participation in the campaign for the free fare in Salvador, which was one of the most intense in the country. It was registered in the short [sic] film *A revolta do Buzu*" (Renato Maia, "Desafiando até o sol – uma visão sobre a trajetória de punks anarquistas no nordeste do Brasil," *Anarcopunk.org*, May 2017, <https://anarcopunk.org/v1/2017/05/desafiando-ate-o-sol-uma-visao-sobre-a-trajetoria-de-punks-anarquistas-no-nordeste-do-brasil/>).

53 The film *Revolta do Buzu* features a group of percussionists of African descent playing in a demonstration for the reduction of the bus fare, as well as the use of a song

performed on a berimbau as one of the two featured in the extradiegetic soundtrack (*Revolta do Buzu*, dir. Carlos Pronzato, Daniel Lisboa, and Marco Ribeiro [Salvador/Três de Maio: Lamestiza Produções, Focus Video, MF Video, 2003], video, <https://youtu.be/dQASaJ3WgTA>); the definition of Salvador as a “black Mecca” comes from: Guilherme Soares Dias, “Salvador é a meca negra: todo negro precisa ir pelo menos uma vez,” *Carta Capital*, Dec. 21, 2018, <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/blogs/guia-negro/salvador-e-a-meca-negra-todo-negro-precisa-ir-pelo-menos-uma-vez>.

54 R\$ 1,50 – *Media*, dir. Daniel Lisboa and Diego Lisboa (Salvador: Cavalo do Cão, 2003), video, <https://youtu.be/laDBZyfRqFg>, <https://youtu.be/6Qb8jRFoKZg>, and <https://youtu.be/D-Q8CEzTR2o>; *Revolta do Buzu*, dir. Pronzato, Lisboa, and Ribeiro; this fact is corroborated by Manoel Nascimento: “In the video *A Revolta do Buzu*, it is possible to recognize several militants from PCdoB, PT, UJS, PSTU, anarchists, and anarcho-punks” (Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 43).

55 Those political and activist links were confirmed in a conversation with the author, August 2020.

56 Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 31.

57 Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 33.

58 Manoel Nascimento, in conversation with the author, August 2020 (my emphasis).

59 Véio, “Entrevista.”

60 Véio, in conversation with the author, July–August 2020; a similar criticism of the “leaderless” movement idea regarding the Independent Media Center is present in Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 24, 41, 45–46, 113–114 and 192.

61 In one of his analyses, he gives the example of the events leading to and from the Spanish Civil War: “The extreme Right undertook the coup d'état, . . . General Franco undertook the coup d'état. This coup d'état was restrained by the spontaneous mobilization of the workers' movement, because the leadership became very much paralyzed . . . and if it hadn't been for the workers reacting with violence, the coup d'état would have been easily victorious; but it gave rise to a civil war, and, after all, they were defeated in the civil war owing to the politics coming from the popular camp” (Rui Costa Pimenta, “Não à conciliação com os golpistas! Fora Bolsonaro! – Análise Política da Semana 7/9/19,” CausaOperariaTV, Sep. 7, 2019, <https://youtu.be/OJLYVjjDCCo>).

62 Rui Costa Pimenta, “Balanço do ato do dia 15: fora Bolsonaro! – Análise Política da Semana 18/5/19,” CausaOperariaTV, May 18, 2019, video, https://youtu.be/2sQXoU_Svgk.

63 In the heat of events, Manoel Nascimento thought the following about Salvador's Bus Revolt: “It's not possible to make a revolution here, because, well, there is not enough preparation for such. But it's gonna be a kick-ass demonstration” (Nascimento, in conversation with the author, August 2020).

64 See: Quatro coroas, “Notas sobre a luta autônoma em Salvador,” Three Parts, *Passa Palavra*, Oct. 22, 2013, <http://passapalavra.info/2013/10/87110/>.

65 Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 34.

66 Scarcelli, “As origens do Movimento Passe Livre,” 6.

67 José Castro, “O Burburinho dos bastidores,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 8; Peixoto as a militant of the Workers' Party comes from: Luana Ribeiro, “Treze anos e dois reais e trinta centavos depois,” *A Tarde*, Jan. 23, 2017, <http://atarde.uol.com.br/muito/noticias/1833102-treze-anos-e-dois-reais-e-trinta-centavos-depois>.

68 “Desentendimento geral em Salvador,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 5, 2003, 3; a high official of the city administration, Aristides Amorim, would later recollect how the negotiations were unfruitful owing to the fact of the masses not accepting the traditional

leadership model: “Our deepest concern was exactly the lack of student leaders. Here, at the Superintendent’s Office [of Public Transportation], we did not know whom to talk to. . . . At every meeting that one scheduled, new leaders would appear, to the extent that there were difficulties and, until today, the actual organization, the actual representatives for student movements were not chosen” (Duarte Ragepo do Carmo, *O troco*, appendix, 5–6).

69 “Editorial: Agora, o povo,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 5, 2003, 2.

70 José Castro, “Hoje tem mais protesto,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 5, 2003, 3.

71 “Tempo presente,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 5, 2003, 7.

72 Castro, “Hoje tem mais protesto,” 3 (my emphasis).

73 “Cansaço, confusão e esperança,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 6, 2003, 3.

74 See, for instance: *A Tarde*, “Cansaço, confusão e esperança”; Flávio Oliveira, “Lapa fica duas horas sem ônibus,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 6, 2003, 5; Flávio Oliveira et al, “Insistentes, jovens voltam à rua,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 6, 2003, 7.

75 Nascimento, in conversation with the author, August 2020.

76 The translation of “Grito dos Excluídos” as “Cry of the Excluded” comes from: Elaine Patricia Cruz, “In Brazil, 2016 Cry of the Excluded criticizes capitalism,” trans. Amarilis Ancheta, *EBC*, Sep. 2, 2016, <http://agenciaabrasil.ebc.com.br/en/geral/noticia/2016-09/brazil-2016-cry-excluded-criticizes-capitalism>.

77 Ceci Alves, “Estudante agredida avisa: ‘Amanhã eu volto à rua,’” *A Tarde*, Sep. 8, 2003, 4.

78 Ivana Braga, “PM é orientada a evitar confrontos,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 3, 2003, 8.

79 Haroldo Aquiles, “Cidade pára, de novo, contra reajuste,” *A Tarde*, Aug. 29, 2003, 3; Rodrigo Vieira Júnior, “Manifestação em Feira termina em pancadaria,” *A Tarde*, Aug. 29, 2003, 3.

80 Adilson Fonsêca et al., “PM aprende com estudantes a lição da paciência,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 4.

81 Adilson Fonsêca et al., “Na periferia do movimento,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 6.

82 Adilson Fonsêca et al., “A polícia e os estudantes,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 7.

83 Luiz Paulo S. C. dos Santos, “Estudando no asfalto,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 25, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150505150250/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2003/11/268765.shtml>.

84 “Perplexidade e dor no 7 de setembro,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 8, 2003, 3.

85 Ivana Braga, “Aberto inquérito para apurar agressão da PM,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 9, 2003, 4.

86 Cintia Kelly, “Imbassahy leva falta no beija-mão de ACM,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 5, 2003, 3.

87 Patricia França, “Reconciliação ainda parece estar distante,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 6, 2003, 4.

88 Antônio Carlos Magalhães [attributed], “Chega de desordem,” *Correio da Bahia*, Sep. 3, 2003, 3.

89 Adilson Fonsêca, “PM antecipa-se para conter protestos,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 9, 2003, 3; Adilson Fonsêca, “Interdição na paralela durou 10 minutos,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 9, 2003, 3; Nikas Rocha, “Queda-de-braço no centro com a força policial,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 9, 2003, 3.

90 Luiz Francisco and Manuela Martinez, “‘Operação de guerra’ não impede protestos,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Sep. 9, 2003, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/cotidian/ffo909200320.htm>.

91 José Castro, “Eles querem congelar em R\$1,30,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 10, 2003, 3.

92 Cláudio Bandeira, “Desânimo e dispersão nas ruas,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 11, 2003, 3.

93 “Editorial: Difícil Solução,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 11, 2003, 2.

94 Nikas Rocha, “Estudantes decidem dar trégua em L. de Freitas,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 12, 2003, 4.

95 José Castro, “Secundaristas não escolhem representantes,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 12, 2003, 4; Sylvia Verônica, “Estudantes não voltam às aulas,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 12, 2003, 5.

96 Nikas Rocha, “Mobilização estudantil perde força e passeata se dispersa,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 20, 2003, 3; Flávio Oliveira, “Estudantes fazem protesto isolado,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 23, 2003, 7.

97 Nikas Rocha, “Jovens voltam a sentar-se no chão,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 25, 2003, 3.

98 “Tempo Presente: Ditadura (I),” *A Tarde*, Sep. 25, 2003, 4; see also: Patrícia França, “Prefeitos pedem 50% de redução no diesel,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 25, 2003, 4.

99 Nikas Rocha, “Estudantes invadem a Câmara,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 26, 2003, 3.

100 R\$ 1,50 – *Media*, dir. Lisboa and Lisboa.

101 As to the debate on possible leaderships and the spontaneity of the movement with first-hand accounts, see: Ribeiro, “Treze anos e dois reais e trinta centavos depois”; still in this regard, Augusto Vasconcelos, who exercised leadership positions at the National Students’ Union (UNE) and the Socialist Youth Union (UJS), defended the non-spontaneity of the movement: “The struggle, which happened here in Salvador, had undoubtedly nothing of the spontaneous. How is such a thing possible, a spontaneous manifestation, if the National Students’ Union ordered the printing of 50 thousand pamphlets in partnership with the Brazilian High School Students’ Union [UBES] in order to call the demonstrations” (Duarte Ragepo do Carmo, *O troco*, appendix, 3).

102 Raphael Labussiere cited in Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 31.

103 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 3.

104 Cláudio Bandeira [?], “Baiano passa o dobro do tempo do gaúcho no ponto de ônibus,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 5, 2003, 9.

105 R\$ 1,50 – *Media*, dir. Lisboa and Lisboa; see also: *Revolta do Buzu*, dir. Pronzato, Lisboa, and Ribeiro; the real-dollar conversion rate used was 2.9665, as published by the Central Bank of Brazil for Aug. 29, 2003, “venda” category (Banco Central do Brasil, “Cotações e boletins”).

106 R\$ 1,50 – *Media*, dir. Lisboa and Lisboa.

107 Nascimento, “Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 35.

108 Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho, *A Revolta do Buzu – Salvador (BA)*, 15.

109 Adilson Fonsêca, “Reajuste da tarifa é terror para assalariado,” *A Tarde*, Aug. 7, 2003, 4.

110 Fonsêca, “Reajuste da tarifa é terror para assalariado,” 4.

111 Fonsêca, “Reajuste da tarifa é terror para assalariado,” 4.

112 Flávio Oliveira, “Usuário considera o serviço ruim,” *A Tarde*, Aug. 2, 2003, 3; see also: José Araújo Góes Neto, “Ônibus é coisa rara no Conjunto Vale dos Lagos,” *A Tarde*, Aug. 10, 2003, 6; as to the duration of the Bus Revolt, Nascimento says that it “happened during the last two weeks of August and the first three weeks of September, 2003” (“Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu,” 34).

113 “Manifestação é considerada justa pela maioria em Salvador,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 7, 2003, 3.

114 Hebert Valois, “Orgulho,” *heblog*, Sep. 3, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20031027131343/http://www.heblog.blogger.com.br:80/> cited in Thiago Fernandes, “e-manifestação,” *A Tarde*, Sep. 11, 2003, 6.

115 Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho, *A Revolta do Buzu – Salvador (BA)*, 18; Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho’s study was published in 2007 when they claimed Salvador

had an 82% black population; still in 2017 the number remained stable at 82.7% according to IBGE (Itana Alencar, “Com a capital mais negra do país, Bahia ganha aplicativo gratuito para registro de denúncias contra racismo e intolerância religiosa,” *GI*, Nov. 19, 2018, <https://gi.globo.com/ba/bahia/noticia/2018/11/19/com-a-capital-mais-negra-do-pais-bahia-ganha-aplicativo-gratuito-para-registro-de-denuncias-contra-racismo-e-intolerancia-religiosa.ghtml>).

116 Castro, “Eles querem congelar em R\$ 1,30,” 3.

117 Lumpen, “Palavras sinceras não são agradáveis de se ouvir,” track 10 on *Pelo bem da humanidade diga não à paz* (Salvador: Estopim Records, 2005), CD (booklet lyrics changed according to the recording).

118 Armando Almeida, “A ‘reafricanização’ recente da Bahia enquanto uma ação anti-racista,” *IV ENECULT – Encontro de Estudos Multidisciplinares em Cultura*, Salvador, UFBA, May 28–30, 2008, <http://www.cult.ufba.br/ene cult2008/14421.pdf>.

119 “Maior população negra do país,” Fundação Seade, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <http://produtos.seade.gov.br/produtos/idr/download/populacao.pdf>.

120 Evandro Piza, in conversations with the author, June 2018. For Piza’s historical perspective on criminology and racism within the Brazilian context, see: Evandro Charles Piza Duarte, *Criminologia & racismo: introdução à criminologia brasileira* (Curitiba: Juruá, 2003); this reading of the protests by Piza is similar to the considerations given by Mariana S. Mendes when analyzing the 2013 protests in Brazil: “Scenes of violence against the White middle class in the main business and shopping streets of São Paulo had an impact that the all-too-common scenes of violence in the peripheries do not have. Outrage was visible in both social and traditional media. . . . Even though the Brazilian military police has all too often shown itself to be violent and dysfunctional, it is used to applying such methods in territorial areas that are unworthy of media attention, most notably in the favelas. While police violence has been the focus of specific groups of activists for a long time, it rarely captured the attention of the masses. The difference, this time, was in space and targets. The heart of the city of São Paulo could not be more different from the areas where the military police is most used to acting. Avenida Paulista, where most of the protests took place, is the epicenter of business and consumerism for affluent classes. Passers-by who were affected by police violence, as well as most of the protesters, were White middle class, as opposed to the poor Black people that are usually the target of the police. In an interview with a journalist who has covered the protests on the ground from day one, this difference is highlighted: ‘People got outraged because, this time, violence was exercised against the educated White middle class, which is not used to being repressed by the police [. .]. Plus, it took place in a region that is not usually a scene of violence. [. .] The whole of the White middle class felt victimized by the actions of the police, having a fundamental role in the next demonstrations’” (Mendes, “Brazil’s popular awakening,” 60 and 69); according to the studies of Leo Vinicius, after the end of the military dictatorship, the first time the middle class faced significant police brutality related to political protests was during the A20 protests in 2001 in São Paulo (Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 245); Vinicius also asserts that the 2004 Turnstile Revolt in Florianópolis was composed “largely . . . [of] White, middle-class teenagers,” which in that specific case helped in reducing police brutality even though it occurred in some stances (Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 55).

121 MPL-SSA, “Manual de formação de comitês locais”; Already in 2003, the newspaper *CMI na Rua* from São Paulo wrote: “The protests in Salvador show the viability of mobilizing the society, without the intervention of leaders or political parties, against

the excessive hikes of fares" ("Estudantes param Salvador," *CMI na Rua*, no. 4, São Paulo, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130906035434/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2003/09/263818.pdf>).

122 Adilson Fonsêca et al., "Questão de ordem: e o povão, como fica?" *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 1.

123 Nascimento, "Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu," 37.

124 Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho, *A Revolta do Buzu – Salvador (BA)*, 21.

125 Santos, "Estudando no asfalto."

126 "Nada menos que o mundo," *A Tarde*, Sep. 5, 2003, 8.

127 Adilson Fonsêca et al., "Valeu, mas só para estudante," *A Tarde*, Sep. 4, 2003, 3.

128 Augusto Vasconcelos cited in Duarte Ragepo do Carmo, *O troco*, appendix, 13.

129 Nascimento, "Teses sobre a Revolta do Buzu," 31.

130 Duarte Ragepo do Carmo, *O troco*, 33.

131 Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 294; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 53–55.

132 See, for example: Ludd [Vinicius], "A Guerra da Tarifa"; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 34.

133 Scarelli, "As origens do Movimento Passe Livre," 6.

134 Ortellado, "Pablo Ortellado."

135 MPL-SSA, "Manual de formação de comitês locais"; as explained in the text "Notes on the Autonomous Struggle of Salvador," published under a pseudonym at *Passa Palavra* (which strongly covers the Free Fare Movement), to be non-partisan does not mean the impossibility to construct alliances with political parties. The article is an assessment on the title's subject matter from late 1990s to 2013. The authors recognize the conflicts they endured because of the practices of some political parties. However, they are still open to dialog: "Each one of us lived tough moments in which party militants were companions (sometimes the only ones) that we could count on. Our 'non-partisan stance' is a stance hardened by the prior suffering at the hands of political parties, but we know that we cannot place everybody who belongs to a political party in the same trash bag and throw it away" (Quatro coroas, "Notas sobre a luta autônoma em Salvador").

136 MPL-Curitiba, "Manual de Formação de Núcleos Autônomos," 2006, https://tribunadorock.files.wordpress.com/2007/02/mpl_manual_de_formacao_2006.pdf.

137 MPL-SSA, "Manual de formação de comitês locais."

138 Matheus Felipe de Castro, "Uma gota de passe livre: entrevista com Matheus Felipe de Castro, do Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis em 2005," Interview conducted by Philipe Ribeiro, *CMI – Coletivo Fortaleza*, 2005, <https://youtu.be/TkpyHo3mmlk>.

139 Castro, "Uma gota de passe livre"; see also: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 61.

140 MPL-SSA, "Manual de formação de comitês locais."

141 Camarada D., "Plenária avança a construção do Movimento pelo Passe-Livre," *O Independente: Jornal do CMI Floripa*, no. 3, Feb. 2005, 3, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170702000906/http://tarifazero.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/pdfplenaria.pdf>.

142 *Impasse*, dir. Juliana Kroger and Fernando Evangelista (Florianópolis: Doc Dois Filmes, 2010), video, https://youtu.be/_IIoDtYPG6U; see also: Bruno Isidoro Pereira, "A construção de uma ideia," *Passa Palavra*, May 25, 2010, <https://passapalavra.info/2010/05/24351/>; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 58–61.

143 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 7.

144 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 9.

145 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 10.

146 Camarada D., “Tarifa de ônibus aumenta novamente,” *O Independente: Jornal do CMI Floripa*, no. 2, Jan. 2005, 4–5, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130916195313/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2005/01/303902.pdf>; Marcelo Pomar, “Relato sobre a Plenária Nacional pelo Passe-Livre – MP,” *CMI Brasil*, Feb. 4, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150508200857/http://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2005/02/306365.shtml>; [Camarada] D., “Sobre a repressão política ao Movimento Passe Livre no Distrito Federal,” *CMI-Brasil*, Aug. 23, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140901170718/midia independente.org/pt/blue/2005/08/327459.shtml>; Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 295–296; Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 37.

147 Movimento pelo Passe-Livre, “Texto para a coleta de assinaturas para Projeto de Lei Federal pelo Passe-Livre,” Feb. 1, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427134327/http://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2005/02/306113.shtml> (my emphasis).

148 “Transportation to school is one of the conditions to access public and free education. . . . Education is not restricted to school attendance: one needs to go to libraries, attend theaters, cinemas, event spaces, stadiums, sports courts, and other places that one can only get to by bus, train, or any other transportation means different from the legs of the students” (MPL-SSA, “Manual de formação de comitês locais”); see also: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 50.

149 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 14 (my emphasis).

150 Rafael Popini, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

151 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 3–4 (in the document, the acronym “ENCARTI” appears twice with different meanings: “Encontro dos Artistas Independentes” and “Encontro da Arte Independente”).

152 André Breton, Diego Rivera, and Leon Trotsky [attributed], “Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art,” trans. Dwight Macdonald, in *What is surrealism?* André Breton (New York: Pathfinder, 2012), 275–282.

153 Breton, Rivera, and Trotsky [attributed], “Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art,” 277 and 278.

154 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 10–11; Rodrigues da Silva, “O movimento passe livre e a luta por transporte coletivo no Brasil,” 15 and 18–19; Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 291.

155 “Juventude Revolução,” Juventude Revolução, archived Apr. 19, 2000, <https://web.archive.org/web/20000419203427/http://www.revolucao.org/>; this archived version of the website had a hit counter that mentioned the quantity of “people [that had] already visited this page since January, 1999” (the actual number of people was not preserved).

156 Rodrigues da Silva, “O movimento passe livre e a luta por transporte coletivo no Brasil,” 15 and 18; “Esquerda Marxista (Marxist Left) Decides to Leave the PT and Fight for a Left Front,” *In Defence of Marxism*, May 5, 2015, <https://www.marxist.com/esquerda-marxista-decides-to-leave-pt.htm>; Serge Goulart, “Executiva Nacional do PSOL aprova entrada da Esquerda Marxista,” Esquerda Marxista, Feb. 12, 2017, <http://www.marxismo.org.br/content/executiva-nacional-do-psol-aprova-entrada-da-esquerda-marxista/>; Carlos I. S. Azambuja, “Esquerda Marxista do PT,” *CMI Brasil*, Apr. 21, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140901095342/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2008/04/417820.shtml>.

157 Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 74; Alexandre Brandão, “Estrategista na linha de frente,” *Zero*, Jun. 28, 2005, 15, <http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/zerojornais/zero2005jun.pdf>; Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 29; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 51-52 and 81.

158 Rodrigues da Silva, “O movimento passe livre e a luta por transporte coletivo no Brasil,” 15; Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 75; Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 293; Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 29; Brandão, “Estrategista na linha de frente,” 15.

159 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 12.

160 Ilha de Nós’ support for the Campaign for the Free Fare is claimed at: CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 4. According to their music video *Sol Nascer*, the band Ilha de Nós was established in August 1997 in order to “represent the cultural identity of the Island of Santa Catarina” (*Sol Nascer*, performed by Ilha de Nós [Florianópolis: c.2007], video, https://youtu.be/z11HKLam_pw). It seems that the band’s membership varied throughout the years, but in 2005 they cited the following as the then-current members: Bárbara Vasques, Bruno Dekker, Dênis Fernandes, Henrique Soares, and Pablo Giordani Serrano (Luiz Christiano, “Adeus à garagem: Ilha de Nós estréia em disco com ‘Cinco Sentidos,’” *A Notícia*, Jul. 26, 2005, <https://archive.is/d2UwK>). “[T]he band was also a winner of the Circuito Universitário da Canção, Cultura e Arte or CUCA [College Series of Music, Culture, and Art],” a 2004 festival organized in Florianópolis by the Central Students’ Union (Diretório Central dos Estudantes, or DCE) at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. This fact shows once more the connections of the band with the higher-education student environment of the city, as well as the complexity of those relations, as they apparently did not receive the prize for winning and the band consequently sued that university students’ union (Christiano, “Adeus à garagem”). The band also recorded an EP, *Cinco Sentidos (Five Senses)*, with the songs: “Fundo do mar” (“Seabed”), “Segredos” (“Secrets”), “Som do Sobrado” (Sounds of a Two-Story House”), and “Sol Nascer” (“Sunrise”) (Christiano, “Adeus à garagem”) (Ilha de Nós, *Cinco Sentidos*, recorded c.2005, audio streaming, <https://youtu.be/3UDa6-rWW-M> [this link for the playlist includes a fifth song, “Cala Boca,” which can be translated into English as “Shut Up,” and which does not appear in the 2005 article by Christiano, “Adeus à garagem,” as part of the EP]). According to the now defunct band’s webpage, the single “Cala Boca” was made public on Jun. 2006 (Ilha de Nós, “Ilha de Nós,” archived Feb. 28, 2007, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070228163801/http://www.ilhadenos.com.br>). Transcriptions of some of the group’s lyrics can be found here: “Ilha de Nós,” Vagalume, accessed Jan. 16, 2022, <https://www.vagalume.com.br/ilha-de-nos/>; Pipodélica, *Simetria radial*, recorded 2002, released 2003, rereleased 2018, mp3, <https://progshinerecords.bandcamp.com/album/simetria-radial>; “Pipodélica ‘Simetria Radial’ (Baratos Afins, 2003);” Disco Furado, Mar. 2, 2012, <http://discofurado.blogspot.com/2012/03/pipodelica-simetria-radial-baratos.html>. About the sound style of Pipodélica, see also: Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 61. The years of activity of the Underground Rock Bar comes from: “Fim de festa,” Microfonia, 2004, video, <https://youtu.be/pW-YTVS55go>; about the history of the names of the Underground Rock Bar, Ornelas Rosa writes: “Trópicos, also known as Bar do Franck, was an important space to both the interaction among many individuals and the very organization and execution of shows. During a considerable part of the bar’s existence,

there was another one very close to it called Bucaneiros, which existed from 1998 to 2000 and shared a significant part of the public with Trópicos. While Bucaneiros was more devoted to shows (that went beyond rock music) owing to its considerably larger area compared to Trópicos, Bar do Franck had a public specifically devoted to rock—the shows, however, were rare owing to the limited space available. With the closing of Bucaneiros, Franck, the owner of Trópicos, decides to rent it in order to make possible the execution of shows specifically dedicated to underground rock. Thus, the Underground Rock Bar emerges, which ended up becoming a ‘myth’ in the national scene of underground rock owing to its countless shows with bands from several countries such as Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia, the United States, Germany, England, and Spain” (Ornelas Rosa, *Rock Underground*, 105 [the name “Franck” was corrected for spelling]); see also: *Aquela Mistura*, dir. Lucas de Barros and Fabio Bianchini (Florianópolis: Era Uma Vez No Leste; Vinil Filmes, 2019), video, <https://youtu.be/WEZj4rR2kdY>; and: Steinmacher, *Sons de uma ilha subterrânea*, 37.

161 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 4–5.

162 MPL-SC, “Resoluções do 1º Encontro Catarinense do Movimento Passe Livre” (my emphasis).

163 Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 48.

164 Leo Vinicius, replying to questions by the author, December 2021.

165 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 12–13; Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 292; Vinicius also wrote that “Colégio de Aplicação . . . [was] the main base of the Campaign for the Free Fare in [Florianópolis]” (Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 11); according to Gama, additional high-schools with important involvement in activities related to the Campaign for the Free Fare and later the Free Fare Movement include Autonomia (Autonomy), Instituto Estadual de Educação (State Institute of Education), Simão José Hess, and Escola Jovem (Youth School) (Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 140, 141, and 153); CEFET (Federal Center of Technological Education) was a school with a significant role in the 2005 protests against the fare hike in Florianópolis (Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 22); regarding the fusion between the National Order Rebuilding Party (PRONA) and the Liberal Party (PL), see: Gabriela Guerreiro, “PRONA e PL se unem e criam o Partido da República,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Oct. 26, 2006, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/brasil/ult96u85879.shtml>; the citation and paraphrase concerning the aspects of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB) come from: Celso Roma, “A institucionalização do PSDB entre 1988 e 1999,” *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, vol. 17, no. 49 (June 2002), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69092002000200006>; about the importance of the Independent Revolution Youth (JRI) for the Campaign for the Free Fare (CPL), see also: Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa” or Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 26–28.

166 For an illustration of Matheus’ engagement with the Free Fare Movement, one can see that his PhD dissertation (he was a doctoral student from 2004 through 2009) is dedicated to the organization and some of its militants, along with the Communist Party of Brazil, or PCdoB (Matheus Felipe de Castro, *Capitalista coletivo ideal: o estado e o projeto político de desenvolvimento nacional na Constituição de 1988* [PhD diss., UFSC, 2009], <http://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/103222>); “Matheus Felipe de Castro,” Currículo Lattes, accessed Jan. 16, 2022, <http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4735840E7>; “Matheus Felipe de Castro assume vaga na Câmara Municipal de Florianópolis,” *Portal da Ilha*, Nov. 21,

2013, <https://portaldailha.com.br/noticias/lernoticia.php?id=20329>; for an example of Matheus' activity as a Lawyer for the Campaign for the Free Fare and the Free Fare Movement, see: Camarada D., "Movimento faz campanha pelo arquivamento dos processos contra militante," *O Independente: Jornal do CMI Floripa*, no. 3, Feb. 2005, 3, <http://tarifazero.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/pdfplenaria.pdf>; despite being a lawyer, Matheus de Castro was extremely critical of the judiciary system in Brazil—he denounced a court decision that suspended, in November of 2005, the Law 1137/2004, the "Lei do Passe Livre" ("Free Fare Law"), which was approved by the City Council as a result of the pressure from the student campaign, and, even more, he attacked the Tribunal de Justiça de Santa Catarina (Santa Catarina State Supreme Court) and the Associação dos Magistrados Catarinenses (Santa Catarina State Association of Judges), as those institutions released letters of condemnation (*notas de repúdio*) regarding the criticism from other Free Fare Movement's members of the same court decision: "Society needs to undertake a crusade against authoritarianism of a power [the judiciary] that historically went unharmed by popular manifestations, placing itself above society, in the defense of a class autocracy, which established itself in this country since colonial times. . . . The Judiciary and the Prosecutor's Office [Ministério Pùblico] are also part of the government, although they want to negate this reality and possess a deep disdain for the voice that comes from the streets. They are not going to be immune from popular disapproval. They are not going to be immune from the struggle we know: the political struggle, the struggle in the streets" (Matheus Felipe de Castro, "O passe livre, a democracia e a justiça de classe," *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 25, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140901230023/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2005/11/339347.shtml>); as to the suspension of the Lei do Passe Livre (Free Fare Law), see: Camarada D., "Justiça catarinense suspende lei do passe livre," *O Independente: Jornal do CMI Floripa*, no. 5, Nov. 2005, p. 7, <http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2005/12/339995.pdf>; André Moura Ferro, "O passe livre é constitucional! Sobre a decisão feita pelo plenário pleno do Tribunal de Justiça que concede liminar contra a Lei do Passe Livre," *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 17, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150504163524/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2005/11/338068.shtml>; for the 2018 numbers for political party affiliations in Brazil, see: Gabriel Zanlorenssi, Rodolfo Almeida, and Gabriel Maia, "Os filiados aos partidos brasileiros: gênero, idade e distribuição," *Nexo*, Apr. 2, 2018, <https://www.nexojornal.com.br/grafico/2018/04/02/Os-filiados-aos-partidos-brasileiros-gênero-idade-e-distribuição>.

167 CPL, "A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis," 30 (emphasis in original); see also: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 298–299.

168 The authorship of the lyrics comes from: Republicaos, replying to questions by the author, January 2020 (the contact between the author and the band was mediated by Wander Pacheco).

169 Republicaos, "Voto nulo," recorded c.2004, audio streaming, <https://youtu.be/uxpYGvmywgE>; the transcription of the lyrics comes mostly from an e-mail exchange between the author and Republicaos, January 2020.

170 Yuri Gama, "Republicaos na Casa Amarela: Tadeu (Festa do MPL – 1º de dezembro)," Flickr, Dec. 26, 2006 [actually Dec. 1, 2007], <https://www.flickr.com/photos/desvio/2080194444/in/album-72057594097253050/>.

171 Gama, "Republicaos na Casa Amarela"; Republicaos, replying to questions by the author, January 2020.

172 Republicaos, replying to questions by the author, January 2020.

173 “Erramos,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Apr. 12, 1999, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/opiniao/fz12049912.htm> (my emphasis); Adriana Moura, “Militante deixa panfleto e divulga idéias pela Internet,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Apr. 7, 1999, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/informat/fro7049924.htm>.

174 Ortellado, “Pablo Ortellado”; Pablo Ortellado, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

175 Ortellado, “Pablo Ortellado.”

176 Ortellado, “Pablo Ortellado.”

177 Gama, in conversation with the author, May–July 2019.

178 It seems that the political division in Florianópolis created a spat between the remaining Revolution Youth (JR) and the new Independent Revolution Youth (JRI). The quarrel spread to at least one more city. From Joinville, Bruno Isidoro Pereira narrates how a militant was banished from the Youth Revolution (still linked to the Workers’ Party) after suggesting that they should support some minor activities related to the struggle for the free fare for students, which became increasingly identified with the Independent Revolution Youth: “Another member of the party . . . touched by the companion’s idea also suffered the same ‘punishment’” (Isidoro Pereira, “A construção de uma ideia”); see also: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 292–293.

179 Bispo and Frighetto, “Movimento Passe Livre nasceu em Florianópolis e tomou o Brasil.”

180 *Jornal Sem Terra*, “A luta por transporte público a favor do povo.”

181 *Jornal Sem Terra*, “A luta por transporte público a favor do povo”; the audio interview is available here: Gisele Barbieri, “Movimento Passe Livre exige que transporte atenda às demandas da populaç[ão],” *Brasil de Fato*, Oct. 31, 2006, <https://cooperar.org.br/audio/movimento-passe-livre-exige-que-transporte-atenda-as-demandas-da-populacao>.

182 Camarada D., “Revolta da Catraca.”

183 See: Chapter 3.

184 Gentil Ramos, “Queremos Qualidade,” Interview conducted by Hermes Lorenzon, *Diário Catarinense*, Apr. 7, 2003, reproduced at Ornelas Rosa, *Rock Underground*, 161–162.

185 O’Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk*, 165; punk rock singer Wander Wildner, who used to perform at the Underground Rock Bar, says in this regard: “This [type of closure of punk rock venues] happened in several cities” (*Aquela Mistura*, dir. Barros and Bianchini); for an example in Peru, see: Greene, *Punk and Revolution*, 120; for another example in São Paulo, see: Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 146.

186 *Botinada: a origem do punk no Brasil*, dir. Gastão Moreira (São Paulo: ST2, 2006), video, <https://youtu.be/trIAxKc003k>; Luciano Marsiglia, “Funk: Garotos do sub[ú]rbio,” *Superinteressante*, Oct. 31, 2016, <https://super.abril.com.br/cultura/funk-garotos-do-suburbio/>; as Fábio Sampaio recalls the situation: “They did two or three petitions for me to go away, so I had to leave because I could not stand it anymore” (*Botinada*, dir. Gastão Moreira).

187 Camarada L. “Chuva de e-mails contra ‘limpeza social’ em Floripa,” *CMI Brasil*, Apr. 8, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150503160740/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2003/04/252078.shtml>; see also: Camarada L., “Matéria do DC sobre o caso Underground Bar de Floripa,” *CMI Brasil*, Apr. 8, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150504040813/http://midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2003/04/252056.shtml>.

188 Camarada D., “Rock Contra o Estado – Concerto pró Underground Bar,” *CMI Brasil*, Apr. 9, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150503194655/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2003/04/252121.shtml>.

189 Camarada D., “Rock Contra o Estado – Concerto pró Underground Bar.”

190 Camarada D., “Política de limpeza social, atinge bar em Floripa,” *CMI Brasil*, Apr. 8, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150504023119/http://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2003/04/252043.shtml>.

191 Beatriz Tironi Sanson, *Uma década de rock independente em Florianópolis*, 49.

192 Other bands that played in the Rock against the State Festival were: O Monstro da Garagem, Única Chance, Absurd, Gizmo21, Ambervisions, and Snake Bite. Coletivo Folha dedicated their program at Rádio de Tróia to host the owner of the Underground Rock Bar for an interview (Camarada D., “Rock Contra o Estado – Concerto pró Underground Bar”).

193 Microfonia, “Fim de festa”; see also: Ornelas Rosa, *Rock Underground*, 149.

194 Frankito cited in Ornelas Rosa, *Rock Underground*, 145 (the name “Franck” was corrected for spelling).

195 “Primeiro post,” *Desterro Underground*, May 1, 2009, <https://desterrounderground.wordpress.com/2009/05/01/primeiro-post/>.

196 Ornelas Rosa, *Rock Underground*, 97; rock shows in general were also considered as a form of “ritual” by scholars (Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 111).

197 Gabriel Peixer, in conversation with the author, December 2021.

198 Ruben Almeida, “Cena independente de Santa Catarina mostra bandas promissoras,” *Cifra Club News*, Sep. 20, 2002, <https://www.cifraclubnews.com.br/noticias/224-cena-independente-de-santa-catarina-mostra-bandas-promissoras.html> (the name “Franck” was corrected for spelling); the admiration of members of the Florianópolis underground rock scene for Franck can also be seen at: Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 89.

199 FAKE, “Integrantes,” archived between May 23, 2001 and Aug. 3, 2001, <https://web.archive.org/web/20010803015848/http://www.fake.hpg.com.br/int.htm>, <https://web.archive.org/web/20010808055455/http://www.fake.hpg.com.br/bart.htm>, <https://web.archive.org/web/20010523045005/http://www.fake.hpg.com.br/darci.htm>, <https://web.archive.org/web/20010808062111/http://www.fake.hpg.com.br/victor.htm>, and <https://web.archive.org/web/20010808062144/http://www.fake.hpg.com.br/zeh.htm>.

200 FAKE, “Letras,” archived Aug. 3, 2001, <https://web.archive.org/web/20010803020218/http://www.fake.hpg.com.br/let.htm> (lyrics changed for spelling).

201 Rafael Medeiros Popini Vaz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.

202 *Junky Doll*, dir. Marco Martins, perform. The Dolls (Florianópolis: Vinil Filmes, c.2004), video, <https://youtu.be/PfMHx7shmqQ>; *Junky Doll (new version) [without visual effects]*, dir. Marco Martins, perform. The Dolls (Florianópolis: Vinil Filmes, c.2004), video, <https://youtu.be/BvhUJxaBWQY>.

203 *Junky Doll*, dir. Martins; *Junky Doll (new version) [without visual effects]*, dir. Martins; Marco Martins, through his company Vinil Filmes, has had a long and fertile creative connection with the rock scene of Florianópolis, and a retrospective of their music videos took place at the Psicodália Festival in the city of Rio Negrinho, Santa Catarina (Feb. 2018): <http://www.psicodalia.com.br/atracao/videoclipes-mostra-vinil-filmes/>; for The Dolls’ band formation, see: Juliete Lunkes, “Sucesso na cena alternativa da Ilha no começo dos anos 2000, banda The Dolls se reúne para show,” *Notícias do Dia*, Jan. 2, 2015, <https://ndonline.com.br/florianopolis/plural/sucesso-na-cena-alternativa-da-ilha-no-comeco-dos-anos-2000-banda-the-dolls-se-reune-para-show>. In this newspaper article, Lunkes declares that the band released two EPs, *Take One* (2003), containing six songs, and *Rock Yerself!* (2004), containing three. However, in the

EPs published online by the band drummer Xando Passold, *Take One* has only three songs, totaling six when both EPs are considered together. Written and performed in English, they are: “Doin’ Time,” “Choice,” “Death Bed Dream,” “Rock Yerself!,” “Why Luv’ Strong?,” “Junky Doll” (The Dolls, *Take One*, recorded 2003, audio streaming, <https://soundcloud.com/xando-passold/sets/the-dolls-2003-take-one>; The Dolls, *Rock Yerself!*, recorded 2004, audio streaming, <https://soundcloud.com/xando-passold/sets/the-dolls-2004-rock-yerself>); Xando Passold, responding electronically to a question of mine, said that *Rock Yerself!* was a rerecording of three songs from *Take One*, focusing on achieving a “better quality,” and that is the reason why the online version of the first album omitted the older versions of the compositions; for The Dolls’ musical influences, see: “The Dolls se apresenta nesta quinta-feira em Florianópolis,” *Diário Catarinense*, May 28, 2015, <https://www.nsctotal.com.br/noticias/the-dolls-se-apresenta-nesta-quinta-feira-em-florianopolis>; in 2018, it was registered that they were performing with a new drummer, Rodrigo Alves (The Dolls and Tabris Lichfett, “The Dolls 30/05/18 no Taly,” Facebook, Jun. 1, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/theoverdolls/posts/1754077071297811>).

204 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 4–5.

205 Lucas [de] Oliveira, “Festival Passe Livre 2003,” *Sarcástico*, n.d., <http://www.alquimidia.org/sarcastico/index.php?mod=pagina&id=2356>; “Associação que registrou site do Passe Livre tem convênio com o governo,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Jun. 12, 2013, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2013/06/1294136-associacao-que-criou-site-do-passe-livre-tem-convenio-com-o-governo.shtml>.

206 Flora Lorena Müller, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

207 William S. Burroughs, *Junky* (New York: Grove Press, 2012).

208 “The Dolls volta à ativa,” *A Noticia*, Jul. 26, 2005, <https://archive.is/d2UwK>; see also: Tironi Sanson, *Uma década de rock independente em Florianópolis*, 40–41.

209 This information comes from the author’s personal recollection of the events.

210 *Grande Dicionário Houaiss da Língua Portuguesa*, 2017, s.v. “Boneca,” <https://houaiss.uol.com.br>.

211 The Dolls, “Junky Doll,” in *Rock Yerself!* recorded 2004, digital audio streaming, <https://soundcloud.com/xando-passold/sets/the-dolls-2004-rock-yerself>.

212 Rafael Medeiros Popini Vaz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.

213 Rafael Medeiros Popini Vaz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.

214 Rafael Medeiros Popini Vaz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.

215 Furial, “Insurreição,” track 1 on *Restrito ao Caos* (Florianópolis: Furial & Hique d’Ávila, 2019), audio streaming, <https://open.spotify.com/album/1DmicyRiLL7R7yPpJCqui6>; *Insurreição*, dir. Rafael Popini, perform. Furial (Florianópolis: Fury, 2019), video, <https://youtu.be/wjUYPyHPBAG>.

216 Gama, “Relato do meio hardcore/punk – Scene Report Florianópolis” (the name of the band Euthanasia was standardized).

217 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018 (name of the last band corrected by the author); “Shows: 05/04 – Sexta,” Guia Floripa, archived Apr. 8, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20020408001617/http://guiafloripa.com.br:80/lazer/shows.php3>.

218 S288, “Apodrecidos pelo sistema,” track 6 on *Consumo cego*, recorded c.2000, mp3.

219 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018. I electronically sent Uriel Oliveira questions about the band. He contacted other former members (Fabrício “Zum” Cardoso, Marcos Hoffmann, and Rodrigo Brasil) so that they could answer them collectively. I followed up with Uriel to clarify some passages.

220 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018.

221 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018.

222 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018.

223 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018.

224 Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 52; according to Carlos André dos Santos, the Turnstile Revolts were what motivated the people from Rádio de Tróia to get closer to the Free Fare Movement, as before that there was some distance due to the political affiliations of some of the Free Fare Movement’s members (Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 171).

225 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018.

226 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018; “Histórico do CA,” Colégio de Aplicação (UFSC), accessed Jan. 16, 2022, <http://www.ca.ufsc.br/historico-do-ca/>; Rafael Medeiros Popini Vaz, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

227 *Botinada*, dir. Gastão Moreira.

228 Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 53.

229 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018.

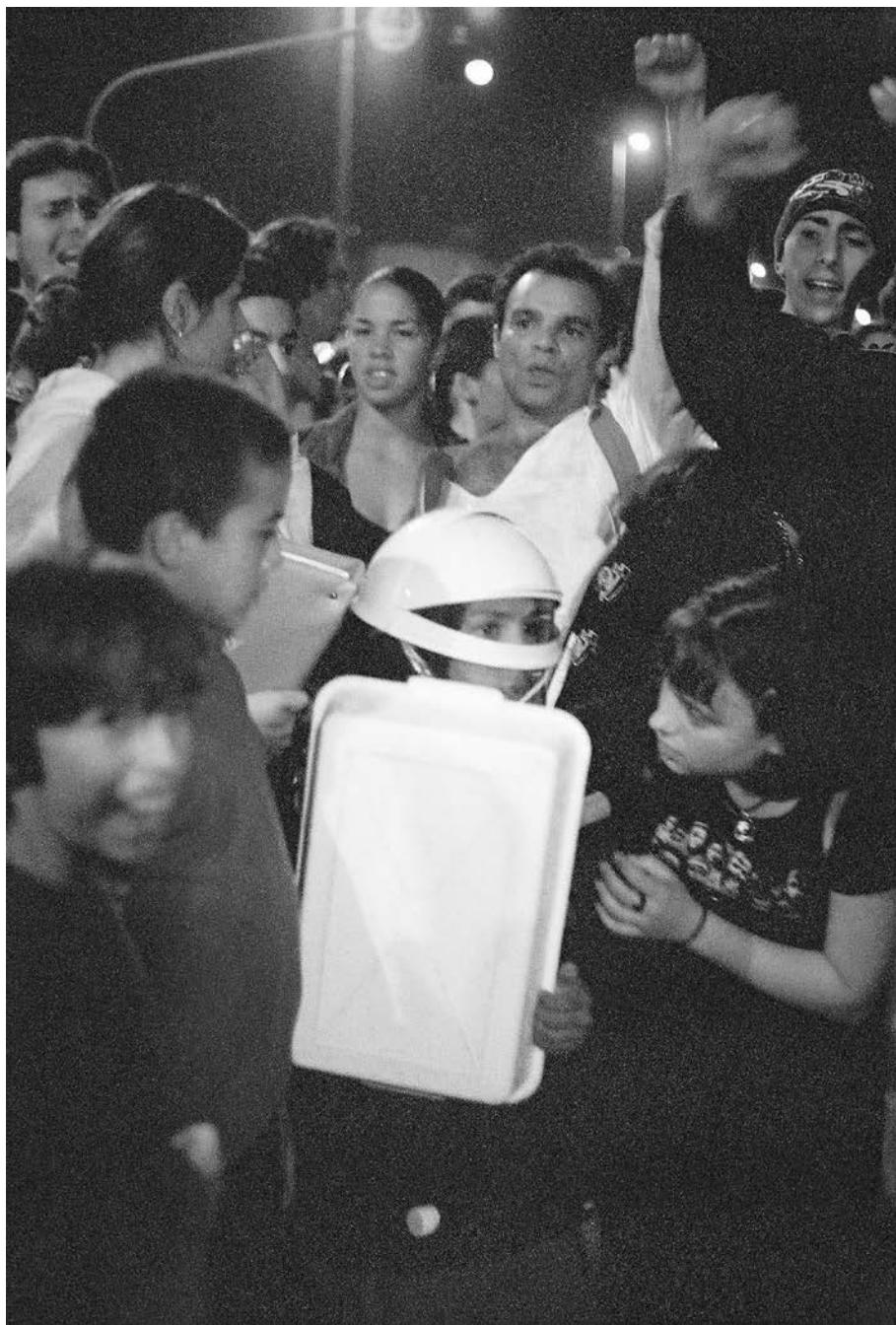


Fig. 3.1: Jorge L. S. Minella, *Prepared for the Clash*, Florianópolis, June 30, 2004.

CHAPTER THREE

Island of Wars

Florianópolis Once Again

Tear-gas grenade, stun grenade, rubber bullets, dogs, the riot police, commotion, and I with my yellow bike. . . . A teenage girl is passed out on the ground, probably an effect from the gas. A bro offers me vinegar. No, vinegar is for salads... Finally, something exciting in the city and the last thing I want is the vinegar taking away the smell of class war.

Leo Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa* [The Fare War], Florianópolis, 2004.¹

Declaration of War

In 2003, a new system of public transportation was introduced in Florianópolis. The wide-ranging revamp of the bus routes and of the network and location of bus terminals ended up being catastrophic. Instead of making the lives of users easier and more comfortable, it mostly increased the number of buses one had to take to complete a previously simpler journey. Its name, the Integrated System of Transportation, meant in reality that, while many routes actually became shorter, riders now needed to transfer more often between buses to cover the same distance as previously.² It resulted in higher fares as well as additional wait time at stops or terminals.³ A militant registered the reaction of the public on the first day of the new reality for Florianópolis' inhabitants: "Thus is inaugurated the Integrated System of Transportation on August 3, 2003, in a mix of disinformation and revolt. On that Sunday, still a day of experimentation and on which the fares were not enforced, I recall that the mayor went to the central terminal. She was slapped by an infuriated woman."⁴ If the general population became enraged over the state of the transportation system in the city, one can discern the level of reaction among people who were more politically engaged. Some punks, for instance, were

ready for radicalization. Their confrontational stance would be a proven lure for media attention. One of the most striking occurrences during the events of those years was when a punk viciously spat directly in the incredulous face of a local politician in front of TV cameras:

In the month of August of [2003], there were several demonstrations to demand the free fare for students, especially after the establishment of the Integrated System of Transportation, over which the population revolted owing to its disorganization. In the largest one, 400 students invaded Florianópolis' City Council building, interrupting the plenary meeting. On this occasion, a punk spat in the face of City Council member João Batista Flores, which generated enormous repercussion.⁵



Between 2004 and 2005, Florianópolis would become a bubbling cauldron. In April and May 2004, important demonstrations organized by the Campaign for the Free Fare had already taken place (figs 3.2 and 3.3). The Campaign for the Free Fare of Florianópolis was the seed that would help to form the national Free Fare Movement in early 2005 in Brazil. That is why the protests in Florianópolis in 2004 were led by the Campaign for the Free Fare, whereas 2005 demonstrations are said to have been largely the fruit of the Free Fare Movement (as the former organization was incorporated into the latter). Independently from the actual name of the nascent social movement, the second quarter of 2004 would be lived at full speed. As explained by Yuri Gama: "Predicting what would happen in the case of a hike, at the end of April, the Campaign for the Free Fare

initiated an offensive [*jornadas de luta*.]”⁶ What is most remarkable is that the students had already become highly conscious of their power. Not showing any form of shyness owing to their age, they threatened public officials, threats that would later be materialized in a full-scale revolt: “A new bus fare hike in the city is predicted. If, besides that, the law [for the student free fare] is once again not approved, the movement will enter into a moment of high radicalization, and they promise to win the free fare through enormous mobilization.”⁷

Figs 3.2 and 3.3: Campaign for the Free Fare, *Demonstration for the Free Fare on April 29 in Florianópolis, 2004*. Copyleft CMI Brasil – Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil (see note for details).⁸



The warning issued by the students to the local politicians undoubtedly had a basis in reality. In no way were they bluffing. At the end of June and the beginning of July 2004, and at the end of May until the second half of June 2005, the city of Florianópolis was shaken by the two large revolts against increases in the bus fare. The events became known as the Turnstile Revolts, because buses in Brazil have a metal turnstile installed inside the vehicles so that the companies can enforce the payment of the fare by the riders. A drawing of a person kicking and breaking a turnstile would become the symbol of the Free Fare Movement. The eyes of the Brazilian Left, especially in 2005, were upon Florianópolis.⁹ Images of the revolts there were televised locally and even nationally.¹⁰ Two shock waves in sequence effectively crossed the city, as students and police sometimes transformed

the streets into battlegrounds. Both sides fought for control over tactical locations, as in a mind game or in combat that was evenly matched from the beginning.

The city had never experienced a comparable uprising lasting so many days, at least since the end of the Brazilian military dictatorship.¹¹ Since Florianópolis is a city-island, those who control the bridges linking the island to the continent essentially control the city. According to Leo Vinicius: “The bridges that connect the island to the continent are as much or even more strategic to Florianópolis than the two main highways [*marginais*] crossing São Paulo.”¹² In the Turnstile Revolt of 2004, being physically present on the bridges, successfully stopping traffic, would be the strongest symbolic gesture of what could be considered a powerful protest. The students eagerly embraced the challenge, and on several occasions they decided to march toward the bridges. Not only that, the revolted multitude succeeded in conquering this important landmark. The Independent Media Center (CMI) reported on July 2 of that year:

At 5 p.m., the number of demonstrators grew and, with about 4,000 people, the demonstrators decided to close the bridges. First, they marched through the Colombo Salles Bridge, which connects the island to the continent. In the end, they marched back through the Pedro Ivo Campos Bridge, which connects the continent to the island. There was a tense moment when motorcycle riders almost ran over the demonstrators. The police had signaled to release the traffic, but soon after, they stopped the riders. . . The Pedro Ivo Bridge became the location of a big parade.¹³

According to the Free Fare Movement’s militant Marcelo Pomar, the Turnstile Revolts represented “great popular uprising[s] of [a clear] youth, student leadership.”¹⁴ The actions of protesters were *sui generis*, in other words, unique or peculiar. The Turnstile Revolts would be classified as an experiment in “direct democracy,” as the resolutions about the course of the demonstrations were materialized by the individuals on the asphalt.¹⁵ Nothing similar was occurring elsewhere in the country at that time. Many Brazilians turned their eyes to the repercussions and the eventual results of such a phenomenon in Florianópolis, which had the potential to change history, as was the case with other popular uprisings around the world. Would this medium-sized city-island contribute to the modern utopian moments of a continental country like Brazil? What new demands, practices, and social actors stood behind the massive demonstrations?

A politicized journalist wrote in 2004 that the Turnstile Revolt of that year could remind someone of the events that had occurred in the 1990s in Mexico.¹⁶ There, in the south of the country, the neozapatistas emerged in the state of Chiapas and, despite their multiplicity of positions, composed a broad agenda that included: a statement that the leaders should be, in fact, subordinated to the masses; the intention to make the state compromise regarding the movement’s demands without waiting for the total or final

revolution; and the disposition for a democratic self-organization of the indigenous people.¹⁷ This was indeed repeated in Florianópolis, in the south of Brazil, with the indigenous component of neozapatismo being substituted by the spirit of the youth. In both places, the respective governments were taken by surprise:

It was like that in 1994, in Mexico. All of a sudden, the indigenous people from Chiapas put on masks, refused personalism, and became a one-and-only body, in struggle. It's enough, they said. . . . Now it is like that in Florianópolis, the capital of Santa Catarina. Children, adolescents, students from all grades, college students, union leaders, the general population from all areas, refuse personalism and form a one-and-only body, in struggle. It's enough, they say. They want the city administration to reduce the public transportation fare.¹⁸

This influence of Mexican neozapatismo in Brazil stretched until at least the national foundation of the Free Fare Movement in 2005. The assembly that created the organization, which was arranged by the militants of Florianópolis' Campaign for the Free Fare, took place during the Fifth World Social Forum in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre at a venue called Caracol Intergaláctica (Intergalactic Snail): “The encounters promoted by Zapatistas [in the 1990s in México were] called ‘intergalactic’ and ‘for humanity and against neoliberalism,’ [and] they allowed the coordination of grassroots social movements, which gave rise to a permanent network of mobilization and communication called Peoples’ Global Action”—as Pablo Ortellado writes.¹⁹ Following in their own way some of the lessons learned from the admired Mexicans, the protesters in revolt in Florianópolis won the confrontation against their government. Victorious, they witnessed the cancellation of the increases in the bus fare, twice. It is important to highlight that the main uprisings on that city-island had precisely such a primary intention: the cancellation of the hike and not the immediate establishment of free public transportation.

Differently from what had happened in Salvador in 2003, where the students did not manage to force the mayor to step back regarding his intention to increase transportation prices, in Florianópolis the city administration or the judiciary conceded both in 2004 and in 2005. The 2004 Turnstile Revolt would culminate in a music show and protest scheduled for July 8, 2004—if the judiciary had not revoked the fare increase, the militants expected the presence of between 10,000 and 50,000 people.²⁰ It would be a demonstration capable of causing the collapse of the municipal government.²¹ The judge who revoked the fare hike, Jurandi Borges Pinheiro, summarized in his decision the events that shook Florianópolis: “[It is] public knowledge that a true social chaos is installed in the city emanating from the just revolt of the users regarding the exorbitant prices of the public transportation fare. . . . There have already been nine days of true ‘combat’ in the streets of Florianópolis,

where students, community leaders, and the general population unleashed the revolt resulting from the hike in the fare.”²² A chaotic situation would be invoked one more time, a year later, to contextualize the decision (now by the mayor) to backpedal on an increase in the bus fare. After the end of the 2005 Turnstile Revolt, the local college newspaper *Zero* printed the headline: “The mayor surrenders, with his image damaged: after three weeks of urban chaos, inability, and political inertia, the hike is suspended.”²³

The positive results for the Free Fare Movement were nonetheless greater than the triumphs over the value of the fare. As noted by a witness to the events, the 2005 protests (and the same could be said for the demonstrations in the previous year) did not consist of “a revolt for the free fare, [they were] a revolt for the reduction of the fare, but the reference was the Free Fare Movement [and earlier the Campaign for the Free Fare] owing to all [its] history.”²⁴ Apart from returning the cost to ride buses to its previous level, the militants would, in fact, achieve a more profound political success. Years of struggle had begun to bear very consistent fruits. The Turnstile Revolts would dramatically propel the movement for free public transportation in that city, at least for youths.

After the 2004 Turnstile Revolt, the members of the municipal legislative body finally decided (some would say they were effectively forced) to put to a vote the law granting the free fare for students in Florianópolis. With such a panorama, the militants acted right away, since no favorable outcome was guaranteed. They knew that there was a long road before they could permanently achieve their goals. In preparation for the day a formal vote would take place inside the City Council building, a document by the Campaign for the Free Fare sought to establish the general frame of mind of Florianópolis’ young people. It declared succinctly: “The moral question: to have a war-like perspective.”²⁵ In other words, to achieve their objective, which was the approval of the Student Free Fare Law by the City Council members, the militants needed to engage in what they saw as something close to a military operation. It would require high discipline and significant planning. However, this approach did not represent something totally new. Beginning at least in March 2004, the Campaign for the Free Fare had been circulating a poster with military connotations in which the organizers called for people to join their endeavor (Fig. 3.4). Such a poster, with a man pointing to the viewers and calling them to become part of the struggle, was based on a Soviet piece initially intended as a recruiting tool for the Red Army in the second decade of the twentieth century. Clearly, it was not among the militants’ concerns to hide their revolutionary background: revolutionary in the sense of ultimate self-sacrifice for a purpose. The message also had a component of radicalism: they would use any means necessary. Finally, the necessity of collective action for a future based on collective principles was equally present.



Fig. 3.4: Campaign for the Free Fare, *Free Fare Cultural Shock Troop*, Florianópolis, 2004. Copyleft CMI Brasil – Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil (see note for details).²⁶ It asks: “Have you already presented yourself as a volunteer?” The poster is an adaptation of a 1920 work by Dmitrii Moor (Dmitrii Orlov).²⁷ The Free Fare Cultural Shock Troop was defined as the “vanguard of the movement.”²⁸



Fig. 3.5: Jorge L. S. Minella, *Occupation of the City Council Building*, Florianópolis, c. September 15, 2004.

The war that the militants had in mind did not include the employment of machine guns and armed raids; they had other methods and weapons in mind. On September 15, 2004, people engaged with the Campaign for the Free Fare chained themselves inside the City Council building and, after making sure they had control over the place, they unchained themselves and occupied the site for about 48 hours (Fig. 3.5).²⁹ A female militant declared at the time: “We are tying ourselves to the structure of the City Council [building] in order to guarantee that we will be leaving this place only with the approval of the bill. If [the City Council members] do not appear, we ourselves will approve it.”³⁰ The students remained in the building until they were guaranteed an actual date for the vote, which they managed to set for October 26. The occupation became perhaps one of the most striking moves in the entire student struggle for free public transportation.³¹ With the daring gesture of overtaking the legislative house of a state capital providing national visibility for the movement, *Folha de São Paulo*, a nationwide newspaper, reported: “At around 9 p.m., a group of City Council members negotiated with the leaders the vacating of the building. The ending of the protest was [being] conditioned to a commitment that the free fare [law] would be put to a vote by the end of the year.”³² This was somewhat of a historical repetition. In 1999, the population of Florianópolis had protested in front of the City Council building in an attempt to halt a vote on the Integrated System of Transportation, forcing the municipal representatives to use bizarre, alternative ways to reach inside

the edifice.³³ Moreover, the tradition of seizing the physical structure of a city council for protests related to public transportation had been employed the prior year during Salvador's Bus Revolt.³⁴

After the occupation of the City Council building that started with the militants of Florianópolis chaining themselves to its structure until securing control of the place, they continued on with their activities.³⁵ They established campsites; prepared a photography exhibition in the city's main square; delivered public lectures; organized a concert featuring hardcore, grunge, and hip-hop bands (Fig. 3.6); and scheduled a sort of music festival to take place on the day of the vote of the Student Free Fare Law—that festival would be followed by a protest that bore the title of “Approval or Revolution.”³⁶ For this last festival, the militants planned to host in Florianópolis’ downtown “performances of *maracatu*, theater, graffiti, dance, and seven bands.”³⁷ On October 18, the City Council members gave the impression that they would not fulfill their promise of voting on the law, as the bill was being reviewed by a legislative commission that sought a halt to the process. The City Council members were then advised by the militants that their gesture “was a declaration of war. . . . On October 26, there will be a revolution in the city.”³⁸ The attempt by the legislators to halt the entire process backfired, and the draft moved on.³⁹

Fig. 3.6: Campaign for the Free Fare, *Show for the Free Fare*, Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), Florianópolis, October 15, 2004. Bands that performed: Euthanasia, Lixo Orgânico, Squadrão da Rima, and Lamaçau (Mire).⁴⁰ This show was an “anticipated party” preceding October 26, when the City Council members were supposed to vote on the Lei do Passe Livre (Student Free Fare Law)—it also involved the participation of the breakdance group B-Boys. The event was part of the Campaign for the Free Fare mobilization strategy to place pressure on local politicians. It belonged to a series of acts including the establishment of a campsite in downtown Florianópolis the day before the vote, other cultural events, and workshops.⁴¹ There is the possibility that the poster design was done by, or with the help of, Rafael Popini.⁴²



On October 26, 2004, the day on which the definitive vote on the Student Free Fare Law was scheduled, the protesters launched a siege of the City Council building. Totally focused on reaching their objective, the militants placed significant pressure on the municipal representatives: their tactics included some flying eggs directed at the politicians, but those lawmakers succeeded in aborting their activities before the second and final approval of the law—the rules stipulated that the law should be voted on twice (in other words, in two different rounds), and it was voted on and approved only once: “The City Council members without knowing what to do . . . fled through the City Council building’s back exit, escorted by the Military Police. The Free Fare Law for students was definitively approved [only] on November 4 (in a precarious version, different from the proposal [conceived] by the movement) and subsequently [it was] revoked by the judiciary.”⁴³

It is true that the law did not satisfy all the intentions of the movement. It is also true that, in the future, this same law would be the target of a powerful lawsuit that prevented its implementation. In October 2005, the Santa Catarina Public Prosecutor’s Office (MPSC) challenged the legislation in the courts. In addition to two alleged technical irregularities, the prosecutors claimed that the “free fare . . . [was] unconstitutional because it considered all students as equal, in other words, without restricting the benefit to [only] those considered deprived.”⁴⁴ According to their twisted argument, the law could not be universal, as students coming from families in healthy economic situations should still be obliged to pay to ride the buses. In the prosecutors’ opinion, this would be the most constitutional reasoning. Despite all this, the prior year’s approval of the Student Free Fare Law by the city’s legislative body was the most distinctive achievement of the Free Fare Movement until then, and it should be commemorated accordingly. The militants triumphed through radicalization. Between the 2004 Turnstile Revolt in June and July and the passage of the law in November, they threatened to carry out “a revolution in the city.”⁴⁵ As a result of this series of protests and mobilizations in Florianópolis, October 26 was established by the movement as the National Day of the Struggle for the Free Fare.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, they could not wait too long for celebrations. Less than two months after the 2004 approval of the Student Free Fare Law by the City Council members, the militants of Florianópolis scheduled another show for December 12 at Praça da Lagoa, in which they intended to rejoice over their victory with the presence of the ensembles Squadrão da Rima, Euthanasia, Perro Loco, Pipodélica, Tijuquera, and Lamaçau.⁴⁷

In 2006, another series of protests against one more bus fare increase took place in Florianópolis.⁴⁸ For the third consecutive year, the militants for free public transportation decided to sow discontentment among the youth, with the objective of occupying the streets. Those demonstrations are occasionally referred to in historical documents written by the militants themselves as a Turnstile Revolt as well.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the events

did not reach the levels of power enjoyed by the earlier protests. When compared to what took place in 2004 and 2005, they did not amount to a full-fledged revolt, or at least they were not as victorious as the previous protesters were, and the fare increase was maintained. Independently from the political results, music and protests once again were walking hand in hand in Florianópolis. In June 2006, Gama, Leozão, and possibly others planned and staged a show in support of the Free Fare Movement with the presence of São Paulo's band *Ordinaria Hit*.⁵⁰ Flávio Bá, the bassist of *Ordinaria Hit*, defined the ensemble as “an autonomous band, very close to anarchist ideas.”⁵¹ Nothing could have been more appropriate as a soundtrack to stimulate the Free Fare Movement’s desires of creating an environment based on direct democracy in the streets of the city. Two Florianópolis bands, *Holograma de Suzi* (Suzi’s Hologram) and *Colorir* (Coloring), were also present (Fig. 3.7). Amazingly and against all odds, Gama and others were able to stage this rock show to fund the protests and the related political activities in the middle of a considerable incidence of popular unrest in Florianópolis. An achievement for sure, as many of the music shows had no great monetary return and were carried on more for the visibility of the movement and the pleasure of its militants.⁵² This time, however, the money collected at the 2006 music event co-organized by Gama went directly to finance the ongoing demonstrations:

I end up organizing a show during the demonstrations, whose . . . revenue was then directly destin[ed] to the Free Fare Movement. But we don’t ask for an entrance fee, because it is actually an open show. It is a show at the Federal University of Santa Catarina [UFSC] . . . Then, the movement establishes a bar [at the show] and the money from the sales of beverages is directly returned to the demonstrations: pamphlets, newspaper, those things, and, mainly, not only to the movement’s committee of demonstrations, but also to the Independent Media Center [CMI]. The Independent Media Center starts to run daily the ‘CMI na Rua’ [Independent Media Center on the Streets]. Every day of the demonstrations, there is a ‘CMI na Rua,’ which is a wheatpaste poster. . . . I was one of the main organizers [of the show held during the demonstrations], but obviously I counted on the help of several people as it always happened (borrowed PA systems, the bar was organized by the folks from the movement, etc.).⁵³

The poster for that show displays a drawing that reflects the evolution of the Free Fare Movement from its initial steps as the Campaign for the Free Fare in Florianópolis in the early 2000s to its later consolidation as a national movement. Displayed on the back of one of the vehicles moving through the busy streets of the city, viewers can see the war cry “zero fare!” that sets the general tone of the event with the punk-influenced band *Ordinaria Hit*. However, there is an important difference between the demand for the free fare and the one for the zero fare as stated in the poster.



Fig. 3.7: Free Fare Movement, *Party Against the Fare Hike: Not a Single Penny More!*, Florianópolis, 2006. Copyleft CMI Brasil – Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil (see note for details).⁵⁴

As for their new demand, the universal zero fare for the entire population instead of a simple fight for a free fare for students, the militant Marcelo Pomar affirmed in 2006: “Public transportation must be removed from the hands of the private sector. . . . Transportation must be managed by the public sector, municipalized, thought with collective interests in mind, and based on another type of funding. That is to say, it is necessary to conceive of a new form of taxation that places the burden on the sectors that truly benefit from the daily functioning of public transportation and not on the riders. The sectors that benefit from it are the big industrialists, the big retail companies, the owners of important means of production and circulation of commodities. . . . There is no doubt it is possible to conceive of a transportation system that is public, free, and of good quality, exactly as education and healthcare should be. It is possible to do it! Zero fare: one of the strategic concepts of our model of transportation.”⁵⁵

On one hand, the free fare (*passe livre*) is linked more to the idea that students should not pay to ride the buses; it is a demand theoretically benefitting in a more direct way a sector of society. I say “theoretically” because, in accordance with the movement’s proposal, the free fare for students, when implemented, would be a relief for all users of public transportation. The price would decline as the city administrators would begin to subsidize the share related to the students. In the previous model then in effect in Florianópolis, the students already paid half fare, but the cost of the other half was actually included in the price of the full fare charged to most other users. Therefore, this practice of making the rest of the users effectively pay for the students’ half fare would cease to exist. Moreover, the families of the students would spend less on public transportation, an improvement that could not be easily discarded. As with the 2003 Bus Revolt of Salvador, in which the young protesters claimed to be in the streets because it was too expensive for their parents to pay the higher bus fare, the relationship between students and their legal guardians was quite strong in Florianópolis as well. During the 2004 Turnstile Revolt, a group of mothers even organized themselves to help the students, logically and politically.⁵⁶ In sum, the free fare was directed primarily at students even if it helped other sectors of society.

On the other hand, the demand for the zero fare (*tarifa zero*) meant that the public transportation system should be free for all, independent of age and class, as a universal right and service, such as education or (as happens in some countries) healthcare, which are financed by taxes instead of direct payments at the time of use. What went on inside the movement must be highlighted: departing from a sectorial perspective, the students began to see themselves more and more as the vanguard in issues related to urban mobility and even urbanism itself. They matured as militants. As a generation of complete city natives—many of them already temporally quite far from the rural emigration undertaken by their ancestors—they could understand the importance of the urban environment for their own development as human beings. This generation would not accept exclusion from it.

Singing the Revolt

In the first days of 2008, a US punk band from the city of Portland (Oregon) was scheduled to perform in Florianópolis. The ensemble, which answered to the name of Defect Defect, was the main attraction of a night of shows that also counted on the presences of São Paulo band Sweet Suburbia and the locals Fornicators, Sengaya, and Black Tainhas. The group promoting the event, Coletivo Sala 13, had in its ranks Yuri Gama, a name already linked with the previous protests related to the transportation system in Florianópolis. That night of shows was not only restricted to the sound of punk music, however; it also incorporated a political discussion in the interval, free of the deafening noise of electric guitars and the clash of dancing bodies. For the calm after the storm, the topic selected by the organizers for debate was nothing but “the hike in the bus fare” (Fig. 3.8).

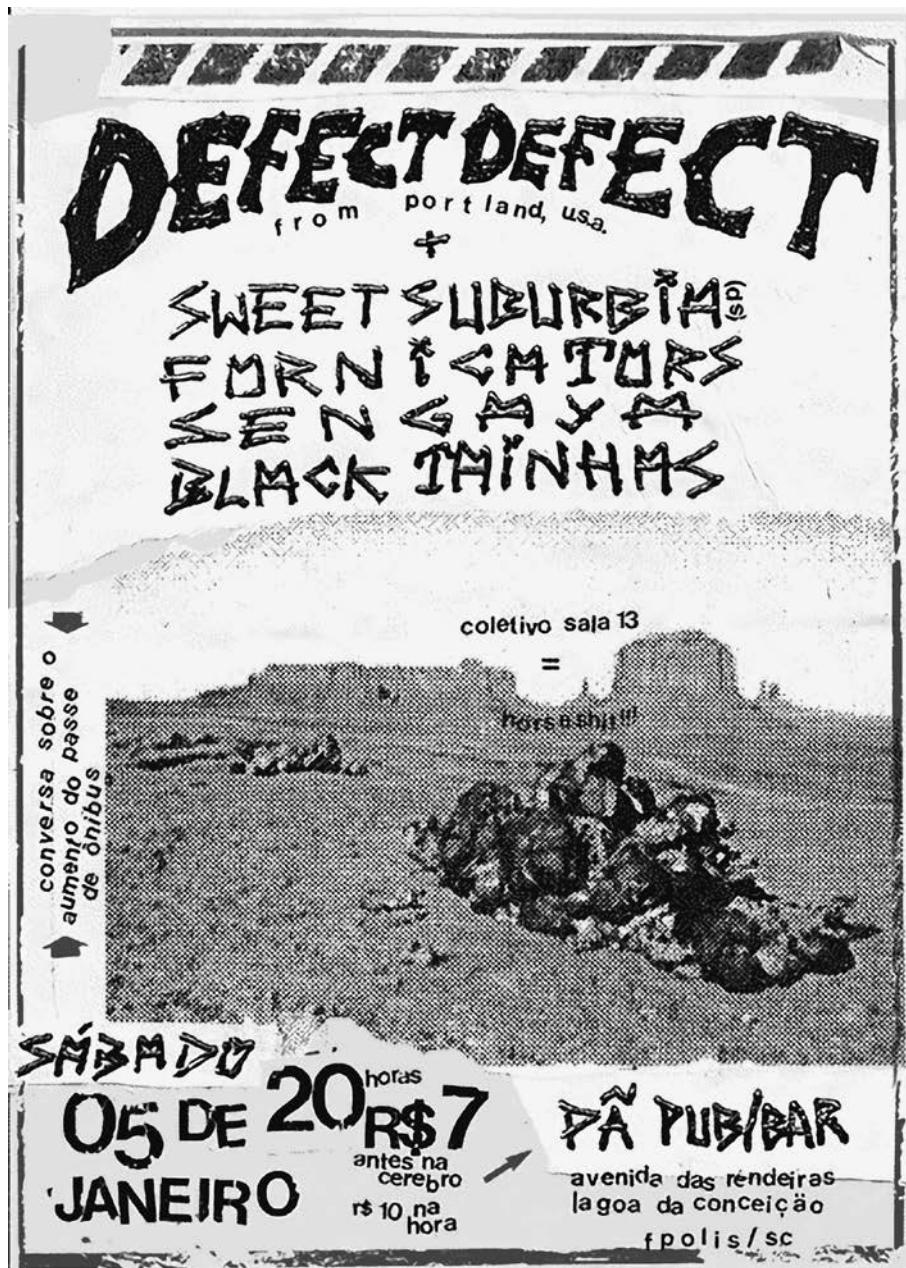


Fig. 3.8: Bira Bird, *Gig Poster for Coletivo Sala 13 (Defect Defect)*, Florianópolis, 2008. CC BY-NC 4.0.⁵⁷

Among the local bands that played on that night in January 2008, Black Tainhas holds a special significance regarding the struggle for free public transportation in the city. Their members had been active participants until that time in many of the protests against bus fare increases and for the free student rate in Florianópolis. Thiago Umberto Pereira, Black Tainhas' bass player, known by the nickname "Garganta," once stated when discussing the historical occurrences surrounding such an emerging social, urban movement: "In 2004, I and [Thiago Panchiniak] . . . studied at Colégio de Aplicação. I remember we were very involved with these things of the high school students' movement, which had something to do with the Free Fare [Campaign]. . . . We managed to get 200 students out of school in the middle of the day for them to go to demonstrations. We were from the high school students' union."⁵⁸ With this in mind, one can argue that the 2008 event of punk and politics, music and discussion about the state of public transportation, which showcased Portland's Defect Defect and Florianópolis' Black Tainhas, represented a high point in a series of profound engagements that had begun several years before.

The year 2004, in which future members of the punk band Black Tainhas decided to organize hundreds of high school students to attend protests against the bus fare hike, encompasses precisely the period of Florianópolis' First Turnstile Revolt. The band would be formally established only in 2005.⁵⁹ However, Black Tainhas' members Garganta and Panchiniak—who were already friends and schoolmates, and were already sharing ideals for a different type of city—were supplying the demonstrations with the necessary human subjects. Garganta and Panchiniak became important actors in the events of Florianópolis. A revolt cannot be created with only a few participants; it requires thousands. Each of the high schools involved in the political turmoil taking over the urban space contributed a share of those bodies. From the buildings of Colégio de Aplicação, many marched through the streets, chanting war cries. Owing to their young age, those subjects carried the energy and fearlessness of youth and propensity to radicalism indispensable to the success of such political endeavors. Garganta and Panchiniak served as liaisons between a large group of students and the initial planners of the revolt, this last position exercised in great part by those militants more fully committed to the day-to-day organization of the Free Fare Movement. In spite of working as a collaborator to gather students to perform as protesters during the revolt against the hike, Garganta did not consider himself as part of the inner circle of the Free Fare Movement or as among those seen by the multitude as exercising guidance:

I went to several meetings, [but] I didn't feel like a member of the Free Fare Movement. I went to all demonstrations, we went, we coordinated ourselves, we always met and went together; in fact, the members of Black Tainhas were always together when we went to the demonstrations, but I didn't feel like a person who was building the movement of the Free

Fare. . . . Perhaps only with respect to Colégio de Aplicação [in] which we made the folks go to the demonstrations. . . . We participated, but we didn't make decisions.⁶⁰

Such a view of belonging to the broader movement for the free fare as a protester and as a local school organizer, but not necessarily holding a deeper position in the preparation of the next steps of the general revolt, is corroborated by other members of the band. André Ramos, also known as Tequila and the drummer of Black Tainhas, follows the same line of argument when remembering this period in his life: “We clearly were on the same side [as the Free Fare Movement]; we supported the idea of the free fare and so on, we protested for the same cause there, in that moment, which was [the issue] of the fare hike. But, in reality, I also didn't necessarily feel I was a member of the Free Fare Movement.”⁶¹ To this point, Panchiniak, the vocalist of Black Tainhas, added during the same conversation about their past: “I and Garganta, we were always [in the Turnstile Revolts]. . . . We always participated. We jumped over some turnstiles at the Federal University of Santa Catarina [UFSC]. We helped to open the door of the buses so that people could enter from behind [without paying].”⁶²

This engagement in the protests by the members of Black Tainhas seemed so prominent and genuine that more organic militants of the Free Fare Movement, such as Camarada D. (the alias being used most likely by Daniel Guimarães), considered Black Tainhas to be a band formed by people who were integral to the movement, even though the band members were more cautious about considering themselves in that way.⁶³ Most likely, there were several possible layers of participation and commitment. Even if the young musicians of Black Tainhas did not belong to the inner circle—or better, to the militant hard core of the Free Fare Movement in Florianópolis—they could still be seen as at least highly active participants when the political panorama was considered as a whole. Accordingly, in 2009, Garganta from Black Tainhas was invited as a guest speaker to the six-day conference “Five Years After the Turnstile Revolt: Building the Memory of the Resistance” to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the start of the popular student uprisings in Florianópolis.⁶⁴

The preservation of the memory of the Turnstile Revolts was actively pursued by the Free Fare Movement and by some of the people who became associated with those rebellious times. They made use of several means of expression to achieve the goal of inscribing the events that took place in Florianópolis into Brazilian history. One can find publications of pamphlets and articles on websites, first-hand accounts in books and subsequent analyses in scholarly works, photography exhibitions and video screenings produced by militants and observers, and even the creation of a virtual memorial in the form of a blog. This memorial blog had the particular intention of featuring “the rescue and construction of this part of the very recent history of Florianópolis . . . [to] remember and build the resistance.”⁶⁵ Garganta, and the band Black Tainhas, for that matter, also contributed to this task of

conserving memories of the peculiar social phenomenon that took place in the south of the country. Black Tainhas' importance is not limited to their participation in the actual protests: the band also reconstructed the events of one of the Turnstile Revolts as a punk rock song. Titled “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado” (“Integrated [Trashy] Bus”), the piece is written *a posteriori* as a musical account of the 2005 protests that brought the city to a standstill. As scholar Tatyana de Alencar Jacques posits, the song is eminently an anthropophagic discourse in the sense that it uses a non-native music genre to portray the realities of Brazil.⁶⁶ “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado” is a vanguardist, teenage, and punk memory. The lyrics are transcribed as follows:

<i>Meia hora no ponto que a prefeita inventou Minha cabeça tá quente e o latão ainda não chegou</i>	<i>Half an hour at the bus stop that the mayor invented My head is hot and the bus hasn't arrived yet</i>
<i>Não quero pegar esse ônibus lotado Só vou pegar se eles for com ar condicionado</i>	<i>I don't wanna take this crowded bus I'm only gonna take them if they've air conditioning</i>
<i>[refrão]</i>	<i>[chorus]</i>
<i>A tarifa tá alta não me sinto sossegado Eu não quero sustentar o Sistema Integrado.</i>	<i>The fare is high I don't feel calm I don't wanna support the Integrated System of Transportation.</i>
<i>[refrão]</i>	<i>[chorus]</i>
<i>[...]</i>	<i>[...]</i>
<i>No inverno é terrível com a janela fechada O latão tá lotado e a passagem é uma facada</i>	<i>In the winter it's terrible with the window closed The bus is crowded and the fare is a rip-off</i>
<i>Quero comprar um fusca, um Chevette ou um furgão Bicicleta, qualquer coisa pra não andar mais de latão!</i>	<i>I wanna buy a Volkswagen Beetle, a Chevrolet Chevette or a cargo van A bicycle, anything to ride the bus no more!</i>
<i>[refrão]</i>	<i>[chorus]</i>
<i>[...]</i>	<i>[...]</i>
<i>[refrão]</i>	<i>[chorus]</i>
<i>[...]</i>	<i>[...]</i>

*30 de julho, a tarifa aumentou,
nós não nos esquecemos e o povo se revoltou
A tarifa abaixou... aumentou de novo
Vereador anda de carro, então:
Pau no cu do povo!*

*July 30, the fare was increased,
we didn't forget it and the people revolted
The fare was lowered... and increased again
City Council members drive cars, then:
Screw the people's ass!⁶⁷*

The date of July 30 that appears towards the end of the song, the day of a fare hike that would propel the inhabitants of Florianópolis to take to the streets, mostly likely refers to May 29, 2005: this was the date when the higher cost required for a ride on the city's buses went into effect, which caused the last and most violent Turnstile Revolt.⁶⁸ The band, when thinking about the recent past and musically recounting the story of the uprising, must have got confused somehow.⁶⁹ “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado” was not composed precisely in the heat of the events, as confirmed by Tequilla: “This is something cool about this song, as it was not exactly contemporaneous to all that crazy stuff—receiving [stun] grenades and jumping over the turnstiles and so on.”⁷⁰ Regardless of the accuracy of the date of the fare hike, the important fact here is Black Tainhas’ intention to describe the disastrous state of the system of public transportation, the widespread rage it inspired, and the popular revolt that followed the decision of the municipal government to increase the price once more.

The lyrics of Black Tainhas’ “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado” have a particular perspective on utopia that could be linked with a comment by Boris Groys about the Russian nineteenth-century philosopher Nikolai Fedorov, which I will transpose here to a different context: “In Fedorov’s eyes, art is not about taste and aesthetics, for these have more to do with design and fashion. For Fedorov, the main technique in art is the technique concerned with preserving and reinvigorating the past.”⁷¹ In this sense, by looking back at the events of the Turnstile Revolts, the Brazilian band attempts to claim the power of those events to ignite a continuous sentiment of rebellion in the listener. They do not seem to propose a certain, better future with free and satisfactory public transportation (it is even acknowledged that their struggle for a just price to use the buses through the city has its ups and downs), but they do want to reveal and register the anger that once existed and that most likely continues to exist, so that people remain in a state of alertness. The punk musicians are basically declaring: the multitude in revolt did it once, they revoked the hike; and they can do it again, as persons are still under attack by politicians; one should not let anger die. This anger, which existed during the 2005 Turnstile Revolt in Florianópolis, can be exemplified by departing from Vinicius’s comments when he recounted that the Free Fare Movement created its own moves of “low-intensity war” against the hike: militants would tie themselves to the internal structure of the building that hosted the city’s Department of Transportation.⁷² When there, they published a manifesto in which one could identify part of the repressed anger that would later be showcased in Black Tainhas’ song:

The cry of “Enough!” by the population that takes the streets is no longer just a cry against the hike of the fare, but a cry against the political arrests, the criminalization of and the repression against social movements only comparable to those that occurred in times of dictatorship. It is also a cry against the commodification of the right to come and go. A cry in favor of the municipalization of the transportation system: the only way the right to come and go will become a reality for everyone and not the privilege of a few—and not a rhetorical vulgate coming out of the mouths of those holding the billy clubs. . . . Here, chained at the Department of Transportation and Terminals, we continue crying the same “Enough!” as they do in the streets.⁷³

As José Miguel Wisnik states: “The lyrics of songs have an effect that sometimes is very powerful when sung. . . . Then, if you write that on a page, it is nothing.”⁷⁴ The punk lyrics of Black Tainhas’ “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado” follow a model of gaining full force when sung in a crying, distorted voice over a line of bass that is repeated throughout the piece together with the insistent riff of the guitar. Thus, the continuity of the fury demonstrated by the protesters during the historical Turnstile Revolts is accomplished in the present by the mixture of the cyclic patterns of the bass and electric guitars (that create a punk march, the pulse through which a new demonstration must advance) with the harsh voice of the lead singer (who is shouting at the end of the song to raise the multitude). He utters with all his power: “Screw the people’s ass!”—it is a shout in reference to the way the population is treated by the members of Florianópolis’ City Council and should help in the revitalization of anger.

The song was so successful in its intention of registering the events of the 2005 Turnstile Revolt in musical form and also as an incentive to the staging of new protests that it continued to have repercussions in the city. “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado” could be read as an attempt to create a punk anthem for the struggle against increases in the bus fare and for free public transportation in general. Celebratory, but at the same time conscious of the ongoing mission in the hands of young people, it partly consummated that project (perhaps unconsciously on the part of the songwriters) of being a counter-cultural gem inside Florianópolis’ political and underground music circles. For instance, the song was covered more recently (in 2012) by the band A Hard Day’s Songs, which came into existence in 2008 under the guidance of multi-instrumentalist Rafael Fant and which was still active until 2019: Black Tainhas was a musical act they had once “admired.”⁷⁵

In the lyrics of “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado,” the punk rock band Black Tainhas uses the technique of wordplay. The very title of the song is unusually challenging to translate and would only reveal its partial substance when versed as something on the order of “Integrated (Trashy) Bus.” “Latão” is a slang term for “bus” that was widely used in Florianópolis even before the Turnstile Revolts. It is highly ironic and, of course, extremely revealing,

because it literally means “brass,” a cheaper-than-gold yellow alloy made from copper and zinc that can be used decoratively in substitution of the precious metal.⁷⁶ However, “*latão*” can also signify a “big can,” as in “*latão de lixo*,” a “(big) trash can.” The revelation of that slang is that the bad conditions of the city buses, considered as garbage by the population, were understood and mocked collectively and in an open fashion. Such conditions contributed to a crescendo of indignation on the part of the residents. More and more, they realized how their time and well-being had been badly treated by the private companies that received the licenses to operate the public transportation system.

Another wordplay in “*Latão (de Lixo) Integrado*” follows the variations in temperature. As a kind of thermostat—in literal terms but also in metaphorical ones—it makes references both to the atmospheric conditions of the city and to the political climate of the urban space in the epoch of the Turnstile Revolts. First, the mind of the poetic voice appears on fire: “My head is hot / and the bus hasn’t arrived yet.” This fragment can be interpreted as a reflection of the warm weather of Florianópolis in the summer, but it could also be a reference to anger and frustration over the fact that the bus—which is, by the way, presumably late and most likely will arrive filled to more than its capacity—lacks (functional) air-conditioning. It does not provide modern comfort to its users; it does not cool people’s bodies off *and* cool their minds down: “I don’t wanna take / this crowded bus / I’m only gonna take them / if they’ve air conditioning.” At that time, some buses, in fact, did not have air-conditioning, and the vehicles that actually carried a cooling system sometimes found it out of order or later had it completely deactivated by the companies as a cost-saving measure:

Insular, Transol, and Estrela are bus companies that, during the structural change of transportation in Florianópolis in 2003, with the unveiling of the Integrated System (STI), put on the streets buses without windows, or better, with single-piece glass. Thus, the companies inserted air-conditioning units inside the vehicles, seeking good results from public opinion owing to the comfort resulting from the novelty. . . . The lack of windows created some uncomfortable situations. Occasionally, the air-conditioning units end[ed] up stopping working. . . . [Moreover], the bus companies started to change their minds. In the beginning of November [2006], they even decided to turn off the air-conditioners, which now they consider[ed] too expensive. The issue is that with a quarter-gallon of fuel, a bus runs for half a mile if it has the device turned on. Without the air-conditioner, the number increases to 1.2 or 1.5 miles.⁷⁷

The non-existence or non-functioning of a cooling system on the bus, as stated by the lyrics of Black Tainhas, further supports the impression that the price of the fare, like the thermometer’s degrees, is “high.” This fact, once again, contributes to the raising of the metaphorical heat inside the consciousness of the composers, fueling their anger and increasing their

revolt: “The fare is high / I don’t feel calm / I don’t wanna support / the Integrated System of Transportation.” The price to ride the bus appears to be what ultimately prevents the person from remaining in a peaceful state, making them unwilling to support the then-recent modifications in public transportation executed by the city administration, which developed the so-called Integrated System of bus terminals. It is important to note that the original Portuguese word used for “calm” is “*sossegado*,” which is derived from the Latin “*sessus*,” which means “the act of seating,” or simply “a seat.”⁷⁸ In addition to the meaning of “calm,” “*sossegado*” would therefore have another layer of connotation, one of simply having a place to sit and relax—a circumstance that is impossible in the actual precarious conditions of the buses.

During the winter, temperatures in Florianópolis can drop to levels of cold that can be considered exceptionally low compared to other parts of the country and, consequently, what happens inside the buses can become another type of ordeal. According to the lyrics: “In the winter it is terrible / with the window closed / The bus is crowded / and the fare is a rip-off.” Windows are closed or nonexistent, blocking the freezing winds but creating an environment that is suffocating and sometimes even unhealthy. Everyone on board is breathing the same air. For the poetic voice in the Black Tainhas’ composition, there is no other alternative than buying a car, even if it is an old model: “I wanna buy a Volkswagen Beetle, / a Chevrolet Chevette or a cargo van / A bicycle, anything / to ride the bus no more!” In Brazil, one must consider that the prices of new cars were extremely high compared to the average salary of workers. Sometimes, modern models were practically inaccessible to the lower classes. However, the City Council members, with their elevated wages, did not need to use public transportation as they could afford their own, new cars. The song ends remembering the events of the 2005 Turnstile Revolt, with the fare going up and down, as did the temperatures of Florianópolis, a city below the Tropic of Capricorn. This oscillation of the fare causes and is caused by popular indignation, paving the way for and being the consequence of uprisings: “July 30, the fare was increased, / we didn’t forget it and the people revolted / The fare was lowered... and increased again / City Council members drive cars, then: / Screw the people’s ass!”

Comfort and Consumption: Bikes, Cars, and McDonald’s

In Black Tainhas’ “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado,” the voice of the presumed or potential protester is concerned with *collective, public* comfort. They want conditions on the buses improved so that not only the one who sings but, consequently, the entire population can have a better experience when using the transportation system. The individualist solution of buying an old car or a bicycle surfaces in the song as a last, almost desperate, resort, as it presumably brings its own set of problems. The revolt becomes the only possible outcome capable of producing true change in the situation of the singer and his

traveling companions. Let us then compare that song by Black Tainhas with a work by Florianópolis' hardcore band S288, which also performed in support of the struggle for the free fare. One should be able to discern a difference in the use of the idea of comfort in "Latão (de Lixo) Integrado" and S288's "Consumo Cego" ("Blind Consumption"). The latter wasn't composed and recorded after the first iteration of the Turnstile Revolt in 2004, but around four years before it. "Consumo Cego" portrays a peculiar preoccupation of S288's young, politicized members: the environmental devastation caused by industrialization and the capitalist abuse of natural resources. The lyrics explicitly mention the process of deforestation, which is depicted as being produced by an "unbridled consumption," from which these young musicians are excluded or in which they are not interested in participating. This form of extreme consumerism is ultimately linked with the search for private comfort, a pursuit that is a kind of curse. It places some people, represented ostensibly by the "capitalist," in a vicious cycle of destruction.

<i>Você não deve imaginar muito menos compreender o quanto pode destruir pra poder viver</i>	<i>You can't possibly imagine much less understand how much you're able to destroy so that you can live</i>
<i>Com seu carro importado com seu Big Mac mas você não para pois não é no seu que a merda fede</i>	<i>With your imported car with your Big Mac but you don't stop because it's not close to you that the shit stinks</i>
<i>[refrão]</i>	<i>[chorus]</i>
<i>Malditos porcos egoístas olhem para os lados e contemplam seu planeta poluído e explorado consumo cego e desenfreado destruição, poluição tá tudo acabado</i>	<i>Damn egoistic pigs look around and contemplate your planet polluted and exploited blind and unbridled consumption destruction, pollution it's all over</i>
<i>Nem imagina o preço que paga por conforto e lazer você polui, destrói, desmata mas você vem com tudo isso não te atrapalhou se os outros tão na merda é porque são inferior</i>	<i>You can't even imagine the price you pay for comfort and leisure you pollute, destruct, deforest but you come in full force this didn't get in your way if others are fucked it's because they're inferior</i>

[refrão]

[...]

*Desmata pra aumentar
a industrialização
manter e ampliar
sua fome, cega ambição*

[chorus]

[...]

*You deforest to increase
the industrialization
to keep and expand
your hunger, blind ambition*

*Água potável
oxigênio escasso
malditos capitalistas
provando o seu fracasso*

*Drinkable water
oxygen, they're scarce
damn capitalists
showing their failure*

[refrão]

[...]

[chorus]

[...]⁷⁹

One aspect of the lyrics of “Consumo Cego” by S288 that could attract the listener’s attention is the fact that the image of the capitalist driving their “imported car” (an obvious mark of wealth) is associated with the purchase of a McDonald’s Big Mac hamburger. In the United States, fast-food consumption is occasionally and more recently associated in the popular culture with a low-quality diet, likely pursued by sectors of the middle class who are dragged away from a more wholesomely conscious lifestyle or who simply lack the economic or even ideological means to look for other options. For Brazilians, at the time of the composition of S288’s song, to be a consumer at international fast-food restaurant chains was a symbol of higher social status.⁸⁰ According to a contemporaneous article by Isleide Arruda Fontenelle: “In Brazil, in its beginnings, McDonald’s was an object of desire of a well-off youth, in the most cosmopolitan region of Brazil [the first store was launched in Rio de Janeiro in 1979], especially if taking into consideration the prices of its sandwiches, which are expensive even today [2002], when we compare them with the purchasing power of Brazilians.”⁸¹

Brazil had, until at least January 2018, one of the most expensive Big Mac hamburgers in the world. In that month, on the Big Mac Index created by the *Economist*, the country ranked behind only Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, the United States, and Canada, and above Denmark, Britain, and the Eurozone in its “raw index,” which is the countries’ price of such commodity converted into US dollars.⁸² At the same time, as argued in a study by historians Sílvia Maria Fávero Arend and Antero Maximiliano Dias dos Reis (who interviewed young former McDonald’s employees from Florianópolis between 2000 and 2007—coincidentally, the seminal years around the revolts against the bus fare hikes in that city), such fast-food chains were likely to use a poorer youth labor force based on a Fordist/Taylorist and Toyotist model of worker disposability, interchangeability, and multifunctionality, paying

them in 2005 R\$1.46 per hour (the equivalent to US\$0.54 at that time): “To the fast-food system, the young body is a decisive factor, for they learn fast and with dexterity several instructions and techniques of production. . . . The great contingent of jobless young people is convenient. . . . Facing the drama of unemployment, . . . many juvenile workers submit themselves to an ever more precarious work environment.”⁸³ The use of the young workforce proved to be quite lucrative: in the same year, 2005, the Brazilian branch of the McDonald’s corporation grew 13% while the country’s economy as a whole did much worse, with a growth of only 2.3%.⁸⁴ It is not by chance that the feelings of rejection toward McDonald’s became widespread among a significant fraction of the working-class youth in Brazil. Maikon Duarte, from the nearby city of Joinville, a person who had substantial involvement both in the Free Fare Movement and the hardcore/punk music scene of his hometown, comments that one of the first shows he organized focused precisely on the battle against the existence of McDonald’s:

I began to organize shows in 1997. It was on the International Anti-McDonald’s Day. . . . It [was] an anti-McDonald’s show. “Let us put Joinville on the world map of the struggle against McDonald’s and big corporations.” . . . And, because of that, I still have a question: what is the thing that motivated me? Even nowadays, I do not know how to answer it. . . . Was it about the show, about the music . . . or was it about doing an event for denunciations?⁸⁵

As a politically critical, clearly anti-capitalist cultural production, S288’s “Consumo Cego” embodies the contradictions present in the Brazilian social environment. On the one hand, the very members of that hardcore music band were themselves young citizens in their late teens.⁸⁶ The “S” in the name of the band comes from the neighborhood Serrinha.⁸⁷ This region of Florianópolis, before its current occupation and gentrification by (to a great extent) college students, was mainly known as the habitat of many lower-income families—which could mean a mark of class belonging to the members of the band. And, as a social group, those young musicians were part of a mass confronting their entrance into the workforce with the chances of holding their first job in a US fast-food restaurant chain, an undeniable symbol in Brazil of globalization, modernization, and capitalism itself. On the other hand, the main commodity that they would produce in such a labor situation, the Big Mac, would require approximately four hours’ work to pay for one sandwich, which means it would actually be consumed by richer people and rarely by those juvenile workers themselves.⁸⁸ The lyrics—as well as the harsh, distorted sound, the fast pace of the guitar, and the hoarse vocals of the song—can be seen as a manifestation of rage against such a life condition. It is a rebellious stance: a stance that is not simply a reproduction of prescinding political theories or a mere adaptation of a foreign music genre. This violently symbolic anger is actually sufficiently anchored to the particular social, economic, and cultural circumstances

of an important segment of the 2000s Brazilian, or even more accurately, Florianópolis youth.

If we go back to Black Tainhas' composition "Latão (de Lixo) Integrado," comfort is desired by the protesters: they want—actually, they demand—a bus equipped with a functional air-conditioning unit. There is also the necessity of more buses to be acquired and placed at the disposition of the people, so they will not have to wait "half an hour at the bus stop." An apparent contradiction with S288's "Consumo Cego" regarding the approach to comfort is not irreconcilable at all, as what is at stake is the dispute between public and private spheres of comfort, the socialization of comfort itself.⁸⁹ When S288 talks about cars, its song is obviously critical of the existence of luxury brands, the "imported" ones, which can be owned by only a relative few in a country like Brazil. In Black Tainhas' "Latão (de Lixo) Integrado," there is the contemplation of buying very popular and even caricatural models such as the Chevrolet Chevette. This model was produced in Brazil by General Motors starting in 1973; later, in 1983, it took over the place of the Volkswagen Fusca (the Beetle), also mentioned in the lyrics, as the best-selling automobile in the national territory.⁹⁰ Thus, a person who purchased a Chevrolet Chevette in 2005 would most likely acquire an old machine with many years of use, possible mechanical problems, and aesthetic flaws. Such cars are synonymous with "beaters," still running probably in the hands of working-class owners who cannot afford newer ones. The band's choice of such an old car model, then, carries a touch of humor. According to Garganta, the lyrics of Black Tainhas "had much, in that punk era, . . . of this thing of not being a punk like [the bands] Olho Seco, Cólera [Rage], an angry punk; it was something funnier, more enjoyable. Most of our songs are somewhat ironic to the extent of being comic."⁹¹

The vehicles supposedly used by the City Council members in "Latão (de Lixo) Integrado" are expected to be newer and more expensive, as the monthly salary of a "*vereador*" in Florianópolis was reported to be R\$7,000 (US\$2,783.74) for the 2005–2008 legislature, while the minimum wage in Brazil was increased to R\$300 per month (US\$119.30), effective May 1, 2005; the price of the best-selling brand-new car in 2005—Volkswagen's entry-level, small model Gol—started at R\$24,187 or US\$10,066.17.⁹² In 2005, the poorer half of the population had an average household per capita monthly income—"the sum of the income of all [its] members divided by the number of members"—of R\$123.47 (US\$49.10).⁹³ As an illustration of the economic relationship between incomes and the cost of automobiles represented in these numbers, a person in such a financial situation would need to have at their disposal approximately the equivalent of more than 16 years of the total household income per capita to be able to afford the least expensive and simplest new Volkswagen model available. Conversely, a City Council member in Florianópolis would need the equivalent of only 3.6 months of gross pay to buy the same car.

It is noteworthy that Black Tainhas' "Latão (de Lixo) Integrado" even makes the case for riding a bicycle instead of taking public transportation, placing cycling as one of the final options to avoid the extreme lack of comfort faced by city bus users. A possible interpretation for this decision as a *last resort* is that a bicycle could, at times, be a somewhat more difficult means of transportation on an island with many hills and scattered neighborhoods such as Florianópolis. Additionally, Black Tainhas' first priority is the people's comfort, which should be more easily achieved by improving public transportation. One must also consider that the idea of using bicycles as an alternative, and obviously cleaner, means of getting around did not seem to be a priority of the broader public discourse of the Free Fare Movement of Florianópolis in 2005. In fact, the first reference in its official blog to the use of bikes as a way of protesting, a mass cycling event called "*bicletada*," is from June 2007, and even in the propaganda for that demonstration, the focus is on "*collective transportation*."⁹⁴ As Garganta explains about "Latão (de Lixo) Integrado": "We were talking in the song in an ironic way [about the cars and the bicycle]. . . . It was something more of humor. This thing about bicycles [as a way of protesting] starts to appear later, [when] we were already in college. [In] 2007–2008, the *bicletadas* start [in Florianópolis]."⁹⁵

It is true that *bicletadas*, the mass cycling demonstrations, existed in Florianópolis beginning in 2002, according to the archives of the Independent Media Center.⁹⁶ One of the most significant books used by the Free Fare Movement, *Apocalipse Motorizado (Apocalypse Engine)*, had already been published in 2005, with its texts translated into Portuguese by Leo Vinicius, one of the key figures of the Turnstile Revolts. It consists of a criticism of the car-based society that indeed makes reference to the use of bicycles as a substitute for the automobile as, for example, in the text by Caroline Granier, "Abaixo o Carro... Viva a Bicleta!," or in the small manual, "Como criar uma Massa Crítica."⁹⁷ However, not until 2007 did mass cycling events become clearly associated with the struggle and protests for free public transportation as proposed by the Free Fare Movement and other similar organizations.⁹⁸ One can conclude that this is why, for Garganta, when "Latão (de Lixo) Integrado" was written in 2005, the image of the bicycle as a form of protest was still not present.

Other examples of *bicletadas* related to the struggle for the free fare then followed. In 2011, the Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Público (Struggle Front for Public Transportation) for Greater Florianópolis published its letter of principles, aiming to achieve a free fare for all, among other demands, such as "more human mobility technologies, with more comfort and accessibility . . . consum[ing] less energy"; the group staged its 1^a Bicletada Contra a Tarifa (First Critical Mass Cycling Event Against the Bus Fare) with a war cry of "R\$3.14, No! With this price, I go by bike instead of bus!," indicating again that the primary issue was to improve conditions, in this case a financial one, for the bus users.⁹⁹ The bicycle would occupy a polysemic space within the collective imaginary that the Free Fare Movement attempted to influence

and mold in the first dozen years of the twenty-first century. The bicycle as a symbol could then vary from a product that could offer alternatives to the car-centered model of transportation adopted in metropolitan Brazilian areas (as in the case of someone like Vinicius and his *Apocalipse Motorizado*); to a tool for protesting, as happened with the *bicicletadas*; or even to an object to ridicule the uncomfortable conditions of the buses, as in the situation presented by Black Tainhas in their song.

As G. Frederick Thompson expounds, throughout more than 100 years, motor vehicle factories took charge of pioneering metamorphoses in the way goods were fabricated, with contaminating consequences to other sectors and the very lives of the proletariat.¹⁰⁰ Criticism of the car culture therefore functions as criticism of the capitalist complex and the way it is structured. If the function of personal automobiles as protagonists among commodities helps to determine the social and geographical disposition of bodies and buildings, the condemnation of such an order will look back at what appears to represent the root problem: the car itself. With its criticism of capitalists driving luxury cars, S288's "Consumo Cego" has its poetic voice centered on the negation of privatized, limited-to-a-few comfort. According to the lyrics, private comfort comes from the collective efforts of workers (the paradoxical "industrialization") or the exploitation of collectively owned nature, but it is contradictorily kept inaccessible to many. Black Tainhas' piece, then, is a later manifestation of a similar desire for greater democratic access to comfort but is articulated in more direct terms regarding the struggle for such a democratization. By using its song to narrate the events of the 2005 Turnstile Revolt and, all the more, by extending an artistic, musical expression to what the band perceived were the collective feelings of the youth (and even of the general population), it constructed a discourse that fed on the violence of the historical revolt as a form of persuading the listener to desire a halt to a greater violence: urban exclusion.

Class War

The highest-ranking officer of Florianópolis' local Military Police would confess in 2009: "I fight against the social movements."¹⁰¹ A few years earlier, during the 2005 Turnstile Revolt, such a repressive ideology was already a fact, although not so openly stated. From the side of the protesters, the violence of that popular uprising was both symbolic and actual, realized especially through damage to portions of the downtown bus terminal, buildings and property of financial institutions, and the City Council edifice.¹⁰² At the same time, the protesters were recorded being brutalized on their *bodies* and not their *property*, by the police. In the documentary *Amanhã vai ser maior*, one can watch the police beating demonstrators and attacking them with tear gas, stun grenades, and rubber bullets.¹⁰³ Additionally, many arrests were made, as the police focused on the most prominent militants of the movement. The so-called authorities wanted to avoid a repetition of the

2004 Turnstile Revolt and believed that, by arresting the people they thought were the leaders of the events, the uprising would be rendered ineffective.¹⁰⁴ Someone like Marcelo Pomar, the most recognized voice of the Free Fare Movement, was one of the main targets: “[From 2004 to 2006] I was arrested on three occasions.”¹⁰⁵ However, this tactic employed by the police, especially in 2005, seriously backfired. Matheus Felipe de Castro argued at the time that it actually contributed to the radicalization of the protests: “[The people arrested] had a moral ascendency over the masses, which now has no political consciousness. The police are creating a monster.”¹⁰⁶ Through the work of Thais Ikuhara Santos, who in 2007 analyzed and made available militants’ statements, others also bore witness to the growth of the demonstrations after the detention of key figures—a singular feature of the 2005 revolt:

Despite the arrests of those who were considered the leaders of the Movement, the demonstration did not lose its force. Contrary to expectations, the demonstration grew regarding the number of people, which, according to the interviewees, proved that the strength of the Revolt did not stem from some people who were considered the “leaders” [*cabeças*] of the movement but in the indignation of the people. “It did not lose its force also thanks to the non-centralized nature of the movement” . . . [said one interviewee]. “There was the guy who was always there calling and speaking, but the force of the movement was not in that guy” . . . [added another].¹⁰⁷

From 2004 to 2005, that is to say, from the First to the Second Turnstile Revolt, Florianópolis witnessed an adjustment in the stance of the Military Police, which started to behave in a more brutal way toward demonstrators. They were already considerably repressive during the First Turnstile Revolt of 2004.¹⁰⁸ However, in 2005, they openly performed with much more aggressiveness to crush the protests and subjugate the protesters.¹⁰⁹ The mayor, Dário Berger, declared at the time: “The situation needs to be addressed forcefully [*combatida de forma energética*] . . . I will not allow that disorder and anarchy take over the city.”¹¹⁰ The activist newspaper *CMI na Rua*, already at the beginning of the Second Turnstile Revolt, denounced the more combative use of violence and intimidation by the state forces. *CMI na Rua* attributed this new approach to the arrival of a different mayor, Berger, from the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB) in the place of Ângela Amin, from the Progressive Party (PP), with Berger having better connections with the governor, Luiz Henrique da Silveira from the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB): Silveira was the de facto commander in chief of the local police institution.¹¹¹ A government insider frankly declared at that time: “The mayor asked the governor for the [Military Police] to act harshly.”¹¹² In the images of videos produced during the 2005 Turnstile Revolts, the police officers can be seen executing the order: they attacked the students with flagrant excessive force.¹¹³ Vinicius reported on the most dramatic episode of that year:

A scene captured by a cameraman from a community TV station left the authorities and the police in an embarrassing situation: in it, a fellow from the Free Fare Movement was shown standing still and with his hands up. A policeman knocks him down, restrains him without facing any resistance, and punches his head until he passes out. Finally, the policemen drag him, unconscious, and drop him in a traffic island as if he was a bag of rotten potatoes. . . . A truly shocking scene.¹¹⁴

This significantly more violent approach went badly wrong for the state, as images and reports of police brutality were almost instantaneously reported on the Internet.¹¹⁵ The repercussions of the attitude of the policemen would help to bring more and more people to the protests.¹¹⁶ This fact represented, in some respects, the materialization of the anger nourished for so many years by punks in general. Now, a larger segment of the population, especially a post-dictatorship middle-class youth, began to realize how repressive the state forces could be, confirming the long-standing anti-police position that prevails within punk culture. This contempt for the police institution in particular and militarism in general had been expressed since the beginnings of the punk movement in Brazil. In the 1982 documentary *Pânico em SP* (*Panic in São Paulo*), a young punk offers his perspective on the subject: “I am obliged to be . . . part of the military, because I was drafted. I am obliged, was obliged, was placed, was inserted inside there. And I am an animal that is wearing a uniform. How was I born, how did I live? [In] military regimes. Now, I am part of the military, a worm.”¹¹⁷

Craig O’Hara argues that the contempt for the police institution, which permeates the punk culture, happens in part because “it has been proved that unjustified obedience to authority has resulted in mass acceptance of harmful actions.”¹¹⁸ If devastating outcomes must be taken into consideration in the analysis of this phenomenon, then one cannot dismiss the specific behavior of the Brazilian police: a behavior that certainly has helped to propel those feelings of rejection arising from the country’s punks. First, one must think about the links between the Brazilian police in general and the bloody military dictatorship initiated in 1964. More contemporarily, one should take note, for instance, of statistics published in 2019 affirming that close to one-third of the 531 murders in the state of Rio de Janeiro were carried out by policemen in the month of May of that year: a new monthly peak.¹¹⁹ In the whole year of 2019, the police ended up killing 1,814 people in that state alone.¹²⁰ The Brazilian police, therefore, is an institution marked by a long history of exercising extreme forms of violence against the country’s own population.

Among the bands that, in one way or another, associated themselves with the struggle for free public transportation in Florianópolis, S288 has a song called “Policiais” (“Policemen”) that transparently reveals its members’ disapproval of the police institution, mentioning the police force’s repressive

tactics used against protests and groups historically known for being critical of the status quo. In the composition from *circa* 2000, one can hear:

Policiais abusam do poder
e logo me pergunto se é esses caras que vão me
[proteger]
Sem querer te ofender, mas se for assim
[então vai se fuder]
Eu te pago pra me proteger e não quero
[mais me esconder]

Policemen abuse their power
and hence I wonder if those are the people who
[will protect me]
I don't wanna offend you, but if it is like that
then go fuck yourselves
I pay you to protect me and I don't wanna
hide anymore

[refrão]

Eu sei que vocês não podem ter opinião
Lutar por um ideal? Nem pensar
Eu sei que vocês preferem defender o seu pão
a lutar e tentar melhorar,
[modificar]

[chorus]

I know that you can't have opinions
To fight for an ideal? No way
I know that you prefer to defend your bread
instead of fighting and trying to improve,
to transform things

Agem contra protestantes
pessoas com ideais, trabalhadores, estudantes
que querem mudar, que querem dignidade
mas vocês não querem deixar
querem tirar-nos a liberdade

You act against protesters,
people with ideals, workers, students
who want change, who want dignity
but you don't wanna allow it
you wanna take our freedom

[refrão]

[...]

Porcos imbecis, não querem ver a realidade,
Defendem a elite e continuam a ser explorados
Todos idiotas, são todos pau-mandados
Marionetes sem razão, porcos desmiolados

[chorus]

[...]

Imbecile pigs, you don't wanna see reality
They defend the elites and keep being exploited
All idiots, you're all yes-men
Headless puppets, brainless pigs

[refrão]

[...]

[chorus]

[...]¹²¹

S288, or at least one of its members, would later create a video accompanying the song “Consumo Cego” and upload it to the Internet. It is an audiovisual work that is indeed quite simple, substantially composed of a slide show of photographs of the group from the time they were in action. One image depicts the musicians performing with an invited vocalist, Gabriel Peixer, who is wearing a T-shirt bearing the emblem of another band from Florianópolis: Guerra de Classes (Class War).¹²² Guerra de Classes appears to have been influential in the underground rock scene of that city and beyond. Once, the band even traveled to São Paulo to share the stage with the Americans from Los Crudos and the Brazilians from Newspeak.¹²³

This is something that can be considered quite a feat for an underground band from the southern state of Santa Catarina in the 1990s. Apart from *Guerra de Classes*' musical impact, Daniel Guimarães and Leo Vinicius, major figures in the Turnstile Revolts of Florianópolis and in the Free Fare Movement itself, are former members of that punk rock band. Vinicius would not become involved with any other music projects after leaving the group in the late 1990s.¹²⁴ However, it is still extremely telling that both he and Guimarães spent time as members of the band. Vinicius summarized his activities related to *Guerra de Classes*:

The anarcho-punks of Florianópolis got together every Saturday in a square in the 1990s. I used to go there because I was an anarchist and they were anarchists. Then, I went there to talk, exchange ideas, sometimes books, news, and so on. Of course, I also liked punk rock. Therefore, there was also this affinity in a certain way. From our interactions there, we started a band in the second semester of 1996, which we called *Ímpio* [The Impious]. In the beginning of 1997, one can say that this band became *Guerra de Classes* with the change of drummer.¹²⁵

Guimarães, in turn, would become the bass player of *Guerra de Classes* from 1998.¹²⁶ Later, he would also become closely linked with the protests related to public transportation. He occupied such a significant role in the struggle for the free fare that, during the Turnstile Revolt of 2005, a text written by him and made available on the Independent Media Center was seen by the police as the starting point of the convolution that would take over the city:

Before the recent demonstrations started, Daniel Guimarães, a student of journalism at Estácio de Sá College, published an article on the website of the Independent Media Center and in the newspaper *A Notícia* that was considered by some—especially the police—as the signal to the popular uprising against the hike in the public transportation fare [of Florianópolis]. The article addressed a little-known episode, the Revolta das Barcas [Revolt of the Ferries], in which thousands of people rose, in May 1959, against the terrible system of transportation through ferries, which linked Niterói to Rio de Janeiro before the building of the bridge that connects both cities. Despite the geographical and historical similarities, it was only a coincidence.¹²⁷

In an interview for the program “Do It Yourcast” by Alan da Hora, Guimarães, who defines at least part of his early years as belonging to the “lower middle class,” cites as one of his first influences the classic Brazilian and international punk music.¹²⁸ Specifically speaking about his adolescence in Florianópolis, he adds: “When [I was] about 14, I met the folks who were anarcho-punks in the city. In Florianópolis, there were many anarcho-punks. Anarcho-punks from Florianópolis [were] different from anarcho-punks from São Paulo, they were another type of people—something more hippie . . .

really like [the band] Crass, hippies in black.”¹²⁹ Guimarães also participated in the formation of additional bands: Geração Desiludida (Disillusioned Generation), Única Chance, and possibly others. For Única Chance, he partnered Pinduca, who was also a former member of Guerra de Classes.¹³⁰ Única Chance went on to share the stage with important hardcore and punk acts such as Entrefuego, from Chile; Highscore, from Germany; Tidal, also from Germany; and the Brazilian bands Discarga (the Portuguese word for “Discharge”), Colligere, and S288.¹³¹

In terms of the content of their lyrics, commonalities can be traced between S288 and Guerra de Classes, such as, for instance, the existence of a song by each group dedicated to the criticism of the police as an institution: S288’s “Policiais” was preceded by Guerra de Classes’ “Policía Bastarda” (“Bastard Police”). The latter has two versions of the lyrics, one in Spanish and the other a translation in Portuguese. It is indicated in the Portuguese translation that the piece should be sung in Spanish. The variant on the band’s cassette tape *Ao vivo* follows this instruction, and that 1997 recording of Guerra de Classes’ song “Policía Bastarda” includes a sort of homage to the Spanish anarchist Buenaventura Durruti, who, as exposed in the spoken prelude of the short musical piece, “fought against the state, against Franco’s dictatorship.” Durruti left for posterity a passage that is quoted (already translated into Portuguese) by a female vocalist before the distorted sound of the electric guitar begins: “The ruins do not scare us. The bourgeoisie can destruct, blow their world up before leaving the stage of history. We bring a new world in our hearts . . . a world that grows in this precise moment.” This citation from the Spanish anarchist is then momentarily interrupted by a male voice who interjects a flash discourse: “The police exist to protect the interest of a certain class, which is the bourgeoisie—everybody knows that—never to defend the people (police terrorism).”¹³² The lyrics of “Policía Bastarda” are then vocalized in Spanish with a Brazilian Portuguese accent. The following transcription is based on the 1997 live version of the song:

<i>Represión, agresión</i>	<i>Repression, aggression</i>
<i>no más presos, liberación</i>	<i>no more prisoners, liberation</i>
<i>no cárcel, ni cuartel</i>	<i>no prison, no barracks</i>
<i>a la vida, libertad</i>	<i>to life, freedom</i>
<i>La revolución debe ser alcanzada</i>	<i>Revolution must be achieved</i>
<i>La libertad debe ser conquistada</i>	<i>Freedom must be conquered</i>
<i>La libertad debe ser conquistada</i>	<i>Freedom must be conquered</i>
<i>Sufrimiento, reducción</i>	<i>Suffering, reduction</i>
<i>a la policía, reacción</i>	<i>to the police, reaction</i>
<i>sin argumento, ni razón</i>	<i>without argument, without reason</i>

*a las piedras, sin perdón
Revolución*

*La revolución debe ser alcanzada
La revolución debe ser alcanzada
La revolución debe ser alcanzada*

*to the stones, no forgiveness
Revolution*

*Revolution must be achieved
Revolution must be achieved
Revolution must be achieved¹³³*

Let us trace an imperative parallel. Guerra de Classes incorporates a quotation from Durruti before singing “Policía Bastarda.” Another version of part of this quotation is also integrated into the lyrics of a different song of the band, titled “Povo em armas” (“The People in Arms”). In such fragments, the poetic voice sees *with optimism* a possible world in ruins. Even if the bourgeoisie in its greed ends up destroying almost everything, the revolutionaries will have the strength to rebuild civilization: a new civilization based on different principles will emerge. It is not the first time that a positive view of ruins appeared in the world of punk aesthetics. Russ Bestley explains that Vivienne Westwood and Malcolm McLaren—both heavily linked to the 1970s English band, Sex Pistols—had previously fashioned outfits with the following command: “Believe in the Ruins.”¹³⁴ The difference is that their “obsession with both historical and contemporary radicalism, drawing on images and quotes from both right and left wing intellectuals, was largely centred on an attempt to provoke and shock rather than a clear form of ideological positioning or political allegiance.”¹³⁵

The image of ruins in the context of Guerra de Classes’ songs cannot be reduced to an artistic discourse only: they stand for a symbol of the consequences generated by the struggle necessary to remold society. Their struggle will lead to the destruction of the present social structures, but such a future should not cause anxiety. In this sense, Guerra de Classes’ stance is close to an explanation about punk philosophy offered by Zorro, a member of the 1980s São Paulo bands M-19 and Invasores de Cérebros (Brain Invaders): “It is a metaphor. We will destroy everything to then construct with dignity.”¹³⁶ Many punk bands in general, and Guerra de Classes in particular, end up erasing the difference between the “political vanguard” and the “artistic avant-garde.”¹³⁷ There is little doubt that punk is, in fact, an avant-garde movement aesthetically if one goes back to O’Hara’s study on the broader phenomenon: “Early punks (perhaps quite unknowingly) used many of the same revolutionary tactics employed by members of early avant-garde art movements: unusual fashions, the blurring of boundaries between art and everyday life, juxtapositions of seemingly disparate objects and behaviors, intentional provocation of the audience, use of untrained performers.”¹³⁸ With a band such as Guerra de Classes, considering the posterior engagement of its members Vinicius and Guimarães with the struggle for free public transportation, there is little doubt that punk rock can, in fact, be a political vanguard or at least the initial generator of cadres to a political vanguard:

punk has the role of radicalizing the youth.¹³⁹ *Guerra de Classes* remains remarkable for having one of the most politically revolutionary discourses—with a strong anarchist gravitation—embedded in its lyrics, as is the case with “Povo em Armas”:

*Não precisamos de líderes
para dizer que devemos lutar*

*Não precisamos de ordens
para dizer que devemos agir*

*Não precisamos eleger
para as necessidades suprir*

*Não pretendemos fugir
não pretendemos falhar*

Povo em armas

Povo em armas

Povo em armas

Povo em armas

*Levantaremos nossa bandeira negra
sem pátria, partido, estado ou deus*

*Destruiremos a riqueza
a vida acima de toda a assistência*

Não tememos as ruínas

pois carregamos o mundo em nossos corações

*Nossa pátria é o universo; a família,
[a humanidade]*

não temos deus, temos consciência

Riqueza em chamas

Riqueza em chamas

Riqueza em chamas

Riqueza em chamas

We don't need leaders

saying we must fight

We don't need orders

saying we must act

We don't need to elect anyone

to supply our needs

We don't intend to flee

we don't intend to fail

The people in arms

The people in arms

The people in arms

The people in arms

We'll raise our black flag

without a homeland, party, state, or god

We'll destroy wealth

life above all assistance

We don't fear ruins

as we carry the world in our hearts

Our homeland is the universe, the family

is the humanity

we don't have a god, we have consciousness

Burning wealth

Burning wealth

Burning wealth

Burning wealth¹⁴⁰

Based on the work of literary critic Lily Litvak, one can say that several nineteenth-century Spanish anarchists believed that art should reside in the realm of protests and that in artistic endeavors the message should be more important than following established rules, patterns, or expectations: “[They] thought that decadence manifested itself through a predominance of form over content. For them, works possessed a value that was derived from the creative act, they considered literary creation as experience and even as a form of direct action. Therefore, one sees such literary themes as: the exploitation of the proletariat, poverty, the system’s injustice, [and] the evil of capitalism.”¹⁴¹ This is basically the same principle that guides many punk rock bands, and it can be understood to have an importance for *Guerra de Classes*.

Punk is known for allowing basically anyone to play music without a polished technique or a deep knowledge of music or what could be considered an acceptable voice by mainstream standards. Punks are, in general, self-thought musicians; sometimes, they use a good amount of noise in the vocals or through distortion applied to the sound of the guitar to express their anger against the capitalist system and the bourgeois way of living. In the words of Wisnik: “Noise is destructive, invasive, terrible, threatening.”¹⁴² Their music is also a type of protest in itself. They can precisely go against a vision of something considered decadent, as did their distant, nineteenth-century anarchist counterparts. Early Brazilian punks from the 1980s believed that their creations helped in the reaction against progressive rock musicians: “They complicated rock, and if you complicate rock, you kill rock.”¹⁴³ Pierre from the band Cólica (Cholera/Rage), founded in São Paulo in 1979, adds: “Punk did not only arrive as a form of protest against a system but also [as] a protest against music, too.”¹⁴⁴ Punk can be a type of protest both in form and content, both against form and content, in opposition to contemporaneous music and the economic system of the time. In general, it is the yelled lyrics that convoke people to this sound battle, such as in a song by Guerra de Classes that carries as the title the band’s own name:

<p><i>[discurso falado]</i></p> <p><i>Quem somos?</i></p> <p><i>Somos os eternos anarquistas</i></p> <p><i>os eternos inimigos da</i></p> <p><i> ordem burguesa e capitalista</i></p> <p><i> agora e sempre</i></p> <p><i>os inimigos da propriedade</i></p> <p><i> do salário</i></p> <p><i> das leis</i></p> <p><i> das religiões</i></p> <p><i> do militarismo</i></p> <p><i>da estupidez humana</i></p> <p><i>e da desigualdade social</i></p> <p><i>Guerra de classes já!</i></p>	<p><i>[spoken words]</i></p> <p><i>Who are we?</i></p> <p><i>We are the eternal anarchists</i></p> <p><i>the eternal enemies of the</i></p> <p><i> bourgeois and capitalist order</i></p> <p><i> today and always</i></p> <p><i>the enemies of property</i></p> <p><i> salary</i></p> <p><i> laws</i></p> <p><i> religions</i></p> <p><i> militarism</i></p> <p><i> human stupidity</i></p> <p><i> and social inequality</i></p> <p><i> Class war now!</i></p>
--	---

[canto]

A sociedade está em constante conflito

resultante da desigualdade social

Falo da classe marginalizada

vítima do sistema e do capital

[singing]

Society is in constant conflict

resulting from social inequality

I speak about the marginalized class

victim of capitalism and the system

[refrão]

Guerra de classes

Guerra de classes

[chorus]

Class war

Class war

*Guerra de classes
Guerra de classes já!*

*Guerra de classes
Guerra de classes
Guerra de classes
Guerra de classes já!*

*Atualmente a história se repete
uma minoria controla o poder
A “democracia” é uma grande farsa
que nos impõe o que pensar e o que fazer*

*[refrão]
[...]*

*Paz entre nós e morte ao capital
abaixo a nova ordem mundial
Que a chama da revolta não se apague
e fomente a revolução social*

*[refrão]
[...]*

*A “guerra” em que falamos não é a mesma
proposta pelo governo e pelo Estado
Estamos apenas tomando de volta
o direito à vida que nos foi roubado*

*[refrão]
[...]*

*A luta de classes tem só dois lados
senhor e servo, exploradores e explorados
Se conformar significa aceitar
o sistema criado para nos controlar*

*[refrão]
[...]*

*Pacificar a desigualdade
é consagrar a injustiça
A consciência é nossa arma
contra a ilusão capitalista*

*Class war
Class war now!*

*Class war
Class war
Class war
Class war now!*

*Nowadays history repeats itself
a minority has the power
“Democracy” is a huge farce
that imposes on us what to think and what to do*

*[chorus]
[...]*

*Peace among us and death to capitalism
down with the new world order
That the flames of revolt don’t go out
and foster the social revolution*

*[chorus]
[...]*

*The war we talk about is not the same
proposed by the government and the state
We are just taking back
the right to live that was stolen from us*

*[chorus]
[...]*

*The class war has only two sides
masters and slaves, exploiters and the exploited
To comply means to accept
the system created to control us*

*[chorus]
[...]*

*To pacify inequality
is to consecrate injustice
Awareness is our weapon
against the capitalist illusion¹⁴⁵*

Guerra de Classes started some of their live song performances with introductory political discourses. However, even the very act of having a band and playing one's own music is an initial political act. It is a direct action against the world of commodified culture, a world that should be destroyed. If one looks at Guerra de Classes' 1990s lyrics as a form of literary expression, they are repeating the same general themes from 100 years earlier. All of these topics (listed above by Litvak as belonging to the Spanish classical anarchists) can be found in the songs of the Florianópolis' band: exploitation, misery, lack of justice, the cruelty of a profit-driven economy. One of the additional themes that Litvak adds to the literature of the nineteenth-century anarchists is "science."¹⁴⁶ In those earlier thinkers, science is seen as the incorruptible medium for the realization of utopia, what rescues humanity from the darkness of myths, superstition, and religion. However, in the song "La farsa científica" ("Scientific Sham") by Guerra de Classes, science—or perhaps better, scientists—are seen as part of capitalism perpetrating evil against animals in a demonstration of brutality and self-centered behavior: "The animals suffer, your anthropocentrism / Damned scientist, science is not sadism."¹⁴⁷

The viewpoints of classical anarchism and Guerra de Classes on science seem to be in contradiction. However, Guerra de Classes, with its song "La farsa científica," is developing another trope from the nineteenth century: this is what Litvak calls "the vanguardism of the relationship between anarchism and nature, as one can verify in their activism in naturist movements and as predecessors of modern ecological theories."¹⁴⁸ In the case of Guerra de Classes, ecology surpassed the fascination with science. Apart from a criticism of the way science is currently conducted, which is present in the lyrics of Guerra de Classes, anti-religiosity seems evident as well. Additionally, anti-religiosity can be connected back to the scientific eulogy in Spanish nineteenth-century anarchism. In the song "The People in Arms," the listener hears the clamor: "We don't have a god, we have consciousness."¹⁴⁹ The lyrics of "Iconoclastas" ("Iconoclasts") are completely dedicated to the attack on the idea of God and religion. In a live recording at the Federal University of Santa Catarina, the band introduces this piece with a discourse that contains the following passage: "Each person has the right to believe in whatever they want . . . [but to believe in God] destroys all logical thinking."¹⁵⁰

It is clear from those examples that, in Guerra de Classes, political engagement stands unmistakably, indisputably as part of the Brazilian band's ethos. Guimaraes later provided a glimpse of their militant landscape: "At the end of the 1990s and in the early 2000s, those people around me began getting involved in activism too. . . . There was that matter of the anti-globalization movement. We began following those matters, first following them, later organizing them. There was a very strong influence of Zapatismo. We started to do things like the free radio, community radio movement."¹⁵¹ One of the important radio stations that emerged from this process was Rádio

de Tróia (Trojan Radio), hosted initially at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. Plans for what would become this media project started in 2002: “[The] Students’ Union [DCE] managed to get, from the Federal Police, the release of the transmitter from the radio that functioned at the Federal University of Santa Catarina in 1997.”¹⁵² The radio went on the air in 2003, and to celebrate its first birthday, its members hosted musical presentations with the participation of the band *Insurreição*, a band bearing at least one member, Rafael Popini, with significant links with the Free Fare Campaign and with Rádio de Tróia itself (Fig. 3.9).¹⁵³ This connection is not a coincidence. Rádio de Tróia was already denouncing the new Integrated System of Transportation in 2003, not long after it began operating.¹⁵⁴ It would also cover the protests against the bus fare increases in 2004 and 2005 that later became known as the Turnstile Revolts of Florianópolis.



Fig. 3.9: Unidentified photographer, *Insurreição at the Tribute to Rage Against the Machine by the Campaign for the Free Fare*, Florianópolis, March 27, 2004.

From Rafael Popini’s personal collection.

Popini declared in an interview: “I participated in the Rádio de Tróia (102.9 FM). At the time, I was studying social sciences at the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC) and took part in the organization of the radio. I had a program there called *Na Goela* (In the Gullet). Eduardo Stosick (at the time studying for a history degree at UFSC) and I broadcast hardcore, punk, and new metal to the listeners, and we discussed the Free Fare Movement, the World Social Forum, and other important items on the agenda of the student movement.”¹⁵⁵

In September 2004, the 11th edition of the newspaper *CMI na Rua* emerged, printed on white paper and pasted on the electricity poles of Florianópolis.

There, it told the history and announced the principles of Rádio de Tróia: “From 2002 until the beginning of 2003, a group of students from the Federal University of Santa Catarina, questioning media concentration in the hands of a few companies, carried out several meetings and round tables in order to discuss the possibility of creating a community radio station. After seeing all the difficulties imposed by the Community Radio Broadcasting Law [Lei de Radiodifusão Comunitária], in March 2003 the collective decided to initiate the transmissions and identify themselves as a free radio station. In the same month of March, Rádio de Tróia went on the air without the authorization of the Ministry of Communications, in an act of civil disobedience and criticism of the monopoly of the possibility of communication. The Tróia Collective is based on the principles of self-governance and horizontality. All decisions are made by consensus.”¹⁵⁶

Rádio de Tróia would become an important reference, and in 2003 and 2004, it hosted meetings of free and community radio stations.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, its members led workshops in Curitiba and other areas of the state of Santa Catarina, even after Rádio de Tróia was defunct.¹⁵⁸ Certainly, the way Rádio de Tróia was conceptualized included the functioning of it as an information center for social movements: a proper underground, free, socially engaged radio station.¹⁵⁹ As with any radical political activity, it brought its own risks. The exercise of a free radio, considered an underground radio by the government owing to its lack of a license to operate, was many times criminalized by the state.¹⁶⁰ Being underground, however, became a source of pride for those activists: “Our radio is illegal but legitimate . . . and we want to stay in this condition.”¹⁶¹ More than broadcasting subversive ideas and being a subversion of the laws regulating broadcasting in Brazil, Rádio de Tróia also *saw itself as a social movement*.¹⁶² In this sense, it helped not only to develop political demands about the situation of the media in Brazil, but it also fostered and gathered around it other movements and activist tools, connecting music with politics. In the words of Gama: “Rádio de Tróia started to become a hub. . . . It grew really fast. . . . Then, it gathered a lot of activism . . . and little by little some militancy . . . some folks from the Campaign for the Free Fare . . . the folks from punk rock who organized shows. . . . Rádio de Tróia was a strong driving force . . . of the connection between punk rock and activism, [punk rock] and doing politics.”¹⁶³

Rádio de Tróia would give rise to the chapter of the Independent Media Center in Florianópolis, which became the *de facto* news and mobilization website of the Free Fare Movement in that city.¹⁶⁴ Also according to Gama: “The Independent Media Center [in Florianópolis] emerges in 2004 more or less from folks who were already at Rádio de Tróia.”¹⁶⁵ But the relationships did not stop there. The same post office box number used by the punk rock band Guerra de Classes in the 1990s was used in the 2000s by the Florianópolis Independent Media Center.¹⁶⁶ That post office box number can be traced back to at least *circa* 1996. According to historian Antonio Cleber

Rudy, the organized Anarcho-Punk Movement of Florianópolis (MAP) ceased to exist in 1996, giving rise to the Collective of Anarcho-Punk Action (CAAP).¹⁶⁷ The author then made available a segment of a contemporaneous letter explaining the conceptualization behind CAAP: “It is a group having a specific anarcho-punk character, that is to say, anarchist in the sense of proposing a political struggle against the state and all forms of authority and oppression . . . and punk, in the sense of negating the massification and the loss of character of the youth. We also consider punk as a form of rejection of the dominating bourgeoisie standards.”¹⁶⁸ Again according to Rudy, CAAP would eventually lead to the creation of the punk rock group Guerra de Classes and other sister music endeavors, titled Distruggere and Lixo Urbano (Urban Trash).¹⁶⁹ CAAP would be short-lived, however. From its ashes, Organização Autonomia (Autonomy Organization) came into being, although, in the opinion of both Vinicius and Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz, Organização Autonomia did not execute many activities, or at least did not make a lasting impression on them.¹⁷⁰ In any case, a cassette demo tape released in partnership by Lixo Urbano and Distruggere, a so-called “split,” carries on the back cover that same post office box number that would also be used by Guerra de Classes and Organização Autonomia in the 1990s.¹⁷¹ Another group that would use the same post office box was the influential Coletivo Folha in the early 2000s (and later the already-mentioned Independent Media Center).¹⁷² Related to Coletivo Folha, one can find Guimarães’ band Única Chance.¹⁷³

By discovering the organizations that occupied that particular post office box throughout the years, one can say that a punk rock band such as Guerra de Classes functioned as a type of ideological embryo of the Independent Media Center of Florianópolis, which emerged considerably later. It helped give birth to a continuation, a lineage, or a succession of linked ideas that traveled through several political *and* musical groups from the 1990s to the 2010s. The band Guerra de Classes, Rádio de Tróia, the Independent Media Center of Florianópolis, Coletivo Folha, and the Free Fare Movement can be seen as helping in the development of each other when coexisting or when assisting in the posterior creation of younger, sister endeavors: they did so through the accumulation of experiences and the appropriation of previous knowledge.

Notes

1 Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 37; also cited in: Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 87; and partially in: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 56.

2 “The main [problem] was that routes, in many cases, became slower owing to the transfers [needed]” (Fábio Paulo da Silva, “A Revolta da Catraca,” *CMI Brasil*, May 30, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150506013638/midaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/05/354608.shtml>); “the system was clearly projected to rationalize the costs and to increase the profit of companies, without consideration for riders’ time and comfort, reaching the absurdity of creating transfers in routes that before had none” (Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 28).

3 Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 28.

4 [Camarada] D., “[Floripa] Qual será o próximo capítulo do transporte coletivo?” *CMI Brasil*, Oct. 21, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427042016/midia independente.org/pt/blue/2005/10/333016.shtml>; this source was located thanks to: Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 72–73.

5 Leo Branco, “[Passe Livre Florianópolis] Notícia do U[n]iversidade Aberta (corrigido),” posted by Campanha Passe Livre-Florianópolis, *CMI Brasil*, May 13, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130917201903/http://brasil.indymedia.org/pt/blue/2004/05/279918.shtml>.

6 Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 81.

7 “Jornada de luta pelo passe livre em Florianópolis,” *CMI Brasil*, May 14, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427093124/midia independente.org/pt/blue/2004/05/280007.shtml> cited in Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 81.

8 Campanha Passe Livre Florianópolis, “[Passe Livre Florianópolis] Fotos da manifestação do dia 29 (Parte 2),” *CMI Brasil*, May 12, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130917201857/http://brasil.indymedia.org/pt/blue/2004/05/279805.shtml> (copyleft <http://www.midia independente.org>; reproduction for non-commercial use is free as long as the author and the source are cited and this note is included).

9 Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 6.

10 See: Maurício Frighetto, “Quando Florianópolis voltou a 1964,” *Zero*, Jun. 28, 2005, 10–11, <http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/zero/zerojornais/zero2005jun.pdf>; and: Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 37 and 43.

11 In Florianópolis, the most recent previous wave of protests comparable to the Turnstile Revolts had occurred in 1979 and were against the military dictatorship. Those protests passed into history as the Novembrada.

12 Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 31.

13 “Mobilizações pela redução da tarifa crescem: Passeata nas duas pontes,” *CMI na Rua*, no. 6, Florianópolis, Jul. 5, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150908031026/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2005/02/308523.pdf>; see also: Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 31, 38, and 41; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 57.

14 *Impasse*, dir. Kroger and Evangelista.

15 Celso Martins summarized by Maikon K. [Duarte], “[História] Anotações produzidas durante a fala de Celso Martins,” *Vivo na Cidade*, Jul. 13, 2008, <http://vivonacidadeblogspot.com/2008/06/histriaanotaes-produzidas-durante-fala.html>; see also: Camarada D., “Os dez dias que embalaram Floripa,” *O Independente: Jornal do CMI Floripa*, no. 2, Jan. 2005, 4–5, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130916195313/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2005/01/303902.pdf>; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 57.

16 Elaine Tavares, “Floripa: uma cidade em ebulação,” *CMI Brasil*, Jul. 6, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150508140944/midia independente.org/pt/blue/2004/07/285602.shtml>.

17 Xóchitl Leyva-Solano and Willibald Sonnleitner, “¿Qué es el neozapatismo?” *Espiral*, vol. 6, no. 17 (Jan.–Apr. 2000): 166–167, <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/138/13861708.pdf>.

18 Tavares, “Floripa.”

19 Ortellado, “Sobre a passagem de um grupo de pessoas por um breve período da história,” 10; see also: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 302; Marcelo Pomar, “Pulando Catracas,” *O Independente: Jornal do CMI Floripa*, no. 2, Jan. 2005, 4–5, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130916195313/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2005/01/303902>.

pdf; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 59–60.

20 “Conquista não desmobiliza: Movimento realiza grande ato hoje,” *CMI na Rua*, no. 8, Florianópolis, Jul. 8, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150914233635/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2004/07/285962.pdf>; Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 43 and 48.

21 See: Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 9–10.

22 Jurandi Borges Pinheiro cited in *CMI na Rua*, “Conquista não desmobiliza”; also in: Camarada D., “Os dez dias que embalaram Floripa.”

23 Alexandre Brandão, “Prefeito se rende,” *Zero*, Jun. 28, 2005, 3, <http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/zero/zerojornais/zero2005jun.pdf>.

24 Cited in Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 62 (see also pages 57 and 82).

25 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 20.

26 CPL, “Sobre o acampamento da Tropa de Choque Cultural do Passe Livre,” *CMI Brasil*, Mar. 24, 2004, <https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2004/03/276237.shtml> [original image no longer available] (copyleft <http://www.midia independente.org>; reproduction for non-commercial use is free as long as the author and the source are cited and this note is included); the Tropa de Choque had a camping event on March 20–21, 2004, in a ranch in the neighborhood of Rio Vermelho with photos (including of some militants who were prominent during the Turnstile Revolts such as Marcelo Pomar, Flora Lorena Müller, and Matheus Felipe de Castro) available here: “Fotos do Campi[n]g do Passe Livre Florianópolis,” *CMI Brasil*, Mar. 23, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150504031741/http://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2004/03/276222.shtml>.

27 “Did you volunteer?/Have you volunteered?” British Library, shelfmark: HS.74/2009(10), accessed Jan. 16, 2022, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/did-you-volunteer>.

28 Tropa de Choque Cultural do Passe Livre (tropapasselivre@grupos.com.br), “Perfil do grupo,” [Grupos.com.br](http://grupos.com.br), accessed May 9, 2019.

29 “(pt) [Brasil, Florianópolis] Campanha pelo passe livre ocupa Câmara dos Vereadores,” *A-Infos*, Sep. 17, 2004, <http://www.ainfos.ca/04/sep/ainfos00306.html>; also based on information provided by: Flora Lorena Müller, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

30 *A-Infos*, “(pt) [Brasil, Florianópolis] Campanha pelo passe livre ocupa Câmara dos Vereadores.”

31 See: Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 14–15.

32 Mari Tortato, “Estudantes invadem Câmara de Florianópolis para pedir passe livre,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Sep. 15, 2004, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/cotidiano/ult95u99574.shtml>.

33 Bispo and Frighetto, “Movimento Passe Livre nasceu em Florianópolis e tomou o Brasil.”

34 Ribeiro de Oliveira and Carvalho, *A Revolta do Buzu – Salvador (BA)*, 30.

35 Flora Lorena remembers that they did not remain chained to the structure for the whole 48 hours, but only until they could make sure that they were in control of the location.

36 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 22–23 and 32; Tortato, “Estudantes invadem Câmara de Florianópolis para pedir passe livre.”

37 Campanha pelo Passe Livre, “Boletim do Passe Livre – outubro de 2004” cited in Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 93; see also: “Manifestação durante votação do

Passe-Livre,” *CMI na Rua*, no. 13, Florianópolis, Oct. 23, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150914164511/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2004/10/293116.pdf>.

38 “Manifestação durante votação do Passe-Livre,” *CMI na Rua*.

39 “Manifestação durante votação do Passe-Livre,” *CMI na Rua*; for more details, see: Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 15–18.

40 Thiago Skárnio, “Sobre elipses e bandeiras,” *Sarcástico*, Mar. 23, 2012, <http://sarcastico.com.br/sobre-elipses-e-bandeiras/>.

41 CPL, “Show pelo Passe-Livre,” *CMI Brasil*, Oct. 15, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150502225425/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2004/10/292513.shtml>.

42 Rafael Medeiros Popini Vaz, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

43 MPL-SP, “26 de outubro: Semana Nacional de Luta pela Tarifa Zero,” Oct. 26, 2014, <https://saopaulo.mpl.org.br/2014/10/26/26-de-outubro-semana-nacional-de-luta-pela-tarifa-zero/>; Camarada D., “Havia muita expectativa para o dia 26 de outubro...” *CMI Brasil*, Oct. 27, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170417072945/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2004/10/293264.shtml>; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 18–20.

44 [Camarada] D., “[Floripa] Qual será o próximo capítulo do transporte coletivo?”, see also: Coordenadoria de Comunicação Social do MPSC, “MPSC tenta derrubar no STF as concessões do transporte coletivo na Capital,” MPSC (Ministério Público de Santa Catarina), Oct. 14, 2005, [https://intranet.mpsc.mp.br/noticias/mpsc-tenta-derrubar-no-stf-as-concessoes-do-transporte-coletivo-na-capital](https://web.archive.org/web/20190613085020/https://intranet.mpsc.mp.br/noticias/mpsc-tenta-derrubar-no-stf-as-concessoes-do-transporte-coletivo-na-capital).

45 *CMI na Rua*, “Manifestação durante votação do Passe-Livre.”

46 MPL-SP, “26 de outubro.”

47 Camarada D., “Aprovação e revolução: a conquista do Passe-Livre em Floripa,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 6, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150430033313/https://midia independente.org/pt/red/2004/11/294016.shtml>; Passe-Livre, “Passe livre aprovado em Florianópolis,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 6, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427210235/https://www.midia independente.org/pt/red/2004/11/293675.shtml>; Pipodelica, “Sem título [a],” Fotolog, Dec. 10, 2004, <https://fotolog.com/pipodelica/9258110>; Pipodelica, “Sem título [b],” Fotolog, Dec. 12, 2004, <https://fotolog.com/pipodelica/9274144>.

48 See: “Tarifa de ônibus deve aumentar no próximo domingo,” *CMI Brasil*, May 31, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427234856/https://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/05/354717.shtml>; “Prefeitura e empresas dão golpe e aumentam tarifa mesmo sem aumentar os salários dos trabalhadores do transporte,” *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 2, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427233939/https://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/06/354825.shtml>; “Movimentos convocam a resistência ao aumento das tarifas: ato está marcado para quinta-feira,” *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 6, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427105929/https://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/06/355096.shtml>; “Movimento contra o aumento das tarifas volta às ruas: novo ato deve acontecer hoje,” *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 9, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427234834/https://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/06/355416.shtml>.

49 See, for instance: Frente Contra o Aumento da Tarifa, “Sobre mais um aumento na tarifa.”

50 Gama, “Relato do meio hardcore/punk – Scene Report Florianópolis.”

51 Flávio Bá, “Entrevista com Flávio Bá,” Interview conducted by Rogério Alves, *Street Ground*, no. 3, c.2012, 12, <https://issuu.com/rogerioxmoraes/docs/streetground03>.

52 Flora Lorena Müller, in conversation with the author, January 2022; Rafael Popini, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

53 Gama, in conversation with the author, May–July 2019.

54 “[Floripa] Festa Contra o Aumento da Tarifa de Ônibus! – dia 14 de junho,” *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 8, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150505234856/http://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/06/355289.shtml> (copyleft <http://www.midia independente.org>; reproduction for non-commercial use is free as long as the author and the source are cited and this note is included).

55 Marcelo Pomar, “Tarifa Zero! A realidade possível,” *CMI Brasil*, Jan. 18, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427012716/http://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/01/343102.shtml>.

56 *CMI na Rua*, “Mobilizações pela redução da tarifa crescem”; *CMI na Rua*, “Conquista não desmobiliza”; Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 40 and 45.

57 Bird, “Punk Art & Gig Posters (2007 – 2013)”; the poster’s artist assigns the date of the work as 2007 in his webpage, but the performances took place on Jan. 5, 2008. This could make sense as its production must have been done many days in advance for promotion purposes. I decided to follow the show’s year for the image caption as it now historically documents the existence of the actual event (see: Marcos Espíndola, “Defect Defect na Ilha,” *Blog do Marquinhos*, Jan. 5, 2008, <http://wp.clicrbs.com.br/marquinhosespindola/2008/01/05/defect-defect-na-ilha/>).

58 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

59 Year of Black Tainhas’ creation: Black Tainhas, “Biografia – Black Tainhas,” Letra da Música, accessed Oct. 19, 2020, <https://www.letradamusica.net/black-tainhas/biografia-artista.html>; in their Orkut community, the people who were part of the band throughout its existence were described as follows: “Panchiniak (vocals e electric guitar), Tequilla (drums), Garganta (bass and vocals), Lucas (electric guitar), Keen (electric guitar), Foca (electric guitar)” (see: Orkut, “Black Tainhas”); about the band formation, see also: Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 72.

60 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

61 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

62 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

63 For the characterization of Black Tainhas by Camarada D., see: Chapter 4.

64 “5 anos da Revolta da Catraca – o 4º debate,” *Passa Palavra*, Jun. 29, 2009, <https://passapalavra.info/2009/06/7159/>.

65 “Sem título [i],” *Revolta da Catraca*, Mar. 18, 2009, <https://revoltadacatraca.wordpress.com/2009/03/18/13/>.

66 Jacques, *Comunidade rock e bandas independentes de Florianópolis*, 83.

67 “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado,” *Tarifa Zero*, Sep. 30, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170507114812/http://tarifazero.org/2009/09/30/latao-de-lixo-integrado/> (the Portuguese lyrics were taken from that website; I have made a few changes in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation); Black Tainhas, “Latão (de Lixo) Integrado,” track 4 on *Black Tainhas*, recorded 2005, audio streaming, <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL981E585A2B4AoB18>.

68 Thiago Macedo, “Boppré condena governo e mídia,” *Zero*, Jun. 28, 2005, 7, <http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/zero/zerojornais/zero2005jun.pdf>; Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 13.

69 In the conversation I conducted with some of the band members, they acknowledged that the date was not precise (Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020).

70 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

71 Groys, *Ilya Kabakov*, 15–16.

72 Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 56–57.

73 “[Floripa] Militantes do Movimento Passe Livre ocupam Secretaria de Transporte,” *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 14, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427184635/midaindependente.org/pt/blue/2005/06/319963.shtml>; original link to the manifesto cited in Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 57.

74 José Miguel Wisnik, “Letra de música é poesia?” Interview conducted by José Roberto Torero, SescTV, Oct. 10, 2019, video, <https://youtu.be/WoLJWGe37i4>.

75 A Hard Day’s Songs, “Latão de Lixo Integrado’ (homenagem a Black Tainhas),” recorded 2012 [live at Bar 98], video, <https://youtu.be/xOsqscRsesI>; A Hard Day’s Songs, “A Hard Day’s Songs,” Soundcloud, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <https://soundcloud.com/aharddayssongs>; A Hard Day’s Songs, “A Hard Day’s Songs,” Facebook, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/AHardDaysSongs/>; Maykon Kjellin, “Conheça: A Hard Day’s Songs (Florianópolis/SC),” *O Subsolo – Portal do Underground*, May 2, 2017, <https://osubsolo.com/conheca-hard-days-songs-florianopolissc/>.

76 *Grande Dicionário Houaiss da Língua Portuguesa*, s.v. “Latão”; *The New Oxford American Dictionary*, ed. Elizabeth J. Jewell and Frank Abate (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), s.v. “Brass.”

77 [Camarada] D., “[Floripa] Dá pra ligar o ar-condicionado, por favor?” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 27, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427123719/http://midaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366958.shtml>.

78 *Grande Dicionário Houaiss da Língua Portuguesa*, s.v. “Sossegar.”

79 S288, “Consumo cego,” track 1 on *Consumo cego*, recorded c.2000, mp3.

80 Two US films that made associations similar to the above and entered popular culture are: *Falling Down*, dir. Joel Schumacher (USA: 1993), and *Super Size Me*, dir. Morgan Spurlock (USA: 2004). For the social status of international fast-food chains in Brazil, see: Isleide Arruda Fontenelle, “Ilusões de modernidade: o fetiche da marca McDonald’s no Brasil,” *Psicologia & Sociedade*, vol. 18, no. 2 (May–August 2002), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102-71822006000200006>.

81 Arruda Fontenelle, “Ilusões de modernidade.”

82 D. H. and R. L. W., “The Big Mac index,” *Economist*, Jan. 17, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180201181928/https://www.economist.com/content/big-mac-index>.

83 Fávero Arend and Dias dos Reis, “Juventude e restaurantes fast food”; the real-dollar conversion rate used was 2.6682, as published by the Central Bank of Brazil for Jan. 3, 2005, “venda” category (Banco Central do Brasil, “Cotações e boletins”).

84 Arruda Fontenelle, “Ilusões de modernidade.”

85 Maikon Duarte, in conversation with the author, July 2020.

86 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018.

87 S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018.

88 The price of a Big Mac in 2005 was R\$5.91 (Lucas Lautert Dezordi, “O Índice Big Mac para a economia brasileira: evidências empíricas sobre a taxa de câmbio de equilíbrio,” *Vitrine da Conjuntura*, vol. 4, no. 3 [May 2011]: 1, <http://img.fae.edu/galeria/getImage/1/9592001050638378.pdf>). For McDonald’s as a symbol of peripheral modernity, see: Arruda Fontenelle, “Ilusões de modernidade.”

89 I have derived the idea of socialization of comfort from a parallel that Susan Buck-Morss makes when referring to the process by which *both* important paintings previously owned by the “Russian aristocracy” ended up in the US National Gallery of Art as “socialized culture” to the “American public,” and a significant part of

the technological knowledge of US private corporations was acquired by the Soviet Union, using the money obtained with the selling of such artworks, to be used in its own “socialist factories, an increase in what Marx called ‘constant capital’ that in turn increased the value of Soviet labor.” (Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* [Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000], 167–172).

90 Renato Fonseca, “The Brazilian Automobile Industry in the 1980’s: The Lost Decade?” *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, vol. 53, no. 1 (1999): 44 and 59, <http://bibliotecadigital.fgv.br/ojs/index.php/rbe/article/view/748>; Francis Castaings and Fabrício Samahá, “Primazia nacional, Chevrolet Chevette durou 20 anos,” *Best Cars*, Apr. 13, 2018, <http://bestcars.uol.com.br/bc/informe-se/passado/historia-chevrolet-chevette-marajo-chevy-500-opel-kadett-c/>.

91 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

92 “MP confirma valor de R\$ 300 para o mínimo,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Apr. 23, 2005, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/dinheiro/fi2304200509.htm>; João Saboia, “Efeitos do salário mínimo sobre a distribuição de renda no Brasil no período 1995/2005 – resultados de simulações,” *Econômica*, vol. 9, no. 2 (December 2007), <https://doi.org/10.22409/economica.9i2.p132>; the 2005 reported salaries of Florianópolis’ council members can be found at: “Entenda o efeito cascata do aumento salarial no Legislativo,” *O Estado de São Paulo*, Dec. 15, 2006, <https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,entenda-o-efeito-cascata-do-aumento-salarial-no-legislativo,20061215p60266>; for the 2005 best-selling car, see: “Mais vendidos 2005,” *Quatro Rodas*, accessed Jan. 16, 2022, <https://quatrorodas.abril.com.br/top-50-2005/>; price for the Volkswagen Gol as published by the press at the release of its then-new version (Rosangela de Moura, “Líder, Gol só faz mudanças superficiais,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Aug. 21, 2005, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/veiculos/cv2108200501.htm>); Volkswagen Gol was born in 1980 as a “domestic project, based on VW’s European Scirocco, it was a small car and developed in response to the recent entrance of the Fiat 147” (Fonseca, “The Brazilian Automobile Industry in the 1980’s,” 43); the conversion rate used for the wages was 2.5146 and for the Volkswagen Gol’s price was 2.4028, as published by the Central Bank of Brazil for May 2, 2005, and Aug. 22, 2005, respectively, both rates in the “venda” category (Banco Central do Brasil, “Cotações e boletins”).

93 Marcelo Cortes Neri, “Pobreza e políticas sociais na década da redução da desigualdade,” *Nueva Sociedad*, número especial em português (October 2007): 55, http://nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/p8-4_1.pdf; the real-dollar conversion rate used was 2.5146, as published by the Central Bank of Brazil for May 2, 2005, “venda” category (Banco Central do Brasil, “Cotações e boletins”).

94 “Resistir até a tarifa cair!” *MPL-Floripa*, Jun. 4, 2007, <https://mplfloripa.wordpress.com/2007/06/04/resistir-ate-a-tarifa-cair/> (my emphasis).

95 Black Tainhas, in conversation with the author, September 2020.

96 Pró-ciclovias, “Bicletada dia 3 em Floripa,” *CMI Brasil*, Sep. 26, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141002085233/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2002/09/37029.shtml>; Leo [Vinicius], “Bicletada em Floripa – relatos e impressões,” Oct. 5, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140901153205/http://midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2002/10/37966.shtml>; Y., “Um pouco sobre pedalar,” *CMI Brasil*, Aug. 22, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141002201430/https://midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2008/08/426744.shtml>; Carol, “Nove anos de Bicletada em Floripa,” *CMI*

Brasil, Oct. 29, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150505233924/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2011/10/499399.shtml>.

97 Ned Ludd, *Apocalipse motorizado: a tirania do automóvel em um planeta poluído*, trans. Leo Vinicius (São Paulo: Conrad Editora do Brasil, 2005); “Apocalipse motorizado para download,” *MPL Joinville*, May 7, 2008, <http://mpljoinville.blogspot.com/2008/05/apocalipse-motorizado-para-download.html>; “Materiais de formação,” *MPL-Floripa*, Sep. 20, 2010, <https://mplfloripa.wordpress.com/2010/09/20/materiais-de-formacao/>; Ronan, “O lido e o vivido: sobre ‘A guerra da tarifa’, de Leo Vinícius,” *Passa Palavra*, Aug. 17, 2012, <http://passapalavra.info/2012/08/63092>.

98 Pedalista, “[Floripa] Bicicletada novamente! Nesta terça-feira saindo da UFSC – às 16h,” *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 4, 2007, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140901112207/http://midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2007/06/384425.shtml>; Bicicletada, “[Floripa] Bicicletada contra o aumento, sábado, às 9h na UFSC,” *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 1, 2007, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140901161311/http://midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2007/06/383928.shtml>; Movimento Passe Livre, “[Floripa] Bicicletada MPL!” *CMI Brasil*, Sep. 20, 2007, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150503065702/http://midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2007/09/394737.shtml>.

99 The complete war cry in Portuguese was “*3,14 não! Eu vou de bike com esse preço do busão! Vem! Vem! Vem pra luta, vem! Contra A TARIFA!*” (“Relato da 1ª Bicicletada Contra a Tarifa – Floripa,” *Tarifa Zero*, Feb. 25, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160630063221/http://tarifazero.org/2011/02/25/relato-da-1ª-bicicletada-contra-a-tarifa-floripa/>); Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Público – Grande Florianópolis, “Carta de Convergência da Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Público,” Apr. 17, 2011, <https://www.fltcfloripa.libertar.org/carta-de-convergencia-da-frente-de-luta-pelo-transporte-publico/>; even though the Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Público’s letter of principles was signed in 2011, its online activities seem to have started from at least 2010 when it began to share materials for promotion of the documentary film *Impasse* (dir. Kroger and Evangelista); Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Público – Grande Florianópolis, “Postagens de 2010,” accessed Jan. 16, 2022, <https://www.fltcfloripa.libertar.org/category/2010/>; Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Coletivo de Florianópolis (@lataofloripa), “É HOJE! Lançamento do documentário IMPASSE,” retweet from Impasse (@doc_impasso), Twitter, Sep. 16, 2010, <https://twitter.com/lataofloripa>; the Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Público – Grande Florianópolis appears a consequence of the amplification of the Free Fare Movement’s agenda, they are ideologically very close, and links to several Free Fare Movement’s regional websites (the “Revolta da Catraca” [“Turnstile Revolt”] online memorial and the Tarifa Zero [Zero Fare] web portal) are on the sidebar of their own blog (Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Público – Grande Florianópolis, “Sidebar,” accessed Jan. 16, 2022, <https://www.fltcfloripa.libertar.org>). In 2010, Florianópolis would again experience intense manifestations against the bus fare hike in which the Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Coletivo had an important role (in the documentary *Impasse*, a demonstrator gives a speech holding a megaphone with their written name and another, Camila Souza, is interviewed and credited as belonging to the organization). The Free Fare Movement’s militant Flora Lorena Müller explains the association between those manifestations, which were not centered around the *free fare*, with the symbology created by the Free Fare Movement during the Turnstile Revolts: “There is a great mixture between ‘reduction of the bus fare’ and the ‘Free Fare [Movement].’ This year, the manifestations were for the reduction of the bus fare and the songs of the ‘Free Fare [Movement]’ were chanted . . . I think this confusion

that happens is somewhat owing to 2004 and 2005 in which the Free Fare Movement was very present in the struggle campaigns for the reduction [of the bus fare] and also owing to the history of the movement in the struggles for transportation in the city" (*Impasse*, dir. Kroger and Evangelista).

100 G. Frederick Thompson, "Fordism, Post-Fordism, and the Flexible System of Production," Center for Digital Discourse and Culture, Virginia Tech, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, https://www.cddc.vt.edu/digitalfordism/fordism_materials/thompson.htm; see also: Ned Ludd, "Carros e remédios," in *Apocalipse motorizado*, ed. Ned Ludd (São Paulo: Conrad Editora do Brasil, 2005), 19; "A importância do carro para a economia moderna," in *Apocalipse motorizado*, ed. Ned Ludd (São Paulo: Conrad Editora do Brasil, 2005), 86, 90-91 and 97.

101 "Audiência pública em defesa das liberdades democráticas," Rádio Campeche, Aug. 16, 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20100822002241/http://radiocampeche.com.br/>.

102 Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 109; see also: Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 42-45; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 63 and 82.

103 *Amanhã vai ser maior*, dir. and prod. Antunes et al.

104 See: Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 20-21; see also: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 62 and 66.

105 Cited in Tadeu Breda, "Contra o Passe-Livre, pela manutenção da ordem," *CMI Brasil*, May 9, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150505165836/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/05/352803.shtml>.

106 Matheus Felipe de Castro cited in Thiago Macedo, "Segunda semana fica no impasse," *Zero*, Jun. 28, 2005, 12, <http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/zero/zerojornais/zero2005jun.pdf>; see also: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 56.

107 Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 63.

108 Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 174-175; see also: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 56-57.

109 Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 62-63 and 82.

110 Cited in: *Amanhã vai ser maior*, dir. and prod. Antunes et al.

111 "Polícia reprime manifestação violentemente, mas movimento volta às ruas," *CMI na Rua*, no. 21, Florianópolis, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160406014956/http://midiaindependente.org/pt/red/2005/05/317962.shtml>; see also: Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 12.

112 José Augusto Gayoso cited in Emilia Chagas, "Dário pede repressão e governo acata," *Zero*, Jun. 28, 2005, 10, <http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/zero/zerojornais/zero2005jun.pdf>.

113 For images of the confrontations, see: *Impasse*, dir. Kroger and Evangelista.

114 Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 32; see also: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 62.

115 Janice Tirelli Ponte [de Sousa], "Primeiro bate e depois negocia," Interview conducted by Leandro Uchôas, *Zero*, Jun. 28, 2005, 18, <http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/zero/zerojornais/zero2005jun.pdf>.

116 Vinicius, *Guerra da Tarifa 2005*, 22.

117 *Pânico em SP*, dir. Claudio Morelli, Mirella Martinelli, Zeca Abdalla, Mario Dalcêndio Jr., Clotilde Borges, Mariano, Paulo Elias, and Benê (São Paulo: ECA/USP, 1982), video, <https://youtu.be/aoBvww36pRk>.

118 O’Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk*, 28.

119 Italo Nogueira, “Polícia do RJ cometeu 1 em cada 3 homicídios no estado em maio,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Jun. 28, 2019, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2019/06/policia-do-rj-cometeu-1-em-cada-3-homicidios-no-estado-em-maio.shtml>.

120 Igor Mello, “Anuário: Letalidade policial é recorde no país; negros são 78% dos mortos,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Jul. 15, 2021, <https://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/ultimas-noticias/2021/07/15/letalidade-policial-e-a-mais-alta-da-historia-negros-sao-78-dos-mortos.htm>.

121 S288, “Policiais,” track 3 on *Consumo cego*, recorded c.2000, mp3.

122 *Consumo Cego*, ed. [presumably] Fabricio Cardoso, perform. S288 (Florianópolis: 2011), video, https://youtu.be/wLv_VgXFYT4; S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018; Gabriel Peixer, in conversation with the author, December 2021.

123 Guimarães, “Do It Yourcast #20.”

124 Leo Vinicius, replying to questions by the author, December 2021.

125 Leo Vinicius, replying to questions by the author, December 2021.

126 See Chapter 1.

127 Alexandre Brandão, “CMI mobiliza com mídia tática,” *Zero*, Jun. 28, 2005, 2, <http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/zero/zerojornais/zero2005jun.pdf>; see also: [Camarada D., “A Revolta das Barcas e suas lições,” *CMI Brasil*, May 28, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427233110/http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2005/05/317642.shtml>.

128 Guimarães, “Do It Yourcast #20.”

129 Guimarães, “Do It Yourcast #20.”

130 Guimarães, “Do It Yourcast #20.”

131 “Shows: Sexta – 01/02,” *Guia Floripa*, archived Feb. 2, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20020202171130/http://www.guiafloripa.com.br:80/lazer/shows.php3>; S288, replying to questions by the author, July 2018; “Cartazes,” Coletivo Folha, archived Feb. 23, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20050223140224/http://www.geocities.com/coletivofolha/index4.html>.

132 Guerra de Classes, “Policía Bastarda,” on *Ao vivo* (Florianópolis: Bandeira Negra), recorded 1997, cassette tape; I translated Buenaventura Durruti’s passage directly from the song, which seems to be slightly different from the circulating Spanish version: “Las ruinas no nos dan miedo. Sabemos que no vamos a heredar nada más que ruinas, porque la burguesía tratará de arruinar el mundo en la última fase de su historia. Pero –le repito– a nosotros no nos dan miedo las ruinas, porque llevamos un mundo nuevo en nuestros corazones. Ese mundo está creciendo en este instante” (Buenaventura Durruti cited in Can Vies, “Barcelona: Reconstruir Can Vies, celebrar la autogestión!,” *Indymedia Argentina*, Jun. 11, 2004, <https://archivo.argentina.indymedia.org/news/2014/06/861654.php>).

133 Guerra de Classes, “Policía Bastarda,” on *Ao vivo*; Fernandes, “Anarquia”; given the extreme low quality of the available audio recording of Guerra de Classes’ “Policía Bastarda” (originally from an analog cassette tape from the end of the 1990s) in conjunction with the singing being performed mainly through screams (a typical punk rock trait), the lyrics above—I must say—are the very best approximation I could bring to the reader according to my listening/interpretation of the recording and the written sources in the *Ao vivo* cassette insert and in Fernandes’ webpage “Anarquia”; I have also conformed the lyrics to standard Spanish spelling.

134 Bestley, “Big A Little A,” 44–45 (according to Bestley, Westwood and McLaren were even making references to Durruti as well).

135 Bestley, “Big A Little A,” 46.

136 *Botinada*, dir. Gastão Moreira; “A marca de um outro Zorro,” *Passa Palavra*, Aug. 24, 2016, <https://passapalavra.info/2016/08/109085/>.

137 For the connections and conflicts between the “political vanguard” and the “artistic avant-garde” in the context of the Soviet Union, see: Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe*, Chapter 2.

138 O’Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk*, 32–33.

139 For instance, a very significant number of the anarchist militants in São Paulo in the 2000s were previously involved with punk, including its musical derivations (Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 158–162).

140 Guerra de Classes, “Povo em armas,” recorded 1999, audio streaming, <https://youtu.be/bfnvviGKCFc>; Guerra de Classes, “Povo em armas,” on *Ao vivo* (Florianópolis: Bandeira Negra), recorded 1997, cassette tape.

141 Lily Litvak, “‘Organismo científico de la revolución’: literatura y ciencia en la prensa anarquista española (1880–1913),” *Studi Ispanici*, no. 45 (2020): 151, <https://doi.org/10.19272/202002801006>.

142 Wisnik, *O som e o sentido*, 34.

143 As declared by the multifaceted journalist and producer Ezequiel Neves in: *Botinada*, dir. Gastão Moreira; for a summary of Neves’ life and achievements, see: Antônio Carlos Miguel, “Morre no Rio o produtor e jornalista Ezequiel Neves, o ‘descobridor’ de Cazuza,” *O Globo*, Jul. 7, 2010, <https://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/morre-no-rio-produtor-jornalista-ezequiel-neves-descobridor-de-cazuza-2982175>.

144 *Botinada*, dir. Gastão Moreira; Cólera’s foundation date comes from: Val Pinheiro, “Coléra,” Interview conducted by Rodrigo Ferreira, *ZP*, Oct. 15, 2012, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190210090301/http://zp.blog.br/?m=interviews&id=259>; and: Marco de Castro, “Após morte de vocalista, Cólera renasce com DVD e nova formação,” *UOL – Música*, Jul. 2, 2014, <https://musica.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2014/07/02/colera-lanca-dvd-com-show-de-2011-e-segue-na-ativa-em-memoria-a-redson.htm>.

145 Guerra de Classes, “Guerra de classes,” recorded 1999, audio streaming, https://youtu.be/2GjGUU_3m5g; Guerra de Classes, “Guerra de classes” on *Ao vivo* (Florianópolis: Bandeira Negra), recorded 1997, cassette tape; Guerra de Classes, “Guerra de classes,” recorded 1997 [live at UFSC], track 28 on the various artists’ compilation *We’re Here to Ruin Your Fun*, Anarcho Punk Federation (A.P.F.), Crasshole Records, mp3, <https://www.anarcho-punk.net/threads/v-a-were-here-to-ruin-your-fun.2654/>; the lyrics are here versed by using the recordings, the insert of the *Ao vivo* cassette tape, and the online material available at: Fernandes, “Anarquia.”

146 Litvak, “Organismo científico de la revolución,” 151.

147 The Portuguese Version reads: “Os animais sofrem, seu antropocentrismo / Maldito cientista, ciência não é sadismo” (Fernandes, “Anarquia.”); the song is supposed to be sung in Spanish but it is done in the good and old *portuñol*: “Los animales sufren, su antropocentrismo / Maldito científico, ciencia no es sadismo!” (Guerra de Classes, “La farsa científica,” on *Ao vivo* [Florianópolis: Bandeira Negra], recorded 1997, cassette tape).

148 Litvak, “Organismo científico de la revolución,” 168.

149 Guerra de Classes, “Povo em armas,” recorded 1999; in the live version of the song, the vocalist sings “our god is our consciousness” (Guerra de Classes, “Povo em armas,” on *Ao vivo*).

150 Guerra de Classes, “Iconoclastas,” on *Ao vivo* (Florianópolis: Bandeira Negra), recorded 1997, cassette tape.

151 Guimarães, “Do It Yourcast #20.”

152 “Histórico,” Rádio de Tróia, archived Jun. 3, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20040603011854/http://www.radiodetroia.hpg.ig.com.br/text/index.htm>; “Rádio de Tróia 102.9 FM Livre – histórico,” *CMI Brasil*, May 13, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427224829/http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2004/05/279887.shtml>; the 1997 confiscation of the transmitter by the Federal Police at the Federal University of Santa Catarina was reported by Organização Autonomia in their zine (Organização Autonomia, “Monopólio da comunicação,” *Da Resistência à Revolução*, yr. 1, no. 1, Nov.–Dec. 1997, 3) and by Guerra de Classes in the insert of its live album (Guerra de Classes, *Ao vivo* [Florianópolis: Bandeira Negra], recorded 1997, cassette tape).

153 Boca, “Rádio de Tróia – Festa de 1 Ano,” *CMI Brasil*, May 16, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427230016/http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2004/05/280236.shtml>.

154 Rádio de Tróia, “Falhas estruturais no Sistema Integrado de Transporte em Florianópolis[.]”

155 Rafael Medeiros Popini Vaz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.

156 “Rádio de Tróia 102.9 FM Livre de volta ao ar,” *CMI na Rua*, no. 11, Florianópolis, Sep. 4, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150908032714/http://brasil.indymedia.org/media/2005/02/307076.pdf>.

157 [Camarada] D., “Seminário Regional de Rádios Comunitárias em Floripa – Amanhã,” *CMI Brasil*, Aug. 30, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141001210810/https://midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2003/08/262241.shtml>; “Encontro de Rádios Livres em Florianópolis,” *CMI Brasil*, Oct. 9, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150503210656/http://midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2004/10/292120.shtml>.

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159 “Carta de princípios: Rádio de Tróia 102.9 FM Livre,” Rádio de Tróia, archived Jul. 22, 2004, https://web.archive.org/web/2004072220256/http://troia.radiolivre.org/txt/Radio_de_Troia_-_Carta_de_Principios.doc.

160 See: Movimento Coalhada Livre, “Manifesto Rádios Livres e Comunitárias,” *CMI Brasil*, Jan. 7, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427203857/http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2005/01/301746.shtml>.

161 Rádio de Tróia, “Carta de princípios”; see also: “Rádio de Tróia 102.9 FM Livre – uma breve introdução,” *CMI Brasil*, May 12, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427225339/http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2004/05/279886.shtml>.

162 *CMI Brasil*, “Rádio de Tróia 102.9 FM Livre – histórico.”

163 Gama, “Do It Yourcast #29.”

164 In fact, Rádio de Tróia is characterized by Gama in very similar terms that would define the Free Fare Movement itself: as something “free (that is to say, it broadcast without authorization from state apparatuses), horizontal and independent . . . organized by the efforts of voluntary activists for the democratization of the media” (Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 79).

165 Gama, “Do It Yourcast #29”; see also: SINTRAJUSC, “Matéria sobre o CMI no jornal do Sindicato dos Trabalhadores no Poder Judiciário,” *CMI Brasil*, Feb. 2, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150503090417/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2005/02/309073.shtml>; and: *CMI Brasil*, “Rádio de Tróia 102.9 FM Livre – histórico.”

166 “Programa CMI na Tróia,” Rádio de Tróia, archived May 9, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060509005711/http://troia.radiolivre.org/?content=program&cod=43>.

167 Antonio Cleber Rudy, *Os silêncios da escrita: a historiografia em Santa Catarina e as experiências libertárias* (MA thesis, UDESC, 2009), 42, http://www.faed.udesc.br/arquivos/id_submenu/478/antonio_cleber_rudy.pdf.

168 “Letter written by a member of CAAP dated from April 4, 1997” cited in Rudy, *Os silêncios da escrita*, 42.

169 Rudy, *Os silêncios da escrita*, 43.

170 Rudy, *Os silêncios da escrita*, 45–46; according to Vinicius: “I do not remember this Organização Autonomia. If it existed, I think it ended up being more a name than something with practical outcomes, probably substituting CAAP when there were more anarchists (not punks) together (as is the case with the second drummer of Guerra de Classes). I in fact remember CAAP. This was the name of the collective of these anarcho-punks of Greater Florianópolis who got together in the square at that time around 1996” (Leo Vinicius, replying to questions by the author, December 2021); in the words of Astrogildo e Tréz: “I would say that the movement rejuvenated itself from 1995 and 1996. Some punks of the ‘old generation’ ended up leaving or going away from the scene . . . and younger people joined, with a more anarchist than exclusively punk mentality. . . . The Autonomia Organization (or Collective Autonomia) must have emerged from this, although I do not exactly remember this ‘organization.’ . . . In the end, the Autonomia invested more in political issues, even though the punk vein was there” (Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022).

171 Lixo Urbano and Distruggere, *Split demo tape: tomando o controle de nossas próprias vidas* (Florianópolis: n.d.), cassette tape [originally], audio streaming [currently], <https://youtu.be/DuOsqYeNu6o>; see the comments by Fábrica de Fracassos to this album at the same link as above; see also: Chapter 1.

172 “O que queremos?” Coletivo Folha, archived Oct. 26, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20091026194925/http://geocities.com/coletivofolha/index.htm>; Gama, for instance, declared that “Coletivo Folha ends up being very much an inspirational model . . . mainly to me” (Gama, in conversation with the author, May–July 2019).

173 “Única Chance,” Coletivo Folha, accessed Oct. 26, 2020, <http://www.geocities.ws/coletivofolha/ucindex.htm>.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Happiness of Punks

Carnival and Soccer in Belo Horizonte and Beyond

*Johnny was arrested, extradited to Brazil
That country that walks a tightrope
that only has carnival, samba, and soccer
An idiot country, full of brats
Where they still play disco music
For Johnny, this was a strong curse
He preferred a death sentence*

Garotos Podres, in the song “Johnny,” 1985.¹

Blood and Carnival

A difference between what scholar Lily Litvak lists as the political and aesthetic traits of early European anarchists and characteristics found in the lyrics of the Florianópolis band Guerra de Classes is the way they each interpret the discovery of the New World. In the nineteenth century, Christopher Columbus became an anarchist symbol owing to his ingenuity and bravery as a navigator, explorer of the unknown, and contributor to human knowledge. Then, he was compared to Galileo Galilei and to the workers killed “either in Chicago, or Paris, or in fact around the world, [who] gave their lives for the anarchist ideal.”² In the vision of those Europeans, Columbus’ main role consisted in successfully undertaking the task of unifying the Earth: “The genius of exploration overcame mystical fatalism to complete the inventory of our globe.”³ This opinion seemed to have already changed in Latin America *circa* 1997, a few years after the celebrations of the fifth centenary of Columbus’ arrival on the American continent and shortly before the preparations for the Brazilian quincentennial to be celebrated in 2000. In the song “500 anos” (“500 Years”), Guerra de Classes criticizes the transcontinental encounter of cultures as the destruction of local societies on their own soil after the appearance of the conquerors:

[discurso falado]

*Esqueçam, embriaguem a sua memória
 Memória fraca e silenciosa
 Das mentiras da nossa história
 História de encobrimento e vergonha*

*500 anos de mentira e sangue
 Essa é a nossa comemoração?
 Afiada como uma flecha
 Em arco de satisfação*

*Assim, começou a história de um Mundo Novo
 Que se diverte queimando culturas
 Assim, começou a história de uma Nova Ordem
 Onde a revolta vira samba*

*Naquele Mundo, não cabia outros mundos
 Mas somente algum, onde imperava o ouro
 Naquela Ordem, não cabiam outras vidas
 Mas somente algumas, onde imperava a posse*

*E ainda vieram homens com cruzes na mão
 E um livro pesado [sob] os braços
 Pesado como a lição
 De pagar com a vida
 [se dissessem não*

*Assim, foi durante 500 anos
 Assim, perdura até hoje
 Esqueçam, mas as lágrimas de hoje
 Eram de sangue há 500 anos atrás*

[canto]

*Nada por aqui se descobriu
 Culturas por aqui se dizimaram
 Isso não faz parte da memória
 Esqueça o que você aprendeu na história*

[refrão]

*Sangue na América
 A serviço da Coroa e de Deus
 Samba e carnaval
 A serviço da Nova Ordem Mundial*

[spoken words]

*Forget, intoxicate your memory
 A silent and weak memory
 Of the lies in our history
 History of cover-ups and shame*

*500 years of blood and lies
 Is this our celebration?
 Sharp as an arrow
 In an arch of satisfaction*

*Thus, the history of a New World began
 In which one has fun burning cultures
 Thus, the history of a New Order began
 In which revolt becomes samba*

*In that World, no other worlds fit
 But only one, where gold ruled
 In that Order, no other lives fit
 But only a few, where possession ruled*

*And yet men came with crosses in hand
 And a heavy book under their arms
 Heavy as the lesson
 About paying with their lives
 if “no” was the answer*

*It has been so for 500 years
 It has remained so until today
 Forget it, but the tears of today
 Were blood 500 years ago*

[singing]

*Nothing here was discovered
 Cultures here were decimated
 This is not part of memory
 Forget what you learned in history classes*

[chorus]

*Blood in the Americas
 At the service of the Crown and God
 Samba and carnival
 At the service of the New World Order*

*O indio que aqui antes morava
Em perfeita harmonia com a vida
Teve sua cultura arrasada
Pela ideologia etnocida*

[refrão]

...

*The Indian who before lived here
In perfect harmony with life
Had their culture devastated
By the ethnocidal ideology*

[chorus]

...⁴

In at least two instances, one can use the words and thoughts of writer Antonio Bivar, when examining the punk generation of 1982, to analyze the late-1990s song “500 anos” by Guerra de Classes. First, one can consult one of his iconic passages: “The punk rebellion in São Paulo is not an imported copy of foreign punk, but it is an identification adapted to the local reality.”⁵ An act of cultural cannibalism, this phenomenon observed in Brazil’s largest metropolis could have repeated itself in other geographical points. Guerra de Classes, a band from the country’s far south, also tailored the punk musicality to create a piece that reflects aspects of the common domestic experience. The song “500 anos” starts with what is supposed to be an indigenous instrument being played over the background noise of nature. This initial part of the song is a depiction of the life of the autochthonous people before the influx of Europeans. This instrument is later interrupted by the sound of several gunshots (representing the colonizer arriving in the tropical lands), followed by a small child crying in despair. Then, the sound of a triangle is introduced, creating, together with the drums and the bass, a rhythm that many listeners can interpret as *baião*—a typical regional Brazilian music genre linked to parties and celebrations, emanating from the northeastern backlands (*sertão*)—although the intention of the musicians was to allude to *samba* (in any case, they recreated a rhythm close to the popular manifestations of Brazilian music). Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz, a member of Guerra de Classes at the time, explained the genesis of the song in an interview in 2022:

I wrote the lyrics and did the arrangement. Actually, it was supposed to be a *samba!* [laughs] However, listening to the song today, especially this introduction and the chorus, I don’t agree with associating *samba* or carnival with the New World Order. But, at the time, there was this very punk thing of questioning mass events, this mass culture. . . . Carnival was approached this way, with this idea of the opium of the people, of “bread and circuses.” *Samba* became subjected to this criticism, too. However, as I said, today I think one cannot generalize, neither can one make this association, which sounds cheap to me. There are different types of *sambas*.⁶

The intended criticism of *samba* and carnival by Guerra de Classes at the time of the composition of the song leads to the second point based on Bivar’s ideas: such a gesture by the punk rock band might be understood as

an actual sarcastic one. Since the 1980s, the country's punk culture has had a certain dislike for Brazilian Popular Music (also known as MPB). Here Brazilian Popular Music is understood in its broadest sense, from the songs written in opposition to the military dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s and in denunciation of the alarming social conditions of the people (the so-called "protest songs") to more local genres linked to rural areas or even to the beaches of Rio de Janeiro. As Bivar states:

[Punks] do not like Brazilian Popular Music [MPB] because (1) Brazilian protest songs are made by middle-class artists (for punks, they are bourgeoisie) who, by achieving success and making money, romanticize poverty and the poor, creating a self-deprecating people; (2) when it is about love songs, those songs only talk about failed love, betrayals, humiliations, complaints, which are uninteresting, boring, and irrelevant topics; (3) or else, when those songs come from Ceará or Bahia, Pernambuco or Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso or the *backlands*, they are songs that are too regional or typical, with themes involving religion, superstition, distant and inaccessible landscapes, palm trees in the wind, hot sand, or the sun of Ipanema.⁷

In *Guerra de Classes'* "500 anos," together with the caustic *baião/samba* rhythm, the spoken discourse begins. With their criticism of colonization, this part of the song is an attempt to awaken listeners from the untruth present in official history, to make listeners aware of the process of erasure of those human beings who were destroyed by the forces of progress (if we allude to the ideas of Walter Benjamin and his view of progress as a succession of disasters).⁸ After the song's initial discourse, with the audience now fully aware of how problematic are the celebrations of the anniversary of a country that has been built upon the annihilation of so many lives, the rhythm is then transformed into pure punk rock. The *baião/samba* disappears. The vocalist starts to sing. As a liminal figure, between a poet and a historian, he now rewrites the national past. This radical stance of resistance to the ceremonial festivities and the official narratives related to the life of the country was in accordance with the political environment of the time, which would culminate in a series of nationwide protests in 2000. According to Antonio Cleber Rudy:

One of the high points of the anarchist actions in Florianópolis at the end of the twentieth century took place in association with the protests against the campaign initiated to celebrate "500 Years of the Discovery of Brazil," renamed "Brazil 500 Years" owing to the polemics associated with the subject of "discovery." Commissioned by Rede Globo TV, the most important [media conglomerate] in the country, big clocks were constructed in the main capitals . . . in order to keep track of the countdown to the celebrations. However, on April 22 of the year 2000 . . . demonstrations in opposition occurred in several places. In the capital

of Santa Catarina, some people started the Comitê Brasil Outros 500 [Committee for a Different Quincentennial of Brazil], with the presence of anarchist militants. The organization called for a protest march through the most important avenue of the city, the Beira-Mar. When going toward one of the aforementioned clocks, they had a confrontation with the police, who tried to terminate the demonstration in a heavy-handed way with tear gas and stun grenades, billy clubs, and shots.⁹

Indeed, “500 anos” was clearly conceived as an anti-celebratory, anti-climactic song trying to provide a distinctive perspective on the history of the country. It ranges from being sympathetic to the indigenous people when talking about their pre-Columbian life to being a correct statement about the annihilation of their societies. However, beyond criticizing the government and the mainstream media’s account of the “discovery” and its consequences, the then-vocalist of *Guerra de Classes* goes on in the lyrics to collide with contemporary Brazilian culture more generally, attacking the apparent incongruity of a country that so skillfully mixes death with partying, “blood” with “*samba* and carnival.” It is a place where anger that should lead to insurrection frequently seems to become the popular tunes of happiness, melancholy, or alienation. Such an ostensible rejection of carnival by this *Guerra de Classes* song, however, is not a total exclusion of dialog with such a cultural manifestation of the Brazilian people, if one considers the broader aspect of the underground music scene and the new political movements emerging in Brazil at the turn of the twenty-first century. Differently from their 1980s counterparts, both those involved with hardcore and punk music and those who eventually protested for free public transportation would throughout the years carry out a subversion of the idea of carnival, starting in the late 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s.

One can argue that the ideology of Brazil as a country of carnival and *samba*, the portrayal of the territory as a paradisiacal land of festivities and social harmony, had been historically linked to the Right since at least the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964–1985). This ideology became key to the regime’s propaganda both internally and externally: the image of conformism and tranquility was wanted as a counterpoise to any discourse stemming from the domestic opposition and as a response to any international concerns with the severity of state authoritarianism exercised against the country’s own people.¹⁰ The phenomena I consider here, the creation of Carnaval Revolução (Revolution Carnival) in the city of Belo Horizonte (the state capital of Minas Gerais and one of the most economically important areas in the country) and the broader carnivalization of protest in other regions, represented a U-turn in how carnival was politically used. The weapon changed hands. An expressive sector of the Left had finally incorporated a real aspect of popular culture and employed it to their advantage instead of neglecting its existence. This segment of the Left became unashamed of carnival, recognizing its potentially subversive and mobilizing powers.

Welcome to Revolution Carnival

In 2002, a new episode started within the network of individuals with affinities for anarchist and non-orthodox Marxist viewpoints, as well as within the panorama of those interested in and living within the hardcore/punk culture. In Belo Horizonte, Brazil's third-largest metropolitan area in terms of population and located in a relatively central state with no direct access to the country's touristic coastline, a multiday event named Carnaval Revolução was born. It took place between February 9 and 12.¹¹ The purpose of the endeavor was to take advantage of the free days related to the nation's major annual festival, carnival, a moment when job and school responsibilities are effectively suspended for most. In the words of anthropologist Roberto DaMatta, Brazilian carnival is a "national ritual," which "always entail[s] abandoning or 'forgetting' work, . . . [with its] days being national holidays" in order to have "the possibility of dramatizing crucial, encompassing, global values of *our* society."¹² In the case of Carnaval Revolução, activists were to get together with artists to discuss forms of anti-capitalist resistance and the creation of a *new* society. Different from some aspects of the official carnival, activists and artists were there not to reenact Brazilian power structures and hierarchies but to perform the politics and social relations of a utopian future.

As described in a Rio de Janeiro anarchist publication of the time, the participants of the second annual Carnaval Revolução in 2003 already included the most varied ideological types from different generations, professions, and aesthetic affiliations, as the gathering applied the principle of having no heads and no stars, and having self-financing and self-policing measures: "The event was organized in a horizontal, subversive, underground, cooperative, and non-hierarchical way."¹³ Expanding slightly on Yuri Gama's definition, one could say that throughout the decade "Carnaval Revolução . . . [would become] an important hub" for the practice of thinking of tomorrow by not only criticizing the present but also creating other social relations in the here and now.¹⁴ In its inaugural year, the organizers chose (not by coincidence) to host the political and musical activities in a house used as a recording studio and communal home of the anarchist, sound-exploratory band Retórica (Rhetoric).¹⁵ This was the beginning of a punk carnival that would run again and again, practically every year from 2002 until 2008. According to a biography of the music group:

The band [Retórica] lived together and recorded their only album *1º Comuniqué [1st Communiqué/First You Communicate]* (Cisma, 2002) in their house, integrating the building's architecture in the recording process: [the] bass was played in a bathroom, vocals for one song were recorded on the roof, and two drummers would play in one room while the microphone recording them circumvented the building. . . . Retórica's live shows were laced with performance art, and some concerts were practically devoid of



Fig. 4.1: Marcos Aragão, *Retórica* at the *Rancor Fest* in Belo Horizonte, 2003.

music altogether. . . . Philosophically the group drew ideas from punk's do-it-yourself ethos, contemporary anarchism, and the writings of the Crimethinc Ex-Workers Collective.¹⁶

Because of the radical attitude toward music and the connection between the produced songs and the rebel ethos assumed by *Retórica*, one can see that the first Carnaval Revolução in 2002 passed into history as a *sui generis* event that mixed art and politics. *Retórica*, which de facto hosted this maiden congregation, was not the only band that performed at Mansão Libertina (Libertine Mansion), the ironic name of their communal house.¹⁷ The audience also had the opportunity to see a show by the iconic band Abuso Sonoro (Sound Abuse) from the state of São Paulo, which was responsible for playing tropical underground classics such as "É assim que nos querem" ("That is the Way They Want Us"), "Educação Zero" ("Zero Education"), "Grande Mentira" ("Great Lie"), and "Opção" ("Choice"). Besides the musical performances, the activities of Carnaval Revolução included several discussions such as one about the issues faced by women concerning menstruation within capitalist society.¹⁸ This model of hosting debates, lectures, and workshops would be repeated throughout the years with a significant presence of topics around gender and sexuality.

The whole gathering had, in fact, a pedagogical, educational perspective; it could be understood as a critique of what commonly comprised the curricula in schools and universities. It was an attempt to give an alternative or even an altogether unprecedented approach to subjects that the organizers and the participants considered neglected by most professional teachers and college instructors. The revolution should encompass the creation of a new mentality without prejudices and authoritarian hierarchies, and the revolution had already started with such initiatives as this parallel summer university that Carnaval Revolução actually was. This reproach of formal education, the necessity of revamping learning processes, is reflected in a song by Abuso Sonoro, which was performed at Carnaval Revolução. Recorded in 2000, it bears the revealing title of “Educação Zero” (“Zero Education”):

<p><i>Escolas Livres!</i> <i>Educação de verdade!</i></p> <p><i>[fim da primeira parte]</i></p> <p><i>[repetição da primeira parte]</i></p> <p><i>[...]</i></p> <p><i>A sobrevivência nos limita a uma erudição falha e carente que estimula a competição e a obediência formando indivíduos controlados de gestos repetitivos que garantem [grandes produções]</i></p> <p><i>O empreguismo é o prêmio e a ignorância [um castigo] Rudemente ler e escrever ou [até mesmo nem isso] Estrutura cultural zero Porque empecilhos do poder [afogam nosso potencial Nosso potencial!]</i></p>	<p><i>Free Schools! True education!</i></p> <p><i>[end of the first part]</i></p> <p><i>[repetition of the first part]</i></p> <p><i>...</i></p> <p><i>Survival limits us to a lacking and flawed erudition that stimulates competition and obedience it makes controlled individuals with repetitive gestures that guarantee a great production</i></p> <p><i>Job handouts is the prize, and ignorance is a punishment Reading and writing rudimentarily or not even that Zero cultural structure Because power obstacles suffocate our potential Our Potential!¹⁹</i></p>
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A new education should emerge, liberating people to fulfill their innate talents and aspirations. Carnaval Revolução acted as a step in that direction. This new education had the additional responsibility of ending all forms of discrimination. However, this goal could not be a faraway utopia. If Carnaval Revolução wished to transform the minds of the future, it would need to take measures in the present: theoretically, no difference should exist between what is said and what is done, between thought and conduct or politics and

life. According to this logic, punk culture must be a place that strives to end prejudicial behavior. The preoccupation with discussions of gender issues at Carnaval Revolução shows an attempt to create an environment with less *machismo* inside this very punk rock scene. One should say, however, that punk culture in general is historically more prone to this type of self-reflection. Rock in general appears to have had more women as musicians than other branches of popular music in Brazil in the 2000s.²⁰ Punks themselves tend more to the consideration of women as important members of their own community compared to other branches of rock, even though such a stance is not always honored in the real world: instances of gender conflict and of perceived sexism within spheres related to punk and hardcore music may still occur.²¹

Self-reflection and outside criticism go hand-in-hand in the struggle for equality. At the 2002 Carnaval Revolução, there was a formal debate on LGBT culture. One of the speakers wrote about their interaction with the audience: “Fortunately, many people [from the audience] spoke. It was kind of explosive. Many people really wanted to speak in the first person, without fear of exposing themselves. . . . It was a beginning. One can see the need to open spaces for the exchange of experiences. One can also see the explosive potential of the subject matter.”²² In 2005, several feminist debates and lectures were held: “Women and the City,” “Feminist Dialogs,” and “Queercore.”²³ A year later, there was a workshop for women to learn about computer hardware. In one of the news articles about the activities published on the Independent Media Center’s website, readers are confronted with the maxim: “A woman who does not feel free to know her own body will not feel free to open a computer case.”²⁴ That same year, there was a formal discussion of transfeminism as well.²⁵ In 2008, one of the groups invited to play was the punk/funk Carioca duo Solange, Tô Aberta! (Solange, I’m Open), which embodied a queer stance of challenging *both* gender roles *and* music genres. Pêdra Costa, a member of the act, would later declare about their ultimate intentions: “I’m here to destroy the heteronormative system.”²⁶ Solange, Tô Aberta! in their current self-descriptive statement put together a dissonant array of modes of life and types of sonorities, all aimed at causing people to reflect on pressing and contemporary issues concerning women and the LGBT community:

Solange, Tô Aberta! . . . is a project by Pêdra Costa [and formerly also by Paulo Belzebitchy] in the format of a show, in the style of *baile funk* (originally from the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) that blends queer, punk, drag and post-porn with the sound and dance of funk Carioca, hardcore, *technobrega* and *kuduro*. It uses funk as a tool of political resistance. Distorting its initial form, it promotes a true explosion of cathartic dance and politics. It speaks of those bodies that want openness and space to exist, staging the unclassifiable and questioning sexuality, gender, identity and stereotypes.²⁷

Other bands that played at Carnaval Revolução also incorporated in their compositions and performances the denunciation of the condition of women and LGBT people in Brazilian society. This stance seems to be more like a reflection of the event's general spirit than a strong exception. The Biggs, from the city of Sorocaba, which performed at the 2008 event, have a song titled "To Go Too Far" (recorded in 2001). Toward the end of the piece, they give the audience the following war cry: "Stop disrespect / Sexism is shit."²⁸ The São Paulo band Nerds Attack!, which was present the same year as The Biggs, would echo the questioning of preestablished gender roles. The sound of Nerds Attack! is self-defined as a struggle against "homophobia, transphobia, sexism, among many other [types of] conservative prejudices."²⁹ Their intention can be understood as an effort to bring those issues into discussion. The desired consequence of such an act would be to change the behaviors of the audience when interacting with people who do not conform to expected characteristics of masculinity and femininity. Of course, the very act of singing about these themes is already a way of supporting the lives of women and LGBT people who go to the shows. Their song "Respeite sua escolha" ("Respect Your Choice"), a track from the multi-year album *Grande Enciclopédia Nerds Attack! (2006–2010)*, is an under-a-minute call invoking people to take possession of their own desires, without limiting themselves by the conservatism of society.³⁰ The composition "Desmasculinização" ("De-masculinization"), published in the same compilation, has the message against *machismo* screamed at full volume following loud, introductory guitar feedback:

[...]	...
<i>Masculinidade é apenas um disfarce</i> <i>[para a sociedade]</i>	<i>Masculinity is just a disguise</i> <i>for society</i>
<i>Preservar, hoje e sempre, a conservação</i> <i>[de valores?]</i>	<i>To preserve, today and always, the conservation</i> <i>of values?</i>
[4X]	[4X]
<i>Diga não ao homem macho, diga não</i> <i>[à virilidade!]</i>	<i>Say "no" to the macho man, say "no"</i> <i>to virility!</i> ³¹

The same critical gaze toward the social order and its oppressive status in relation to sexual minorities is used when examining other aspects of life. The band that addresses the negative consequences of heteronormativity and hyperbolic masculinity can very well direct their argumentative musical force at additional topics. In an interview, Nerds Attack! puts at the top of their list of problems concerning the city of São Paulo the "chaotic and limited transportation system, be it bus or subway."³² Gender criticism becomes urban analysis. The opposite is also true: advocacy for the free fare for students develops into sexual politics. The year before Nerds Attack! played at Carnaval Revolução, the Free Fare Movement of Brasília

(MPL-DF) participated in the national capital's local Gay Pride Parade. There, advocates of more accessible public transportation circulated a text in which they demanded "a life without both turnstiles and prejudice."³³ In their view, both students and the LGBT community were fighting for a similar cause: the right to move about urban space and be transported through the city freely and without restraints, be those restraints the money one had to pay for riding the bus or homophobia that limits people's existence because of their sexuality.³⁴ It is important to note that the beginning of the free fare struggle in Brasília in the 2000s is also linked with the hardcore and anarcho-punk scenes, with the people from the capital of the nation traveling to attend Carnaval Revolução in Belo Horizonte to discuss ideas and to get organized.³⁵

Through this narrative, one can then observe a two-way street where discussions of sexuality and urban issues are traveling back and forth, even feeding each other with new perspectives and ideas. Early activists from Brasília, interested in the struggle for free public transportation, would in Belo Horizonte establish contact with an event significantly marked by gender-centered debates. Back in their city, these same activists would most likely create the right environment for a future decision of the Free Fare Movement to join a LGBT political and celebratory demonstration in an attempt to convince its participants that both buses and sex are means that should be explored without obstacles. As it stands, neither the younger sector of the population nor non-heteronormative minds were in reality welcome in their own habitat. This is caused by the fact that both the youth and the LGBT community do not have full access to opportunities in terms of work, culture, and entertainment. Economic barriers have a similar effect to sexual discrimination: violence manifests itself in the bus fare and in intolerance, both leading to segregation and inaccessibility of spaces. Citizens should enjoy all urban areas without effort and fear, without the necessity of being rich or heterosexual. Of course, these connections between transportation and sexuality in protests and even in music events were not total. Sometimes they were just incipient. However, the instances in which LGBT topics crossed paths with the desire for a more democratic flow of bodies already pointed toward the necessary broadening of the political project of the Free Fare Movement if the movement wanted to stay relevant beyond a single demand.

Music as Transportation

It is in such a historical context that Carnaval Revolução and the struggle for free public transportation in Brazil formed a recognizable alliance. Music had become a carrier of information, and the transportation of bodies would allow the circulation of music. It is, then, important to exemplify the overwhelming diversity of topics addressed by the debates and workshops held at Carnaval Revolução. In February 2006, with DJs and bands playing at

the event (among them Hold Your Breath, Volume, and Diagonal), there were debates about indigenous issues, alternative food, distribution of open-source software, and a panel devoted to the free fare struggle that included topics such as “direct action” and a conversation based on the presentation of audiovisual materials.³⁶ During the 2008 Carnaval Revolução, the Free Fare Movement made itself unequivocally present once again. Through the movement’s announced participation in a workshop and a film screening followed by a discussion, one can see a kind of integration between the two organizations. In that year also, the scheduled debates at Carnaval Revolução were not restricted to the Free Fare Movement, but as always, they addressed a variety of themes, including discussing and staging a Critical Mass cycling protest. Beyond that, there were activities about veganism, punk agriculture, animal rights, anarchism and education, movements against civilization and industrialism, autonomism, situationism, religion, urbanism, media, occupation of spaces, women and technology, consumerism, Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous cultures, alternative computer programs, prison abolition, clown culture, diversity in sexuality, and queer culture.³⁷ The ethos of that year’s event can be summarized as follows:

Those who have already been to Carnaval Revolução know the feeling of euphoria and nausea caused by the excessive exposure to the cataclysm of possibilities that the do-it-yourself-based organization provides. . . . We want people to stop subordinating themselves to corporations, arts and entertainment professionals, production companies, capitalist sponsors. Those must be dismissed because simply any of us can make our music, write our books, organize a festival of radical media, demonstrate, and ultimately, bring down the current truculent structures of capitalism in a search for authentic ways of reconstructing a new logic, a genuine order to be subordinated only to our common wishes. We want to trigger discussions that can be taken forward, culminating in concrete results and actions that are provocative and dangerous for capitalism.³⁸

At Carnaval Revolução, not only did music work as a criticism of education (as seen in the case of Abuso Sonoro), but also the hardcore/punk culture functioned as a vehicle for the acquisition of knowledge. This feature creates a striking parallel between the struggle for free public transportation and the underground music scene. On the one hand, the political struggle for the abolishment of fares focused on democratically improving the *movement* of people (because this could allow for better access to information by reaching museums more easily, attending libraries more, participating in cultural events, and so on). On the other hand, music was fighting to *transport* subversive philosophies and points of view, and the attraction it generated helped to carry bodies to congregate in relatively unmapped venues. For instance, in 2003, two buses were employed to take participants of Carnaval Revolução from São Paulo to the metropolitan area of Belo Horizonte.³⁹ Those buses brought bodies of both activists and followers of the punk/hardcore scene,

that is to say, people equipped with political ideas and music. They assisted in increasing the diversity of the audience and performers, listeners and speakers, instructors and workshop participants, and this same intellectual diversity aided in bringing more people to the shows and debates.

Even though I see Belo Horizonte's Carnaval Revolução as a hardcore/punk carnival, it became a true exchange (a "two-way street") of singular individuals and ideas, unique songs and ideologies, complementary forms of organization and participation. In the words of a piece published by the Brazilian version of the Independent Media Center, "[the 2003] Carnaval Revolução hosted in three days homemakers, rappers, workers, punks, anarchists, communists, students, rockers, college students, activists, misfits, and all types of people interested (sometimes by chance) in communication and dialog between human beings."⁴⁰ This phenomenon was not spontaneous, but diversity and bidirectionality were sought by those behind the endeavor of Carnaval Revolução. This event reflected punk culture and carnival culture in their characteristic breaking of barriers such as between the strict roles of the performer and the audience, between artistic expression and political stance, between the local community and visitors.

The 2003 event took place on a small farm and employed charter buses to bring in the participants, as announced in its pamphlet.⁴¹ It encompassed all fields related to the new type of protests that emerged in the country at the turn of the twenty-first century: politics and music, vegetarianism and cinema, Internet culture and feminism, anarchism and alternative media, parties and demonstrations. The event followed the "straight edge" approach of not allowing alcohol or drugs, something that would last until its final annual gathering.⁴² The publicized shows included those by Ordinaria Hit, Point of No Return, Dois Minutos de Ódio (Two Minutes of Hate), Life Is a Lie, Pluto, O Inimigo (The Enemy), Peste Negra (The Black Death), and Ajudanti di Papai Noel (Santa Claus' Helper).⁴³ That year, Carnaval Revolução defined itself as follows:

The idea is formed—three days of diverse do-it-yourself expressions, expanding all its possibilities and perspectives. Grasping this idea while it belongs to us. Now, let us follow all of our impulses through workshops, debates, lectures, and several presentations. Using our ideas face-to-face with the status quo. Standing at a point of disagreement. When someone finally erects the last palace, we will only have a single fun thing to do: to destroy it! We will not feel truly alive while the rest of the world agonizes day after day through boredom and stress. We will see their high and perfect constructions collapsing! Our entire expression, our (counter)(anti) culture must be revolutionary, a two-way street: from us to you, from you to us. Nothing is true, everything is permitted. . . . We reject the acknowledgment of idols, leaders, representatives, and an avant-garde. We reserve the right to represent only ourselves through direct and consensual activities."⁴⁴

To see two undeniable examples of how music functioned as a type of transportation of knowledge to the wider community, one can reflect on the first and the last annual gatherings of Carnaval Revolução in 2002 and 2008. Different from previous years, the final iteration of the event occurred in São Paulo, breaking with the tradition of it taking place in Belo Horizonte—its motto was “anti-civilization, veganism, radical autonomy, ecology.”⁴⁵ The list of national hardcore/punk bands (and bands from related genres and subgenres) that played that year demonstrates how seriously the organizers and participants took the musical component of Carnaval Revolução: Busscops, Are You God?, Nerds Attack!, D.E.R., Peste Negra, Morri em Kronstadt (I Died in Kronstadt), Shit with Corn Flakes, xÓdiox, ROT, The Dealers, B.U.S.H., Lumpen, Arauto (Herald), The Biggs, Discarga, and Deriva, Desvio ou Deturpação (Drift, Detour or Distortion).⁴⁶ One can take a closer look at Deriva, Desvio ou Deturpação. Its name is a clear reference to the work of French theoretician Guy Debord and his group, the Situationist International. Together, Debord and the situationists developed concepts such as *detournement*, *dérive*, and the society of the spectacle. Deriva, Desvio ou Deturpação does not stop at making references to Debord in their own name. The band even has a song that uses in its title a mention of one of Debord’s romantic and intellectual partners: “Michelle Bernstein sobrevivia de horóscopo de cavalo” (“Michelle Bernstein Survived Through Horse Horoscope”). Listening to the recording, one can realize how the band pays homage to Debord by singing and consequently functions as a means of transportation of Debord’s ideas to members of the audience, who have not necessarily studied or read about situationism before:

<p>[...]</p> <p><i>Assistimos passivamente como</i> <i>[bons espectadores]</i></p> <p><i>Vida real transformada em teatro</i></p> <p><i>Bem-vindo à sociedade do espetáculo</i></p> <p>[...]</p>	<p>... <i>We watch it passively as</i> <i>good spectators</i></p> <p><i>Real life transformed into theater</i></p> <p><i>Welcome to the society of the spectacle</i></p> <p>...⁴⁷</p>
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As for the 2002 Carnaval Revolução, besides Abuso Sonoro with their screamed lyrics, another band that played was Colligere.⁴⁸ The band came to Belo Horizonte from the south, from the city of Curitiba, the state capital of Paraná. Rodrigo Ponce, the singer of Colligere, not coincidentally would develop a profound connection with both the new media used by social movements and the struggle for free public transportation. In a 2007 interview, Ponce is described as “an activist of the Free Fare Movement and [involved with] incubators of popular cooperatives. At the Independent Media Center [CMI], he participates in the coverage of movements, the pamphlet ‘CMI na Rua,’ workshops on communication strategies, and is a member of the collective editorial board of CMI-Brasil, monitoring the main column of the website.”⁴⁹ One of their songs, recorded in 2000 and named “O Poder do Pensamento

Negativo” (“The Power of Negative Thinking”), starts with several sentences from Debord. After that, the singing engages in a criticism of contemporary society’s ideology of conformism, consumerism, and lack of true purpose. With this combination, Colligere operates as a bridge between Debord’s ideas about the society of the spectacle and a part of their young audience. The once hardcore/punk, free-fare, and media activist Yuri Gama declared that he became influenced by situationism after hearing about it from this music group: “I always was [influenced by situationism] a lot. I knew situationism through folks from punk, from mIRC. . . . [Colligere] has a song in which they read a fragment from *Society of the Spectacle*. I think it was from there that I began to read about situationism.”⁵⁰ He is almost certainly referring to excerpts of Debord in Colligere’s “O Poder do Pensamento Negativo”:

[discurso falado]

[spoken words]

“O segredo do homem neste mundo, antes de tudo, como segredo da dominação”.

“Secrecy dominates this world, and first and foremost as the secret of domination.”

“O espetáculo organiza a ignorância do que acontece e o esquecimento do que, apesar de tudo, conseguiu ser conhecido”.

“The spectacle organizes ignorance of what is about to happen and, immediately afterward, the forgetting of whatever has nonetheless been understood.”

“Quem está sempre assistindo, esperando o que vem depois, nunca age. Assim deve ser o bom espectador”.

“Those who are always watching to see what happens next will never act: such must be the spectator’s condition.”

“A consciência do desejo e o desejo da consciência são o mesmo projeto que, sob a forma negativa, quer a abolição das classes. Que as pessoas tenham a posse direta de todos os momentos de sua atividade”.

“Consciousness of desire and desire for consciousness are the same project, the project that in its negative form seeks the abolition of classes and thus the workers’ direct possession of every aspect of their activity.”

[Canto]

[Singing]

[...]

[...]⁵¹

As stated at the beginning of this book: music transports ideas to bodies, buses transport bodies to ideas. Such an affirmation is corroborated by this last illustration. Recapitulating, this is the case of Colligere’s song so decisively leading Gama to discover Debord’s radical thought, with Gama later fighting for free public transportation in the same social movement in which the vocalist of Colligere would be a militant too, albeit in different cities and contexts. One can infer that both activists wanted individuals to travel freely through urban space in order to gain greater understanding of life.

The same association (music transporting ideas to bodies, buses transporting bodies to ideas) can be made from the fact that the participants of Carnaval Revolução self-organized to rent vehicles to form a small caravan to Belo Horizonte. There they would be exposed to a variety of opinions and sounds dealing with numerous aspects of society. A then fifty-year-old grandfather, who was at the first Carnaval Revolução in 2002 with several members of his family, can now become a surprising asset to be brought to the discussion. He gave a poetic and skilled account, which sums up the characteristics of the Belo Horizonte event: the negation of Brazil as the land of *alienated* festivities, the denial of carnival as an overwhelmingly conservative moment, the subversion caused by the employment of hardcore/punk culture instead of traditional *samba* music, the mixture of people, and the transportation of bodies and ideas as a key element for reaching the desired disruptive effect on social norms:

They say Brazil is the country of carnival. . . . There are those who dress up as happiness and go out, pretending everything is good. However, in the land of the King Momus [a typical Brazilian carnival character], there are those who fortunately go out of tune and impose dissonant chords, opposing the norms of *samba* composers. . . . Daily, about 300 people (children, young folks, and adults) had the opportunity to live a different type of “partying” there: an intelligent, supportive, and participatory one. . . . People came from all over the world: the United States, France, Chile, Spain, Canada, and (be amazed!) a full bus from São Paulo.⁵²

If “music . . . [is] the organization of noise,” as posited by Jacques Attali, transportation can be seen here as the organization of movement.⁵³ As punks sought to take control of the organization of noise away from large corporations, they would subsequently fight to have public transportation managed by the people and not by companies. Thus, it does not seem to be a coincidence that participants of Carnaval Revolução eventually applied the concept of do-it-yourself to their own transportation, organizing their bus caravan. It is not a coincidence either that in 2011 the Free Fare Movement of Florianópolis would work with a local neighborhood called Arvoredo to try to create an experimental zero-fare bus without waiting for a government initiative.⁵⁴ Do-it-yourself as a modus operandi, radical independence, and being non-partisan and horizontal exemplify a worldview that was already present in the first Carnaval Revolução and that would later reverberate in the Free Fare Movement. This reverberation included further similarities such as the carnivalization of protest.

The Carnivalization of Protest (I)

At the 2002 Carnaval Revolução, not everything was restricted to theoretical discussions or cathartic moments of learning propelled by the distorted sound of electric guitars. There were more hands-on activities than simply renting

buses for transportation. Protests, too, became part of the order of the day. During the festivities that generally brought Brazil to a standstill, Carnaval Revolução made use of carnivalized forms of demonstration, and the activists decided to do so inside one of the symbols of capitalism, a McDonald's restaurant:

There were four days of events such as lectures, debates, workshops, theater, puppetry, and music. Many groups and individuals were present. The majority of them came from São Paulo. Lectures took place simultaneously with other debates and workshops. Only when there was music . . . was it impossible to have any other type of workshop at the same time. A debate was organized at the very last minute, there in the streets, because it was not possible to fit it into the schedule. This debate was about the Spanish Civil War, and involved two Spaniards who were present at the event. There was also a small problem with the police, when the *batucada* [the mobile percussion band] paraded through the streets and entered a McDonald's restaurant. The police arrested two members that participated in the small carnival improvised by the *batucada*, accusing them of stealing and later of receiving a stolen broom belonging to McDonald's. However, by the end of that afternoon, those "receivers" were released. The event ended at around 8 pm on February 12, with a lecture on punk/do-it-yourself and a video . . . on demonstrations and direct action.⁵⁵

With the noise provoked by the *batucada*, Carnaval Revolução was effectively staging a political carnival *bloco* through the streets of Belo Horizonte. *Bloco* refers to a group of partying people, in general led by musicians or a sound system, within the context of Brazilian carnival street festivities.⁵⁶ *Bloco* literally means "bloc," being also a ready-made reference to some anarchists of that period. It reminded those anarchists of the black blocs, which had gained notoriety during the anti-capitalist demonstrations of the turn of the twenty-first century for engaging in radicalized activities.⁵⁷ In fact, it was in the anti-globalization/anti-capitalist protests from the beginning of the 2000s that demonstrations became consciously carnivalized in Brazil. As documented by André Ryoki and Pablo Ortellado, activists were "occupying the public space with circus activities, soccer matches, bikes, scooters, pogo sticks, costumes, masks, and puppets. Since the beginning, the idea was to turn the protests into moments in which the hegemonic logic of production and labor were substituted by the logic of idleness and parties."⁵⁸

In October 2002, the newspaper *CMI na Rua* from São Paulo called for militants and the general population to attend a series of protests against the implementation of FTAA (the Free Trade Area of the Americas), which included a *bicletada* (a Critical Mass cycling event) and a "street party."⁵⁹ This new culture of carnivalized protest was influenced by the punk ethos. According to Odir Züge Junior, Brazil's Critical Mass cycling events actually received a significant contribution from punks during the birth of these

actions in São Paulo. Punks were already riding their bicycles as a form of dissent before this activity became more organized as the *bicicletada*, and these punk riders were also linked to the anti-globalization/anti-capitalist movements.⁶⁰ The anti-capitalist sentiment was becoming combined with the irreverent spirit of the youth. In 2003, the Bus Revolt of Salvador had been described as a “big party”: the celebrations were propelled by the economic conditions of the young people’s families, even though its soundtrack was more characteristic of what is commonly thought of as Brazilian music.⁶¹ Carnivatization would increasingly become a prominent tool to be used by militants. The authors of the political piece “Notes on the Autonomous Struggle of Salvador,” when recapitulating the battles of the early 2000s in their city, point out that militants reached the conclusion that it was important to “carnivatize life” as a form of political opposition without of course becoming alienated. These people counted on the help of the Anarchist Popular Organization (also known as OPL) and a collective named Flores Mortas do Palhaço (Dead Flowers of the Clown), with the latter ending up generating an “Army of Clowns.”⁶² In “Notes on the Autonomous Struggle of Salvador,” one can read:

Always “the people from the arts” would go where “the tough people” were afraid and scared to go. . . . Aesthetics was always something fundamental to release our whole savagery, immersed in wildcat strikes, in poetic terrorism, the Provos, and all the things that the [book] series “Baderna” [published] by Conrad [Press] was putting in our minds.⁶³

Another form of the carnivalized protests taking over Brazil manifested itself in the creation of a collective named Confectioners Without Borders (Confeiteiros Sem Fronteiras). Their method of direct action consisted in the throwing of pies in the faces of politicians and public figures. They especially targeted those who, in their view, were acting against the interests of the public. Their tactic of throwing pies was intended to cause embarrassment for the authorities attacked by the group and be extremely demoralizing. It could in fact put an end to important meetings and events. At the same time, it could bring enormous media attention to a specific social cause, particularly if the act were caught on camera. Militants made sure to constantly have a camera ready on hand. The throwing of pies breaks with the idea that all forms of protest must be extremely serious and that it is not possible to have fun while engaging in politics. Confectioners Without Borders can also be connected with the struggle over urban space. As the Free Fare Movement is, in its deepest meaning, a stance against gentrification, Confectioners Without Borders decided at least on one occasion to use pies to discuss the exclusion of people from sectors of the city’s environment. In September 2005, they hit in the face the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development of São Paulo, Orlando de Almeida Filho, at a time when the municipal administration was being accused of purposely and drastically gentrifying the downtown (Fig. 4.2).⁶⁴



Fig. 4.2: CMI-São Paulo, *A Pie to the Secretary of Housing*, São Paulo, 2005. Copyleft CMI Brasil – Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil (see note for details).⁶⁵

“The International Association of Confectioners Without Borders comes publicly to announce that the action carried out today in homage to the Municipal Secretary of Housing and Urban Development of the city of São Paulo, Orlando de Almeida Filho, was fundamentally an act of solidarity. . . . While people are expelled from the downtown in a true operation of ‘social hygiene,’ we continue to believe in the force of resistance by the homeless, those living on the streets, and the street vendors who fight to keep their dignity in a living downtown. With the playful and rebellious spirit of Buster Keaton, resisting the cynicism and hopelessness of political parties, we salute the Secretary.”⁶⁶

Eggs too became a weapon of persuasion. During one of the votes that would eventually pass the Student Free Fare Law in Florianópolis in 2004, some City Council members received these flying objects when they decided to flee without concluding the total approval of the law: “Outside, the demonstrators besieged the building, throwing eggs at the City Council members who tried to exit. It was necessary for the SWAT team (Batalhão de Operações Especiais) to rescue the City Council members, who went home in a paddy wagon.”⁶⁷ In 2005, once again students used eggs as a form of protest. This time, they wanted to press the mayor of Florianópolis to effectively implement the Free Fare Law and to set aside funds to subsidize the cost of student transportation. They threw hundreds of eggs at the main building of the city administration.⁶⁸ In the same year, the use of eggs as soft, messy, and organic grenades took place in Vitória (the state capital of Espírito Santo) in the beginning of a student revolt that would lead to the cancellation of a rise in the bus fare: “The administration and businessmen were inflexible and they would put the hike to a vote. Then, from the outside, students started to shout, saying they would not pay, and, before the vote, eggs started to fly through the meeting room. They landed on the Undersecretary of Infrastructure [and others].”⁶⁹

Protests, then, can take on the most unexpected forms: from the throwing of pies and eggs to the performance of clowns, from mass cycling events to street parties. The battleground was open for innovation. If new approaches appeared in a different part of the globe, they could be adjusted to other

settings. This is precisely what happened in Brazil. The carnivalization of protest was an experience Brazilians had to learn substantially from abroad. This was a case of influence, appropriation, and self-reflection on Brazilians' own dormant strengths. The traditional carnival is something that had already been imported from Europe centuries ago. When it arrived in this South American country, it went through a transformational process, becoming something even larger than the original festivities of the Old Continent. Blacks, indigenous people, and people of mixed ancestry worked to take the country's carnival to an unparalleled level of density and complexity. A similar development would need to happen again with the anti-capitalist protests/parties, protests/carnivals. Even though carnival is nowadays one of the main characteristics of Brazilian culture, if not the central one, it was necessary to look outside the nation to realize the possibilities at stake. The manifestation of the multitudes par excellence could be converted into a device for political struggle. Adapted, it could be turned into fuel for the still-recovering Left at the end of the 1990s. Those from the tropics ultimately had to appeal to a phenomenon occurring in England to find out that a well-known festivity, sometimes scorned by progressive forces, could be a window for the revolution. According to Ortellado:

The original idea was the “carnivals against capitalism,” an idea given by colleagues from London, from “Reclaim the Streets.” They came from the confluence between the movement of the politicization of raves and the anti-road movement, linked to environmental collectives. And they made those street parties [*festas de rua*] that blocked roads and so on, and launched the idea of global carnivals against capitalism. There was this somewhat countercultural character . . . and the first time this in fact happened globally was on J18 (June 18, 1998), in dozens of cities.⁷⁰

For those activists at the dawn of a new millennium, carnival had to be countercultural and anti-capitalist; at the same time, it had to take to the streets. It is not by chance then that parading in a carnival *bloco* turned out to be an important feature of Carnaval Revolução in the city of Belo Horizonte. This was so until 2006, when the use of the *bloco* would be abandoned because of constant altercations between participants and the police.⁷¹ In 2004, for example, Florianópolis' Rádio de Tróia (Trojan Radio) would broadcast a special program to condemn instances of police brutality that happened during Carnaval Revolução when the *bloco*, called Bloco Invade (The Bloc Invades), went to the streets.⁷² That year, Carnaval Revolução once again hosted many workshops that trained participants in topics ranging from creative writing to *capoeira*, from direct action to dramatic performance. Direct action not only was discussed but also was put into practice in several forms. One such form, and perhaps the most important, was that very carnivalesque street *bloco*: “The Bloc Invades the streets, taking back street carnival, but also putting it upside down. Political drum beating [*batucação*], giant puppets, banners, bikes, low-key direct

action, urban and visual interventions, graffiti, in this moment all possibilities of critical, radical, and autonomous expression explode.”⁷³ With the use of a *bloco* as a form of protest, Carnaval Revolução went beyond the simple criticism of popular culture. The event as an organization and its participants also learned from the masses. Carnaval Revolução undertook the absorption of the most uncontrolled and unregulated aspect of the Brazilian ritual festivity.

Belo Horizonte’s hardcore event was already accomplishing what a militant from the Free Fare Movement, Maikon Duarte, would propose a few years later as being a more general need. He claimed that the hardcore/punk scene should model itself on some aspects of the culture surrounding traditional *blocos*: “I believe that punk-hardcore could learn a bit from *samba*, especially with the carnival *blocos*. . . . In which, despite all impositions and invasions from the entertainment industry, [it manages] to keep the roots and the direct connection with the community [in] which it is inserted, and it could keep even more alive the anarchist flame of bottom-up creation.”⁷⁴ Besides the carnival *bloco*, the 2004 Carnaval Revolução included broadcasts by an underground, free radio station and debates about animal rights, Big Food, urbanism, the Black experience, radical politics, religion, immigration, teaching theories, media, drug use, and (of course) gender issues. National rock and hardcore bands also performed: Instinto (Instinct), Mordeorabo (Bite Your Tail), Massacre em Alphaville (Massacre in Alphaville, a rich neighborhood of São Paulo), Chuck Norris, Morte Asceta (Ascetic Death), Confronto (Confront), and Operação Comdor (Operation Condor/Operation with Pain).⁷⁵

The *bloco*, however, represented something special. It used as its sound machine not those ensembles just mentioned above but Batucação (also spelled “Batucação”). This group, active from 2001 to 2004, was a street percussion band that had emerged partially from the contact between hardcore/punk militants from São Paulo and the North American Infernal Noise Brigade (INB).⁷⁶ The Infernal Noise Brigade had been created in 1999 in Seattle for the protests against the meeting of the World Trade Organization: “The INB sound combine[d] elements of drumline, taiko, Mughal and North African rhythms, elements of Balkan fanfares, breakbeats, and just about anything else. Some songs feature[d] vocals and, between or during songs, noise.”⁷⁷ A member of the Infernal Noise Brigade actually came to Brazil, creating a situation of exchange between Brazilian and US forms of activism. This meant that the carnivalization of protest was a two-way street between the South American country and developed nations. Not only Brazilians learned from the previous radical street-party demonstrations—such as those carried out in Seattle in 1999 or the earlier examples of the group Reclaim the Streets in the UK. At least one important member of the Northern Hemisphere’s network of protesters actually traveled to Brazil to absorb the practices of traditional *samba* schools and the tropical version of carnival. In the words of Leo Vinicius:

During the 2001 carnival, Greyg (from Seattle's group, Infernal Noise Brigade) would come to Brazil because of [his] musical interests, to learn strong beats that could excite crowds of people; but he wanted to partake in activities too. The Infernal Noise Brigade, defined by Greyg as a “trouble-making musical unit that has been involved in the emergent anti-capitalist/anti-globalization movement,” participated actively in the events of Seattle (N30) and Prague (S26), probably becoming the most well-known percussion band of this emerging movement. In São Paulo, Greyg would teach activists and straight-edge individuals some beats from INB and how to construct percussion instruments based on metal cans, plastic buckets, rubber, all in the good old do-it-yourself fashion. . . . In 2005, the Free Fare Movement of São Paulo [MPL-SP] formed a percussion band to liven up the demonstrations: “The first song that the percussion band of the Free Fare Movement rediscovered was a fond beat from the A20 [protest of 2001]”. . . . It was the beat that Greyg, from the Infernal Noise Brigade, had taught during his stay in Brazil in the beginning of 2001. The creation of the percussion band of the Free Fare Movement of São Paulo had the didactical and material support (including instruments) of former members of the defunct Batukação.⁷⁸

There is a chain of events here. The US militant Greyg from the Infernal Noise Brigade, arriving in Brazil to learn about *samba* and carnival, would teach Brazilians about how to form an itinerant political percussion band. That experience would eventually help in the creation of Batukação, which provided the soundtrack to both Brazilian anti-globalization protests and Carnaval Revolução in the early 2000s. In fact, Frederico Freitas, who participated in Brazil in the workshop given by Greyg, confirmed that in the 2001 A20 protest the people in the *batucada* were mainly from the hardcore music scene of São Paulo.⁷⁹ After the end of Batukação in 2004, some of its physical remains and accumulated intellectual experience would be appropriated by the Free Fare Movement of São Paulo to craft their own *batucada* the following year. One episode leads to another in a notable fashion.

As to these links between Brazilian and international activists, between members of the local punk scene and an emerging global Left, as well as the question of the role of punk within both globalization and anti-globalization (within capitalist worldwide domination and anti-capitalist struggle), one can take this opportunity to think further on the ways in which transnational cultural politics and social movement strategies were selectively appropriated and hybridized by Brazilians and the ways in which this engagement reflected the possibilities and limits of transnational solidarity. The possibilities are clear: the integration of all places of the Earth means that lessons from one part of the planet are learned and applied in other spaces, and the fight against global power thus becomes universal. The limits are in fact less clear, but they do exist (and they would become even more evident with the development of digital technologies in the following years): international surveillance and

infiltration led by first-world countries would eventually become the norm, raising suspicions amongst all involved parties and decreasing spontaneity. In any case, there was a strong movement of appropriation and reappropriation between the particular or local versus the general or global, as seen in the case of the *blocos* and the *batucada*. The phenomenon of punk and anti-capitalism is at first glance paradoxical, in the sense that it sometimes emerges from imperialist countries to be used against the forces of imperialism acting in underdeveloped nations. One has to remember, however, that central nations also suffer from internal opposition to globalization, especially after the deindustrialization and the financialization of those world-leading economies. Anyhow, after the description of such suggestive connections between local and international anti-capitalist struggle, between carnivalized tactics that travel from one country to the other, it is possible now to take a step further and see how the carnivalization of protest played a significant role in the struggle for free public transportation.

The Carnivalization of Protest (II)

The carnivalization of protest was a widespread tactic of the Free Fare Movement and related organizations. This tactic was employed around the country as the historical data suggest. In Brasília in 2008, a carnival was organized to fight for universal access to transportation.⁸⁰ People dressed as clowns to protest for public transportation were registered in Florianópolis starting in at least 2005 (Fig. 4.3) and São Paulo starting in at least 2006.⁸¹ In fact, a so-called “Army of Clowns” would even engage in *escrachos* against the municipal administration of the metropolis, at the time headed by Mayor Gilberto Kassab (*escracho* is a Portuguese word that refers to demonstrations aimed at shaming public officials).⁸² Looking back at the Free Fare Movement of São Paulo, geographer Oliver Scarcelli rescued a political poster from the depths of history in which militants “[invite] the population for a street carnival in March 2007.”⁸³ He also commented that “often the movement calls its protests ‘parties’ or ‘carnivals.’”⁸⁴ The 2007 poster credits, as the street carnival organizers, São Paulo’s Free Fare Movement and the city’s Army of Clowns. It reads “Street Carnival . . . drums, carnival songs, Army of Clowns, and fun in the struggle for a truly public transportation to serve the population and not the profit of businessmen.” The poster also includes lyrics making direct reference to the city’s mayor: “dance, kassab / dance down to the ground! / we’re gonna change transportation / with mobilization!”⁸⁵

The Brazilian Armies of Clowns seem to be a tropical adaptation of British ideas from the turn of the twenty-first century, specifically those that culminated in the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army created by John Jordan, a former militant of the 1990s movement Reclaim the Streets.⁸⁶ As stated by the Brasília division of the Free Fare Movement, the purpose of having an Army of Clowns during protests is to create a barrier between the police and other militants and in fact to lessen the possibility of physical



Fig. 4.3: Jorge L. S. Minella, *Cheerful Provocation*, Florianópolis, June 6, 2005.

altercations with the repressive forces; it is believed that the police would not attack the clowns, who are seen as inoffensive (the very image of policemen beating them would create a backlash in the media): “The Army of Clowns made [the distinction between playing and carrying out the revolution] even more obscure.”⁸⁷

Let us go south from São Paulo, still searching for the relationship between protests, carnivals, clowns, and public transportation. A 2008 study reported that the Free Fare Movement’s local chapter in the city of Joinville, approximately 115 miles from Florianópolis (both in the state of Santa Catarina), engaged in a series of playful acts, mixed with more traditional forms of demonstration, such as “Critical Mass bike rides, protests in which they indeed used *clown costumes* or wore plastic bags over their heads, . . . [or even] *carnival parades*, without losing the focus on urban [issues].”⁸⁸ The idea of creating carnival *blocos* that blended partying with the demand for a free fare was used in Joinville from 2006 to at least 2008.⁸⁹ However, while activists in Joinville managed to carry out carnivalized forms of protests in that city, Maikon Duarte and Kleber Tobler explain that they suffered from police violence, as when Tobler tried to demonstrate on Brazilian Independence Day in a “playful and artistic” fashion, dressed as a “member of the military with demoniac forms.”⁹⁰ Carnivalesque appearance and playfulness did not fully shield activists from police brutality if some lines were crossed. On the one hand, these are not infallible tactics to avoid repression. On the other hand, it seems that these tactics also functioned as a medium of socialization

among the militants and as a tool to attract new people to the movement. As Tobler said: "To demonstrate in a playful way has always been a very strong trait within our movement, the Free Fare Movement of Joinville. We find in this form of expression a powerful channel of communication with society, especially so with young people who in general are sympathetic to this form of communication and expression."⁹¹

In Florianópolis the tactics of both carnivalizing protests and turning carnival itself into a demonstration came to fruition as well. According to Gama, at the beginning of 2006, the city's supporters of free public transportation decided to organize for the street carnival through the creation of a *bloco*.⁹² They found a way to unite politics with the most popular, widespread, and famous national celebration. Gama saved from oblivion a news piece published by the Independent Media Center detailing the phrase chosen to designate the *bloco*: Caixa Preta (Black Box), which refers to the unknown mechanisms through which the public transportation system was administered in the city and also is an ironic reference to the political slogan of the then mayor, Dário Berger. (During the elections, he had promised to reveal to the population the obscure intricacies of the system).⁹³



Figs 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6: Boca, *Bloco da Caixa Preta Is Back on the Streets*, February 27, 2006. Copyleft CMI Brasil – Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil (see note for details).⁹⁴

In the 2008 carnival, the pamphlet distributed by Bloco da Caixa Preta stated: "Our *bloco* is in the streets, in a happy and relaxed way, demonstrating that also during carnival is the time to show our indignation. We are in the struggle for the demands of workers, students, social movements. We specially fight for public transportation and against the criminalization of social movements. . . . It is not through elections that we will change this situation but through the organization of the people. Let us put our *bloco* on the streets to defeat all those hikes."⁹⁵

In a news piece published by the Independent Media Center, there is the following report: "Between 100 and 150 revelers, together with the drummers from the Workers' Union of the Federal University of Santa Catarina and showcasing a *mestre-sala* and a *porta-bandeira*, took to the streets. . . . 'We are here in a playful way, in a climate of carnival . . .' says Modesto Azevedo, President of the Florianópolis Union of Community Centers [União Florianopolitana das Entidades Comunitárias]."⁹⁶

The Bloco da Caixa Preta composed at least three songs for the 2006 carnival: (1) “O manezinho vai à luta” (“Florianópolis’ Natives Go Fight”), signed by Marcelo Serafim and Julinho (Júlio César Pacheco Augusto), which became the main song, the *samba-enredo*, for their carnival parades; (2) “Marcha da Caixa Preta” (“Black Box March”); and (3) a song in the rhythm of Salvador’s *axé* music called “Muito TÍ enche o meu saco” (“Lots of Integrated Terminals Is a Pain in the Ass”).⁹⁷ “Marcha da Caixa Preta” and “Muito TÍ enche o meu saco” were composed solely by Serafim, who said the following about the epoch in which their *bloco* came into being:

The idea was to create a satire with that. Kauê (my son who was eight at the time) and I went to Julinho’s house . . . to finish the *samba de enredo*. . . . I was the driving force behind the *bloco* and did all the agitation from songs and the design of the T-shirts to the hustle and bustle to get instruments, payments, people organized. It was a crazy thing but with very happy results. . . . Basically the *bloco* consisted of unionists and grassroots activists, but there were also high school and college students. . . . Very few people knew how to play an instrument, but it was very fun and caught people’s attention. In our first parade, we constructed a float simulating a bus with the fare prices displayed around it.⁹⁸

Bloco da Caixa Preta’s song “Muito TÍ enche o meu saco” clearly represents the union between carnival and protests, where the poetic voice comes from a person dissatisfied with the public transportation system who takes to the streets in an act of vengeance against the mayor. The *TÍ* in the lyrics is a reference to the innumerable Terminais Integrados (Integrated Terminals) of Florianópolis that always bear in their names the initial syllable “TI” followed by an acronym of the region in which they are located (e.g., TICAN, TICEN, TILAG, TIRIO, TISAN, TITRI). This is why I translate *TÍ* as “Integrated Terminal” in the English lyrics below. The stress on the *TÍ* in the original is placed there to emphasize the typical pronunciation of people from Florianópolis. Unlike most other regions of Brazil, in Florianópolis people tend not to do the palatalization of alveolar sounds in such words. As represented in the following phonetic transcription, they say [ti] instead of [tsi]. In any case, the mention of the opening letters of the bus terminals (*TÍ*) followed by a complaint shows the feeling shared by locals about the ineffectiveness of the city’s transportation system. It is often necessary to transfer from one bus to another in one of these Integrated Terminals to complete a journey.

“Muito TÍ enche o meu saco” (2006)

“Lots of Integrated Terminals Are a Pain

in the Ass” (2006)

É TÍ daqui, é TÍ dali,
enchendo o meu saco
Abaixa essa tarifa
senão vai ter barraco

*It’s an Integrated Terminal here, another IT there
they’re a pain in the ass
Lower this fare,
otherwise we’ll raise a ruckus*

*Agora, é hora de ir à forra,
eu quero é protestar
Quando esse moço chegou,
da caixa preta falou,
e comigo ninguém vai zoar*

*Agora, é hora de ir à forra,
eu quero é protestar
A minha grana acabou,
andar a pé eu não vou,
e a galera nós vamos agitar*

*Now, it's time to take revenge,
I want to protest
When this young man arrived,
he talked about the black box,
and nobody will make fun of me*

*Now, it's time to take revenge
I want to protest
My money is over,
I will walk on foot no more,
and we'll shake up the people*

Copyright (see note for details).⁹⁹

The phenomenon of a militant carnival *bloco* in Florianópolis linked to the struggle for free public transportation would be repeated in the years to come.¹⁰⁰ In March 2011, militants of Florianópolis organized themselves once more around street carnival. This time another *bloco* was formed, called by the name of Bonde dos Catraqueira (A Lineup of Turnstilers). It was a clear reference to *funk carioca* (or *baile funk*), a Brazilian genre of electronic music, which features famous ensembles such as Bonde do Tigrão. *Bonde* is a word for “streetcar” but is also a jargon for “the combination of [an] MC and dancers” within the *funk carioca* culture.¹⁰¹ With such a gesture, the people struggling for the abolition of the fare placed two things at the center of their actions and propaganda: the streetcar as a means of locomotion symbolizing all others and the turnstile as an icon of exclusion to be destroyed. Like those of the older Bloco da Caixa Preta, the members of Bonde dos Catraqueira applied irreverence to their songs, which had to be learned by participants in preparatory meetings. Carnival get-togethers, then, mingled with political assemblies. Militants, besides working toward the enlightenment of the youth, had to start performing as *carnavalescos* (the conceivers of the parades). The Internet was used again as a tool (as an enticement to partying and for the spreading of subversive information): an audio recording of a female singer was circulated so that the revelers could have the musical pieces at their fingertips.¹⁰² Through the lyrics, the activists wanted to draw attention and engage in criticism of the measures being taken by the city administration, still headed by Mayor Dário Berger. This time, however, instead of creating the traditional carnival songs known as *marchinhas*, they produced songs based on the rhythm of *funk carioca*, songs which they called *marchinhas funkeiras*, which contain verses like this: “Dance, Dário / Dance down to the ground / Here is the Free Fare Movement against the hike!”¹⁰³

In the same vein as the mixture of irreverence and political engagement in its *funk carioca* lyrics, Bonde dos Catraqueira produced a poster calling people to the demonstrations and festivities in February and March 2011. The poster bears the drawing of a young girl kicking and breaking a turnstile while a

second turnstile burns in the background. The colors of the fonts used for the design are extremely cheerful, indicative of partying and happiness. However, the background photo, which shows the turnstile on fire, reveals something else. The object that represents the commodification of the transportation system is being wrecked by a group of protesters. Among them, there could very well be punks. The anarchist symbol, the circle-A, is partially depicted in the top of the image, appearing to be inscribed on the clothes of a protester. Moreover, the girl in the foreground is wearing simple black Bermuda shorts and a T-shirt, which could be the typical outfit of a straight-edge (punk) individual (Fig. 4.7).



Fig. 4.7: Struggle Front for Public Transportation, *Bonde dos Catraqueira!*, Florianópolis, 2011. Copyleft CMI Brasil – Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil (see note for details).¹⁰⁴

The participants described the events thus: “We spent the last week building the materials for the parade and rehearsing the *funk carioca* songs of carnival [marchinhas funkeiras], some of them already well known from the last demonstrations against the hike of the bus fare here [in Santa Catarina] and in other states. We had drums made of metal paint buckets, a beautiful flag, and a bus that marched together with the carnival *bloco*. . . . The parade was beautiful and caught the attention of those passing by. Throughout the progress along the route, which took four hours, many people followed the *bloco* and asked for information about the next activities of the Struggle Front for Public Transportation.”¹⁰⁵

The poster and Bonde dos Catraqueira itself were creations of an organization of activists called the Struggle Front for Public Transportation. That year, these creations were not simply restricted to the celebrations surrounding carnival. Gama summarized the events of the Struggle Front in the first five months of 2011. Besides getting involved in the national festivities, its militants staged a Critical Mass cycling protest (*bicicletada*) and carried out formal discussions focused on educating people about general issues related to the transportation system. The culmination of their efforts was another instance of carnivalized protest: “After the [seminar], one more street demonstration . . . took place as the symbolic occupation for 24 hours of the Downtown Terminal, through what they called ‘Virada do Latão’ [‘Bus Festival’], with a program that included musical and theatrical presentations, games and workshops about urban mobility, zero-fare public transportation, and municipalization [of the transportation system].”¹⁰⁶ In Virada do Latão, the militants dressed as clowns, presented a photographic exhibition in the streets, sung for the amusement of pedestrians, and played games in order to create bonds of friendship through politics.¹⁰⁷ Bus terminals should then actually become youth campsites for the goal of a free fare city: games and not fares would exist for the amusement of all.

Soccer, the Passion of Punks

Games in general became another form of carnivalizing demonstrations, protests, and the making of propaganda. The use of games was a tactic employed by the Free Fare Movement on more than one occasion. Chess, for example, is a game that appears in the historical records. In September 2004, chess was incorporated into protests in Florianópolis. After a morning demonstration of the Campaign for the Free Fare (CPL) in conjunction with lower-rank police officers who were fighting for a raise in their salaries, students decided to put pressure on members of the City Council. The militants wanted the politicians to once and for all approve the Free Fare Law. To accomplish this goal, they chained themselves inside the City Council building, remained there for almost 48 hours, and played chess to pass time.¹⁰⁸ The following year, in October 2005, the Free Fare Movement of Florianópolis (as part of a national federation and not only as a local campaign) organized a chess competition to promote its political agenda and as a way to gather funds to finance itself. The winner was the literary critic and scholar Victor da Rosa: “The prize . . . consisted of a trophy, a T-shirt from the Free Fare Movement, and the book *A Guerra da Tarifa* [The Fare War] by Leo Vinicius.”¹⁰⁹

As one might imagine, however, it was soccer, the country’s favorite sport, that made its presence more strongly felt than any other game in the struggle surrounding public transportation. Instead of on the grass fields of stadiums, matches or shows of skill through “kick-ups” would take place on asphalt. The year before the chess championship won by Rosa and during the 2004 Florianópolis Turnstile Revolt, demonstrators camped in the vicinity



Fig. 4.8: Jorge L. S. Minella, *Chess during the Occupation of the City Council Building*, Florianópolis, c. September 15, 2004.

of the city's main bus terminal and transformed the major avenue where it is situated into "an improvised soccer field."¹¹⁰ A protest that took place on October 26, 2005—which became a national day of struggle for the free fare thanks to the events in Florianópolis that past year—was defined by Camarada D. (most likely the pen name being used by Daniel Guimarães) as a "street carnival."¹¹¹ In that street carnival, soccer was played together with punk-rock-inspired pogo dancing.¹¹² The music for the demonstrations came *both* from the African-derived drums of the *maracatu* ensemble (which was there as one of the main attractions) *and* from the recorded electric guitars of punk music:

A few minutes before 5 pm, the time scheduled for the demonstration to begin, about one hundred people got together at the steps of the Cathedral in downtown. A portable PA system was on, playing Rage Against the Machine and Black Tainhas (a punk rock band comprised of participants of the Free Fare Movement) on CD for the entire November 15 Square. It was a lively environment: black flags from the Free Fare Movement, two turnstiles about to be burned. . . . [Later] we were already about 300 people. . . . A group of five people from the *maracatu* undoubtedly completely cheered up the protesters both with their rehearsed and synchronized rhythm and with the accompaniment of the war cries. From now on, demonstrations only with music: it is necessary to show that the struggle is not boring or tedious. It can be [done] with *maracatu*, it can be [done] with NOFX, it can be [done] with Replicantes [The Replicants].¹¹³

The sound of punk and hardcore is what should bring the protests to life. The bands appreciated by the activists could be international (Rage Against the Machine), national (Replicantes), or local (Black Tainhas). They might even extrapolate punk music, as long as they kept some principles. The drumbeating practice called *maracatu* shares a kind of do-it-yourself ethos with punk, besides being welcoming to new learners and, at least in Florianópolis, having a political tendency that could be used by the militants. The colors themselves of the Free Fare Movement's T-shirts used in that day according to photographs (a black fabric silkscreened with white letters below an austere drawing) could make some activists appear as either members of an anarchist group going to a march or teenage rockers arriving at a show. In one picture published on the Independent Media Center's website, the enormous flag of the movement is used as a kind of improvised, miniature circus tent, in which the demonstrators can dance and have fun, like children. The physical energy of the youth is used to create a social tie of camaraderie and political cohesion. It is a cohesion that is not authoritarian but allows for diversity. What unites those young people are not strict ideologies but a desire to have more freedom within the city. They want to use the streets as they please. Instead of just a set of lanes to regulate traffic, avenues are now a playground. In another photograph, the white stripes painted on the crosswalk are converted into the lines of a revolutionary soccer field, so revolutionary that competition can be sometimes abolished. The kick-ups become the game of soccer, being more like a form of art than anything else.¹¹⁴ Under the pseudonym Y, the following account was published at the time:

Around 5:30 pm, the demonstrators marched toward the new mayor's office building, alerting everyone that the Movement was still alive and active. There were about 400 people, [and] among them were professors and students. . . . Raising flags, carrying banners and two turnstiles, animated at times by the sound of the *maracatu* group and at other times by the songs played by the portable PA system, the demonstration went on . . . going toward Paulo Fontes Avenue, better known as "Revolt Avenue" . . . A successful occupation: we stayed there for one hour, playing soccer, stretching a huge flag, with the *maracatu* playing, trying to burn the turnstiles.¹¹⁵

In no other setting, however, would the combination of soccer, carnival, and radical politics produce a more meaningful result than at Belo Horizonte's Carnaval Revolução. The 2006 and 2008 multiday events hosted a competition called the Universal Cup of Autonomous Soccer.¹¹⁶ Precisely when this championship was being first introduced, one of the most unique chapters started to be written in the history of the relationship between Brazil's national sport and protest. Punks, who were attending the event in Belo Horizonte, united forces with other types of anarchists and Leftists to form a permanent soccer team when back home in Greater São Paulo.¹¹⁷ The objective was to connect politics with one of the most beloved pastimes in

the country. The name given to the project was The Autonomous Soccer Club (Autônomos & Autônomas FC). The symbols present in the club's coat of arms consisted of the anarchist symbol (the circle-A) and a soccer ball, and their mascot was the Argentinean comic character Mafalda. In a 2008 interview, Kadj Oman, one of the founders of the team, confirmed that the whole project of a punk soccer squad was conceived during Carnaval Revolução, and he also affirmed that a division of the Free Fare Movement from Santa Catarina had a team as well, which played under the same principles of self-governance:

At the 2006 Carnaval Revolução in Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais), I ended up participating in a lecture/conversation about soccer and revolution, and I met Mau, Jão, and Mix from Ativismo ABC [see note]. By sharing a bit of our angst about punk and soccer, we had the idea of doing something about that when back home. Then, I realized that . . . there were some people interested in the idea, and we founded the team. . . . The objectives have always been to go back to soccer being played with happiness, more spontaneous, less focused on the market. . . . It is obvious that we play to win as, for us, to do it yourself means to do it at your best, to show how good you can be in such a way. However, we do not put winning above all else. . . . [The Autonomous] has always been a team with the ideals of self-governance, anti-racism, anti-fascism, against soccer as a commodity. . . . We heard that there in the metropolitan area of Santos the anarchist folks sometimes play at the beach; in Santa Catarina the people from the Free Fare Movement have a team too . . . maybe a league of self-governed soccer could emerge in some years, who knows?¹¹⁸

The connection between The Autonomous and the Free Fare Movement was not restricted to the fact that both practiced the same sport with similar ideals. The creation of a hypothetical league of self-governed squads sounded more like a wild desire than a reality: a match between The Autonomous and Santa Catarina's Free Fare Movement soccer team never took place.¹¹⁹ However, a real alliance emerged between the two groups. The soccer club would participate in demonstrations and struggles connected to several social and sports issues. Among these, The Autonomous supported the universal right to public transportation by engaging in demonstrations propelled by the Free Fare Movement.¹²⁰ In the same way that the club's beloved game should be liberated from market forces, people should not have their right to come and go under the power of capitalist interests. The turnstile is an obstacle both in stadiums and bus terminals. It must be abolished as such. The prices of fares and tickets are equally exorbitant. They exclude the poor, the unemployed, and students who have no income. In the view of both groups, capitalism ultimately diminishes the possibility of having fun. It can be fun competing among or supporting traditional teams (which are increasingly turned into impersonal corporations) or discovering parts of the city that shelter art, information, beauty, and different people (places which

are increasingly gentrified and inaccessible). Soccer then becomes involved in urban politics and in the planning of the city. In a kind of inversion of the relation between fans and players, it is the Free Fare Movement that would receive the encouragement of the soccer squad, and this encouragement would come not from bleachers, but from the streets. In the words of Oman:

In São Paulo . . . a group of punks, former punks, anarchists, and proclaimers of self-governance in general got weary of seeing business corroding soccer and decided they also wanted to play. They founded The Autonomous Soccer Club and . . . chose red and black to represent all of that in their uniforms. . . . A yearning that went beyond the matches started to appear. They engaged in movements for housing, *for the free fare in public transportation*, for recovering soccer fan culture in the stadiums. . . . Young men and women who, in 2008, found out that, in other places of the world, there were people like them and who ended up receiving English friends from Bristol, the Easton Cowboys & Cowgirls. . . . A long time ago, when soccer arrived in Brazil, anarchists and communists rejected it as “the opium of the people.” Some changed their minds and even founded clubs. But the stereotype continued. Today, it is time to end it. They who struggle want to have fun and play, because actually they have never ceased to like soccer. It is impossible: as impossible as it is to continue being a fan of professional clubs that have become a sales counter and a marketing tool. All of a sudden, The Autonomous, and its historical and aesthetic references, becomes then a club of those who want another world, of those who want to play soccer while enjoying it, without worries. The autonomous party [*festa*] finally found its place: The Autonomous belongs to those who want to be Autonomous. No interviews to join or to leave but with responsibility to stay and do things, whatever one wants and is capable of doing, with horizontality and self-governance. Soccer, laughs, music, and politics.¹²¹

The Autonomous not only became involved with the local communities. For the squad, the connection between the local and the global also became a reality. The soccer club joined an international network of teams with strong anarchist, punk, and/or left-wing tendencies. Regional problems such as the situation with the public transportation system (to be solved as soon as possible) were linked to a future worldwide revolution (to be constructed step by step). In the UK, the team Easton Cowboys & Cowgirls even hosted a show in Bristol to help The Autonomous financially. For the event, they scheduled performances by the punk bands Riistetyt, Filthy Habits, and Jesus Bruiser.¹²² The connections with England seemed to deepen along the way. The success of The Autonomous as an endeavor and its alliance with the Easton Cowboys & Cowgirls can be exemplified in the participation of the Brazilians in the Alternative World Cup that took place in 2010 in Yorkshire.¹²³ In the end, the Easton Cowboys & Cowgirls sponsored almost one-third of the 26 air tickets necessary for the South American team to

attend the international event.¹²⁴ The event forever marked the lives of many of those who crossed the Atlantic.¹²⁵

It wasn't only soccer, politics, and the establishment of worldwide connections that were the main objectives of The Autonomous in that period. Music was also an important facet of its activities too. Perhaps inevitably, being a soccer team created by punks and anarcho-punks, The Autonomous gave rise to a rock band in Greater São Paulo called Fora de Jogo (Out of Game). The ensemble was responsible for recording the team's then-anthem by making use of its distorted guitar sounds.¹²⁶ The song is based on a Spanish composition by Ska-P, "Rayo Vallecano" (named after a local Madrid soccer team). The Brazilian version is called simply "Autônomos FC," and even in its first stanza contains a strong political declaration:

*Somos o time mais anarquista
o mais alegre, o mais antifascista
Somos autônomos e revolucionários
contra os nazistas e os autoritários
[...]*

*Our team is the most anarchist,
the happiest, the most anti-fascist
We're autonomous and revolutionaries
against Nazis and authoritarians*

...¹²⁷

The Autonomous' band, Fora de Jogo, symbolically contributed to a change in the negative predisposition toward soccer culture seen both in other spheres of the Brazilian Left and in the hardcore/punk scene. Daniel Guimarães recalls attending, at a music festival in the early 2000s, a show by the band Russian School of Ballet in which one of the members was wearing a soccer T-shirt: "The bassist, Lucas, [was] playing with a Flamengo's T-shirt. I was really excited about that, because I thought, damn, so we're free again to like soccer within punk, which was something we couldn't do."¹²⁸ In 2005, the punk band Periferia S/A (Outskirts Inc.) published a song titled "Recomeçar" ("Starting All Over"). In the recording, they criticize the exaggerated passion for the Brazilian national soccer team as a main way for the general population to be pleased with the state of their own country. For Periferia S/A, the media make money through patriotic sentiments while being reactionary and conservative.¹²⁹ The band includes older members who were already active in the 1980s, which could explain its still negative view of soccer. Besides, they criticize the sport as a capitalist, broadcast spectacle, which is somewhat different from the act of creating an anarchist squad, even though some musical ensembles embraced the support of large clubs.

However, the relationship between punk music and soccer was not necessarily always harmonious even among younger generations. As an example, one can look at lyrics by the band Shit with Corn Flakes, which played at the 2008 Carnaval Revolução. In the song "Surfista de asfalto" ("Asphalt Surfer"), the overwhelming prominence of soccer in Brazil as a symbol of national identity is contrasted with the band's desire for skateboarding despite the prejudice attached to the contemporary urban phenomenon:

[...]

*Sou surfista de asfalto do Terceiro Mundo
No país do futebol quem anda de Sk8
é vagabundo*

*A sociedade podre acha que sou um drogado
E pelos porcos de farda sempre sou enquadrado
[...]*

*I'm an asphalt surfer from the Third World
In the soccer country, he who skateboards
is a vagabond*

*The rotten society thinks I'm a drug addict
And I'm always harassed by the pigs*

. . .¹³⁰

The Autonomous would eventually evolve into a social space called Casa Mafalda (Mafalda's House), where music shows, film screenings, artmaking, vegan cooking, book readings, and political discussions took place. The anarchist team would have its own autonomous venue, self-governed under the principles of free association, horizontality, and anti-capitalism. The new structure could also be used for supporting social movements that players and fans were fond of. Other artistic and political collectives had the opportunity to participate too.¹³¹ The concept of "club" here becomes a physical reality, no longer defined as an elitist location but as a popular place of congregation and community engagement. It is also popular in its full meaning: the emphasis on street culture stands evident in the inaugural activities of Casa Mafalda. In its opening days in August 2011, two formal public debates took place: one to present the objectives of Casa Mafalda and the other to discuss the upcoming 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil. The mega-event would suffer from strong opposition in the years to come, and the mobilization against it had already started.

In both debates at Casa Mafalda's inauguration, the Free Fare Movement of São Paulo was invited to participate, showing once more the close connection between that social movement and The Autonomous. Collectively replying to questions in 2020, members of the soccer team declared: "We invited the Free Fare Movement to the inauguration because, at the time, many players were very close to the movement; we always went together to the demonstrations against the public transportation fare."¹³² In fact, members of the Free Fare Movement had also got together to play in previous events called Punk Cups/Autonomy Cups, which helped in the foundation of the general climate that would promote the rise of The Autonomous.¹³³ After the debates at Casa Mafalda's inauguration, music to make bodies dance and clash was played. The genres of the bands that performed at the launch parties were dominated by punk and other branches of rock: Ordinaria Hit, Ave Marias, Íbis, Noala, Metrô Sertão (Backlands Subway), Daniel Belleza e os Corações em Fúria (Daniel the Beauty and the Hearts in Fury), Colégio Interno (Boarding School), and Deriva, Desvio ou Deturpação (Fig. 4.9).¹³⁴ The number of bands is exceptional. The relevance of the debates is unquestionable. The most important sport in the country acts as a large draw for militants and non-militants alike. Here one could observe punks, soccer players, and members of social movements uniting their forces to think about the future by changing, in the present, how they do politics.



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16h : Debate: "Copa pra quem?", com Autônomos FC, Frente de Luta por Moradia, Associação Nacional dos Torcedores-SP, Comitê Popular da Copa-SP e Movimento Passe Livre-SP

19h Show com as bandas COLÉGIO INTERNO | DANIEL BELLEZA&OS CORAÇÕES EM FÚRIA | METRÔ SERTÃO | DERIVA, DESVIO OU DETURPAÇÃO



Fig. 4.9: Audrey Wallace, *Opening of Casa Mafalda*, São Paulo, 2011.

Copyleft CMI Brasil – Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil

(see note for details).¹³⁵

Punk Is Popular

The Autonomous emerged in 2006 as a consequence of Carnaval Revolução in particular and the carnivalization of protest in general. As unexpected as this situation might appear, this punk soccer club, the Brazilian hardcore/punk carnivals of the turn of the twenty-first century, and the carnivalization of protest for free public transportation were in fact *popular* festivities in the deep meaning of the expression. They were anarchism put into practice. They represented the retaking of carnival and soccer, bringing them back into the realm of that which should be truly linked with the general population's desire for freedom and the contestation of social norms and hierarchies. They were not celebrations guided and constructed by the mainstream media or the government under the capitalist premise of spectacular entertainment. Simple, rudimentary, un-luxurious, with no opulence or splendor, enjoyment would happen in the establishment of new communities, a concept in opposition to individual, egocentric pleasure. One observer so described the asceticism of one of the annual convenings of Carnaval Revolução: "There would be around 200 people per day. . . . There was no comfort that could be considered excessive. We sat on the floor to listen to lectures."¹³⁶ Even though hardcore/protest carnivals and a punk soccer team can seem to be the creation of a cultural elite, they were in fact welcoming to all, unrelated to the state, self-organized, and non-commercial. They made the most of (sometimes pre-programmed) rituals (e.g., mainstream carnival and soccer) that had lost most of their destabilizing power and had become only moments of catharsis within periods of time full of expected docility. The protest carnivals were anti-touristic as well, breaking with the stereotypical tradition of the exoticization of Brazil as a land of apolitical festivities while hunger, misery, and violence run widely and unrestrained across its territory.

Carnaval Revolução ceased to exist in 2008. When explaining the necessity for the termination of the annual event, the organizers surprisingly referred not to a punk song but to Vinicius de Moraes and Antônio Carlos Jobim's famous 1950s *bossa nova* lyrics from the song "Felicidade" ("Happiness"). They claimed that the radical characteristics of Carnaval Revolução should not be confined only to a few days of festivities, but that those properties could be carried into all moments of the year. If, for the lower class, carnival is fundamentally misleading, as poetically described by the *bossa nova* musicians, for hardcore punks and anarchists, who faced the birth of a new millennium, it developed into a moment of political and cultural awakening, a time to strengthen bonds among those fighting capitalism, and an opportunity to create and extend networks of the most varied kinds of activism.

As Moraes and Jobim's composition tells, in their pessimistic social reading, the effects of carnival are only temporary: "The happiness of the poor looks like / the great illusion of carnival / We work the whole year / for

just one dream moment of having the fantasy / of being a king or a pirate or a female gardener / and all of it ends on a Wednesday.”¹³⁷ In contraposition to such a fate, the activists behind Carnaval Revolução ultimately chose to shift their efforts to an attempt at the utopian carnivalization of the entire society, in which the hypocrisy of capitalism’s compulsion for artificial public personas would be substituted with the possibility of individuals displaying their true essence. The micro-revolution emanating from that dissident annual celebration should then be expanded to other spheres of life and not be restricted to an underground network of activists who get together a few times during the 12-month calendar. That is the reason why it became a chapter to be closed. Carnaval Revolução must become the carnivalized, revolutionized community:

Carnaval Revolução came to an end. It is dead. We buried it half alive, half dead so that now, after all those years, all of us can stand on our own feet. . . . Our [intentions] point to an upside-down carnival, in which people take off their masks and abandon their established roles. . . . *During the whole year, our ideas and actions ferment for a moment of dream and fantasy, of activists that make their revolutions in holidays and weekends, for all of it to end on a Wednesday. This will be our last cry in a failed parade so that our potential does not look like the great illusion of carnival. . . . You, come be the subject of this change. Bring your shovel and throw sand over the grave of what still rests of this culture. But do not forget, the best ideas survive and are immortal!*¹³⁸

Literary critic Silviano Santiago once stated that “the Latin-American writer demonstrates that we should free ourselves from the image of a smiling carnival and fiesta-filled holiday haven for cultural tourism.”¹³⁹ On the one hand, members of the hardcore/punk scene and political militants in Brazil seemed to have followed a similar path to that proposed in this stimulating statement. They refused to participate in the annual official festivities during February and March or during the matches of traditional soccer teams. They were interested neither in grandeur nor in the release of vital energy for its own sake or as a mere mark of Brazilianhood for exportation. On the other hand, this did not mean an abandonment of important expressions of popular, national culture. Instead of simply ignoring the existence of carnival, soccer, and *festa*, they sought to liberate those three from conservatism and even reactionaryism, politicizing cultural manifestations (typical of and singular to Brazil) in the most radical ways and to the greatest extent of time they thought possible.



Fig. 4.10: Vinicius Buenaventura, *It's Carnival, Brazil*, Carnaval Revolução, São Paulo, 2008.¹⁴⁰

Notes

- 1 “Johnny foi preso, extraditado pro Brasil / Aquele país que tá na corda banda / que só tem carnaval, futebol e samba / Um país idiota, cheio de moleque / Onde ainda se toca discotheque / Isto para Johnny foi uma praga forte / Ele preferiu uma sentença de morte” (Garotos Podres, “Johnny,” track A2 on *Mais podres do que nunca* [São Paulo: Rockers Produções], recorded 1985, vinyl).
- 2 Fernando Tárrida del Mármol cited in Litvak, “Organismo científico de la revolución,” 155.
- 3 Litvak, “Organismo científico de la revolución,” 144.
- 4 Guerra de Classes’ “500 anos” was published in the following 32-song anthology—which comprises works by the bands Impatrióticos, R.N.S., Operação 81, Blasfemia, Nojo, R.H.C., and Execradores, besides Guerra de Classes itself: *Aliança Libertária*, released on CD in 2001, currently in mp3, <https://contraculturapunk.wordpress.com/2013/01/09/alianca-libertaria-2001/>, and audio streaming, <https://youtu.be/thQYMyGBHk>; some info at: Roberto Hollanda, “Guerra de Classes,” Encyclopédia de Bandas Independentes, Nov. 24, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160210095955/http://underenciclo.blogspot.com.br/search/label/G>. Guerra de Classes’ song may very well be echoing another neozapatista topic, the criticism to the 500 years of colonization (see: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 34).

- 5 Bivar, *Punk*, 103.
- 6 Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz, replying to questions by the author, January 2022.
- 7 Bivar, *Punk*, 108–109 (my emphasis).
- 8 Walter Benjamin, “On the Concept of History,” trans. Harry Zohn, in *Selected Writings, Volume 4: 1938–1940*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 392.
- 9 Rudy, *Os silêncios da escrita*, 58–59; about the official events for the anniversary of Brazil in the year 2000, as well as the resulting backlash, see also: Kelly Cristiane da Silva, “A nação cordial: uma análise dos rituais e das ideologias oficiais de ‘comemoração dos 500 anos do Brasil,’” *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, vol. 18, no. 51 (February 2003), <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69092003000100010>.
- 10 João dos Santos Filho, “ Ditadura militar utilizou a EMBRATUR para tentar ocultar a repressão, a tortura e o assassinato,” *Saber Acadêmico*, no. 5 (2008): 4–19, <https://sites.google.com/site/rhemhospitalidade/ProfessorJoodosSantos.pdf>; and also: Patrícia Fino and Odáleia Queiroz, “O uso dos estereótipos turísticos durante o regime militar brasileiro,” *Dos Algarves: A Multidisciplinary e-Journal*, no. 30 (2017): 97–111, <https://doi.org/10.18089/DAMeJ.2017.30.8>.
- 11 Pablo Ortellado and André Ryoki, *Estamos vencendo! Resistência global no Brasil* (São Paulo: Conrad, 2004), 143.
- 12 Roberto DaMatta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes: An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma*, trans. John Drury (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 27 (my emphasis).
- 13 “Carnaval Revolução,” *Libera: Informativo do Círculo de Estudos Libertários Ideal Peres (CELIP/RJ)*, yr. 13, no. 117, 4, https://archive.org/details/libera_farj_117.
- 14 Gama, in conversation with the author, May–July 29; this could be called prefigurative politics, which is defined in Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 19 and 200n22.
- 15 Carnaval Revolução, “Boa semana Libertárix!” Facebook, Nov. 8, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/carnavalrevolucao/posts/1836106866498199>; Fabiano Wurr, “Retórica (Carnaval Revolução – BHz),” c.2002, video, <https://youtu.be/zunXOIBsqPA>; [conjunto vazio], “Belo Horizonte e (algumas de) suas movimentações subterrâneas,” [conjunto vazio], Jan. 18, 2015, <https://comjuntovazio.wordpress.com/2015/01/18/belo-horizonte-e-algumas-de-suas-movimentacoes-subterraneas/>.
- 16 Morganfitzp, “[Retórica’s] Biography,” Last.fm, accessed Aug. 10, 2020, <https://www.last.fm/music/Retórica/+wiki>; Retórica, 1º *Comuniqué[?]* (Belo Horizonte: Cisma, 2002), audio streaming, https://youtu.be/6kEZU6K_Snc.
- 17 This communal house became a kind of cultural center for the underground culture of Belo Horizonte, see: Moreira Oliveira, *Uma “Praia” nas Alterosas*, 61–63; Moreira Oliveira cites two webpages discussing Mansão Libertina which I was able to recover from the Internet Archive: “De 99 a 2001 . . . ,” *Alta Fidelidade*, Feb. 14, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110309184048/http://altafidelidade.org/post/3295093086/de-99-a-2001-a-cena-de-hardcore-em-bh-e-em-todo-o>; Mina Degenerada, “Carnaval Revolução 2004: [um pouco sobre o evento],” *CMI Brasil*, Dec. 4, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150503233359/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2003/12/269216.shtml>.
- 18 “Carnaval Revolução,” Sit Inn, archived Feb. 16, 2003, https://web.archive.org/web/20030216133954/http://www.sitinn.hpg.ig.com.br/carnaval_revolucao/carnaval_revolucao-inicial.htm.
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derivadesvio.bandcamp.com/album/manual-de-como-n-o-fazer (lyrics changed for punctuation and spelling).

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119 Autônomos & Autônomas FC, replying to questions by the author, October 2020.

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126 The band no longer exists and the current (2020) players of the soccer team do not use its song as an anthem anymore (Autônomos & Autônomas FC, replying to questions by the author, October 2020).

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130 Shit with Corn Flakes, “Surfista de asfalto,” track 2 on *Baseado na velha escola do caos (demo)*, recorded 2008, mp3, <https://vinganca83.bandcamp.com/album/baseado-na-velha-escola-do-caos-demo> (lyrics changed for capitalization).

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134 Autônomos & Autônomas FC and Casa Mafalda separated in August 2013; for an account of the history of Casa Mafalda and the reasons for the separation between the soccer club and the venue, see: “Breve história da gestão da Casa Mafalda: desdobramentos da divisão de trabalho em uma organização sem estrutura,” Casa Mafalda, Jan. 17, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160610061845/http://casamafalda.org/breve-historia-da-gestao-da-casa-mafalda-desdobramentos-da-divisao-de-trabalho-em-uma-organizacao-sem-estrutura/>; “Responsabilidade e reflexões sobre uma agressão de gênero,” Casa Mafalda, Oct. 5, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160322101546/http://casamafalda.org/responsabilizacao-e-reflexoes-sobre-uma-agressao-de-genero/>; according to the current members of the team: “We had a clash of ideas with an

anarcho-feminist collective that formed the female team (a project of that time that ended up not prospering) and a virtual quarrel ended up breaking out through an e-mail list, which was our main channel of everyday communication. This caused an internal conflict within the team and an external one with people from the city's anarchist scene. After some time and many arguments, we decided that we didn't have enough stamina for all that and we handed over the management of Casa Mafalda to a collective different from the team—people who liked the space but didn't belong to the team—until the team left Casa Mafalda aside [almost completely] after many disagreements. Only one player from the team remained in the management of Casa Mafalda when it closed [in 2015]" (Autônomos & Autônomas FC, replying to questions by the author, October 2020).

135 Autônomos & Autônomas FC, "(SP) 06 e 07 de agosto Festa de Inauguração da Casa Mafalda!" *CMI Brasil*, Aug. 2, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427151403/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2011/08/494951.shtml> (copyleft <http://www.midiaindependente.org>: reproduction for non-commercial use is free as long as the author and the source are cited and this note is included); "Festa de inauguração da Casa Mafalda," Autônomos & Autônomas FC, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160304210821/http://www.autonomosfc.com.br/wp-content/uploads/inauguracao.jpg>; A. S., "Festa de inauguração da Casa Mafalda!" Biblioteca Terra Livre, Aug. 1, 2011, <https://bibliotecaterralivre.noblogs.org/post/2011/08/01/festa-de-inauguracao-da-casa-mafalda/>.

136 Heitor Reis, "Carnaval Revolução," *CMI Brasil*, Mar. 4, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20030512031403/http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2003/03/249031.shtml>.

137 "A felicidade do pobre parece / a grande ilusão do carnaval / A gente trabalha o ano inteiro / por um momento de sonho pra fazer a fantasia / de rei ou de pirata ou de jardineira / e tudo se acabar na quarta-feira" (Vinicius de Moraes, Maria Creuza, and Toquinho, "A Felicidade," lyrics by Vinicius de Moraes and Tom Jobim, track A2 on *Vinicius de Moraes en "La Fusa"* [Buenos Aires: Trova, 1970], vinyl).

138 Carnaval Revolução, "Carnaval Revolução 2008 – o [ú]ltimo!" (my emphasis); the idea posited by Carnaval Revolução that a rebellious festivity should take place for the whole year and not just during a specific season is very similar to the carnivalization of protests that would take place years later in Rio de Janeiro through brass bands, see: Snyder, "Politicizing Carnival Brass Bands in Olympic Rio de Janeiro," 35 and 54.

139 Silviano Santiago, "Latin American Discourse: The Space In-Between," trans. Ana Lúcia Gazzola and Gareth Williams, in *The Space In-Between: Essays on Latin American Culture*, ed. Ana Lúcia Gazzola (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 38.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Punks' Jungle

São Paulo

I looked at the distant city down there . . . I did start to think that neither I nor anybody else would ever manage to understand all that because it was perhaps impossible to feel what that city was, because the city was precisely made so that nobody managed to understand what it was, because it was exactly that, a bunch of things without a beginning and without an end.

The punk narrator from the novel *Fliperama sem creme* by Teixeira Coelho, describing São Paulo, 1984.¹

After the Crossroads, the Network

São Paulo undoubtedly stands as the most important city in Brazil. Just over an hour's flying time from Florianópolis lies the largest metropolis in the Southern Hemisphere. Its chaotic agglomeration of buildings extends beyond the horizon. At night, the multitude of lights eclipses the brightness of the stars, and on a dry day, the smoke emitted by factories and cars seems to be transmuted into a massive gray cloud. One cannot compare the scale of these two places. Florianópolis has been portrayed as an idyllic island forgotten in the Atlantic, while São Paulo signifies a “forest of concrete and steel,” as stated in a rap song by Racionais MC's, or “an urban inferno,” in the words of historian Nicolau Sevcenko.² São Paulo exists as a hellish jungle of social and physical human-made structures (if one combines both). In the same vein, the punk band B.U.S.H. released an album named after the city in 2007, and the cover art of the LP displays the skyscrapers of São Paulo. The yellow and blue layer situated under the image of edifices reveals that the metropolis is, at the same time, psychedelic and full of surprises. Among the published songs is one titled “Andando pelas ruas” (“Roaming the Streets”);

the lyrics depict the contradictory feelings of São Paulo's inhabitants. They want to flee but, at the same time, they nourish love for their city. The punks and the bandits—and not the famous singer Caetano Veloso, as he portrays in "Sampa"—are the ones who walk through the crossroads of Ipiranga and São João avenues.³ Punks are *flâneurs* observing the effervescence of the urban space. They also announce that the economic heart of the country still pulses at night. São Paulo is a tough environment where virtually all imaginable possibilities live.

Relação de amor e ódio com esse lugar

Já tentei fugir daqui, sempre acabo por voltar

Medo, corrupção e violência

Mais uma noite chega pra te convidar

Já passa de meia noite, o metrô vai fechar

Um punk atravessa a Ipiranga

O rolê vai começar

Muitos vão pra Augusta, procurar diversão

Enquanto os delinquentes

/apavoram na Avenida São João

[2X]

Não há gratidão, nem piedade

pelas ruas dessa cidade

No cair da madrugada, o centro vai ferver

Não fecharei os olhos um minuto sequer

Respiro, vivo, sigo...

Respiro, vivo, sigo...

[2X]

Andando pelas ruas de São Paulo

Andando pelas ruas!!!

Andando pelas ruas de São Paulo

Andando pelas ruas!!!... de São Paulo

A love-hate relationship with this place

I've already tried to escape, I always keep coming back

Fear, corruption, and violence

Another night arrives to invite you along

It's past midnight, subways closing soon

A punk crosses Ipiranga Ave.

The night out's going to start

Many go to Augusta St. looking for fun

While the delinquents

raise hell at São João Ave.

[2X]

There's no gratitude, no piety

on the streets of this city

In the small hours, downtown is gonna burn

Won't close my eyes, even for a blink

I breathe, live, move forward...

I breathe, live, move forward...

[2X]

Roaming the streets of São Paulo

Roaming the streets!!!

Roaming the streets of São Paulo

Roaming the streets!!!... of São Paulo⁴

Everything in Brazil happens first in São Paulo. However, this axiom was shattered at least once: here, in this text, São Paulo is no longer the ultramodern city that must always inaugurate trends, where the models are interminably forged to be reproduced elsewhere, and where everyone hopes exclusively to find inspiration. What occurred in São Paulo regarding the struggle for free public transportation is understood in large part also as a consequence of the events that took place in the much smaller city of Florianópolis. To be fair, it is possible to talk about an intellectual and militant partnership between the cities. If one looks for a sole avant-garde, though, it can be difficult to find one. Sometimes it is São Paulo, and other

times it is the little capital-island of the state of Santa Catarina that sets the standard to be followed, that provides the example to be admired, that teaches the new truths: if young people are organized and disciplined around a specific claim, such as the free fare, they can, in fact, succeed. They will succeed. Thus, to start the discussion and to introduce the main thesis of this chapter, I must now say: in a similar fashion to the city of Florianópolis, in São Paulo there was also a connection between the hardcore and punk rock scene, the youth-driven protests for free public transportation, and the new digital media outlets at the turn of the twenty-first century.

One of the events that united these three phenomena (music, politics, and the early commercial Internet) was a collective endeavor called Verdurada. The expression “verdurada” can be creatively translated as “vegetable roast” (roast in the sense of a Brazilian barbecue, but without meat, a play on words employed by hardcore straight-edge punks with the Portuguese term *churrascada*).⁵ Born as a festival to showcase hardcore music, vegetarianism, and veganism in the 1990s, Verdurada was basically one of the main entities responsible for systematically presenting the discussion about meat avoidance in Brazilian contemporary society.⁶ However, its organizers did not restrict themselves only to this subject matter. The event would grow throughout the years and would address a variety of social causes that were incorporated through lectures and debates held alongside the music shows. In 2002, the cultural *and* political event was being defined by the people behind it as follows:

Verdurada is a bimonthly [event] initially organized by São Paulo's straight-edge community since 1996. There, mostly hardcore bands perform, and the public attends lectures about political issues and participates in workshops, debates, video and art exhibitions with a political or divergent content. In the end, they receive a totally vegetarian dinner included in the price of entry. Within the do-it-yourself spirit that characterizes hardcore punk, the event's organization is totally undertaken by the very hardcore-punk straight-edge community of São Paulo. They are responsible for the contact with bands and speakers, as well as for renting the venue, hiring the sound crews, and promoting the event. The event basically aims at two objectives: to show that it is possible to successfully organize events without the sponsorship of big companies and without paid promotion in the media, and to bring to the public both the music created by the enraged youth and the thoughts and opinions of divergent thinkers and activists. And those objectives have been reached: the regularity of the event and the attending public (around 800 people from Brazil and abroad) confirm that there is a will amongst the youth to realize that they can accomplish what they want, without conforming to the one and only way of thinking that is imposed on them.⁷

Verdurada is a total experience. The people identifying themselves as straight-edge punks can become engaged in the first planning steps or they

may simply participate in the shows as part of the audience. In between those poles, there are debates and announcements of the latest activist news, other forms of artistic expression, the provision of plant-based food, the support of social movements, and the preparation for more political action. The time and place of events are decided taking into account access to the venue through public transportation.⁸ Music becomes culture, and it is not restricted only to sound: it incorporates all aspects of life. Verdurada turned out to be so successful in reaching its goals that, beyond international attention, it caught the interest of the repressive state apparatuses. The connections that Verdurada created between hardcore music and activism caused the event to be closely monitored by the police.⁹

Being contemporaneous with the so-called anti-globalization struggles, Verdurada incorporated in its hosted lectures many themes appreciated by the protesters involved in the latter. One of the main participants in the planning of Verdurada was André Mesquita, who today is an art curator. Talking more specifically about the early days of the 2000s, before the emergence of the Free Fare Movement, he explains the relationship between some actors from the beginning of the twenty-first century, actors who would eventually help to pave the way for the creation of a social movement related to public transportation. As discussed earlier, the anti-capitalist protests of the turn of the millennium (closely associated with the birth of São Paulo's Independent Media Center) would later provide important militants to the Free Fare Movement. Verdurada was notably involved in the helping of those early protests:

This period, this matter about the street protests, about a global call for us to occupy the streets . . . and to make a demonstration against summits, against those transnational organizations, a little of that history passed through Verdurada, because *some folks who were part of the Verdurada Collective were also part of the Independent Media Center*. . . . We organized the Verdurada and invited the bands to play and, in the middle of the show, there was a lecture. In that period, I remember us organizing the lectures . . . inviting someone to explain what the anti-globalization movement was, what the anti-capitalist movement is, . . . what Peoples' Global Action is, or what consensus-based decisions are, or to say: "Hey, next week, there will be direct-action training here in some place, . . . how a group has/can behave during a demonstration, . . . how you get organized. . ." Punk is not actually a monolithic thing, you know, like only to make shows, play music, and get together. No, it indeed had a political purpose . . . of occupying the streets.¹⁰

Important people behind Verdurada then had links to the collective operation of São Paulo's Independent Media Center. They actually helped in the foundation of a branch of the Independent Media Center in the South American country.¹¹ The Independent Media Center would be the cybernetic army of the protests against increases in the bus fare that would take Brazil

by storm (it was so in Salvador, Florianópolis, and Vitória, and it would be so in São Paulo until at least 2011). The Brazilian version of the website was founded around December 23, 2000: "Everything began with the coverage of the 'Buy Nothing Day,' a demonstration carried out . . . in a shopping mall in the city of Belo Horizonte. At this time, [Brazil's] Independent Media Center counted on a few volunteers, and it was only after a protest against the Free Trade Area of the Americas occurred on April 20, 2001, in São Paulo, that the site started to be widely used."¹² As a genuine anti-capitalist project, one of the characteristics of the Independent Media Center is its radical stance against copyright. Its Brazilian chapter was created as a website on which not only could anyone publish, but almost everything that reached life there could also be shared and reproduced openly, as long as it was in a non-commercial way. Its webpages of news and multimedia files very often carried a footer explaining this principle. The note has been present there since the first report written in Portuguese that I was able to retrieve from the Independent Media Center of Brazil's files stored in and crawled by the Internet Archive. The news piece dates from January 3, 2001, and reports on a conflict between punks, an unidentified group of people, the general population, and the repressive police during a show for the celebration of the new year on Paulista Avenue in São Paulo.¹³

It makes sense that the vehicle of news and propaganda of the Free Fare Movement would stand against copyright and had punks (many of them notoriously opposed to copyright laws) as actors in what was perhaps one of its first publications. If people should circulate freely through the urban space to avail themselves of opportunities to learn and grow intellectually, the information must travel unrestrictedly so as to reach more people and change their minds. In December 2002, while hosting a show with three rock bands and one rap group (Os Excluídos [The Excluded], Intifada, Good Intentions, and the hip-hop ensemble Dígito 4 [Digit 4]), Verdurada made sure to include a "Lecture on Copyleft" by scholar and future University of São Paulo professor Pablo Ortellado.¹⁴ Verdurada once more was positioning itself as a space for dissident and subversive ideas: from animal rights to the right of unrestricted transmission of thoughts. In an interview following the massive 2013 protests in Brazil that began in opposition to a bus fare hike in São Paulo, Ortellado is himself defined by the interviewers as a person "with a trajectory of activism *first in the punk movement* and later in the anti-globalization struggles at the turn of the twenty-first century."¹⁵

There are a number of paths to follow: punks had been part of the fight surrounding the transportation system in São Paulo since its beginning, when the main organization related to this issue was still called Comitê pelo Passe Livre (Committee for the Free Fare). As reported by Oliver Scarcelli: "São Paulo's Committee for the Free Fare for students was established in 2004 with the participation of militants from the Socialist Party of Unified Workers [PSTU], the Workers' Party [PT] (who came from the office of a

federal representative at the time, Luiz Eduardo Greenhalgh), *punks*, and some students from public schools.”¹⁶ An intellectual, Ortellado, who had a history within punk culture, was invited by Verdurada to talk about copyleft. The concept, use, and dissemination of copylefted materials were intrinsic to the ideals of the Independent Media Center. The Independent Media Center was the river through which the ideology of the Free Fare Movement would circulate. Verdurada, which is a punk/hardcore music and political festival, was comprised of members who would engage in anti-globalization protests (also one of the embryos of the later Free Fare Movement of São Paulo) and with the Independent Media Center (the *de facto* media of the struggle for truly universal public transportation). One should note the many connections. It is a true network.

The Independent Media Center

The English version of the Independent Media Center’s website first appeared in November 1999 with a bold statement: “The web dramatically alters the balance between multinational and activist media. With just a bit of coding and some cheap equipment, we can set up a live automated website that rivals the corporates. Prepare to be swamped by the tide of activist media makers on the ground in Seattle and around the world.”¹⁷ This proclamation, later rescued from oblivion by the work of anthropologist and activist Todd Wolfson, reverberated in the Southern Hemisphere: in Brazil, activists adopted the Independent Media Center as their home. Perhaps no other database of news about political struggles in the country was at the same time so unique and extensive. The militants would no longer be *dependent* on large corporations to tell the story of the social movements, and neither would they be restricted to the physical and political reach of traditional left-wing publications. When an occupation of a building occurred, it would no longer be called an “invasion” without this being denounced as a reactionary journalistic approach and without the activists’ perspective being seriously conveyed. Police repression could be denounced. Lies about vandalism and lack of popular support could be refuted. Political events that would never be reported by the conventional press could now be recorded in history.

It is an evident truth that left-wing publications existed long before this, both in Brazil and throughout the world. The novelty of the Independent Media Center, however, is that it could challenge any mainstream newspaper thanks to its instantaneous user-based contributions, its universal reach, and the non-differentiation between activists and reporters.¹⁸ How many newspapers or news agencies could claim in 2004 to have dedicated webpages from about 100 cities (or maybe more), all around the world, with information being fed by thousands of locals in different languages?¹⁹ Anyone with a computer could now become a correspondent. What was being applied there for the creation of media by the anti-capitalist militants was a punk modus operandi. As explained by Leo Vinicius, mediation should be abolished, as the Independent

Media Center's "basic idea was of a 'non-mediated media': the protesters themselves become the journalist and editor. . . . Do-it-yourself and undo the separation between layperson and expert, producer and consumers."²⁰

The principle of non-separation between "producer" and (its apparent opposite) "consumer" is present at every turn in punk practices.²¹ The do-it-yourself method is part of the essence of punk, and is linked to the deeper political tendencies of the movement.²² With the do-it-yourself concept cleverly applied to a digital information channel of social movements, the need for a huge infrastructure to construct a news outlet as powerful as the mass communication conglomerates became relatively unnecessary. This phenomenon of using the Independent Media Center as a means of expression for activists represents a mirror of what had happened within the punk music scene itself. As affirmed in Chapter 1, the fresh ways of recording and disseminating music through mp3s and personal websites transformed the musical genre in Brazil. It ceased to be exclusively or mostly an analog culture and became a hybrid between analog and digital. However, these new possibilities of digital media only fulfilled aspects already present in the good old do-it-yourself utopia, increasingly reducing the necessity of studios, presses, and professional managers for a band to achieve self-sufficiency. Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, punk—through its do-it-yourself attitude—seems to have foreseen forms of organization that only later would reach their pinnacle in the cybernetic revolution of the 1990s. In this sense, what Jacques Attali claims as the task of music in society is confirmed:

Music is prophecy. Its styles and economic organization are ahead of the rest of society because it explores, much faster than material reality can, the entire range of possibilities in a given code. It makes audible the new world that will gradually become visible, that will impose itself and regulate the order of things; it is not only the image of things, but the transcending of the everyday, the herald of the future. For this reason, musicians, even when officially recognized, are dangerous, disturbing, and subversive; for this reason, it is impossible to separate their history from that of repression and surveillance.²³

If music is predictive, as claimed by Attali, punk's do-it-yourself ethos, existent since the beginnings of the movement, was a form of hope for other social configurations in a future world. Within that hope was the desire for the emergence of a radical type of media, the media without mediation. Just consider, for example, the self-published zines and albums that are characteristic of punk culture. Then, when the personal computer became financially accessible and the commercial Internet arrived, it is not a coincidence that the new methods for recording and disseminating music were naturally incorporated by punks, even in a peripheral country such as Brazil. There, punks turned out to be the very early users of the Internet, or better, they were among the first to put the Internet to use, learning and propagating ideas ranging from anarchism to vegetarianism, from anti-war thought to

revolution, and, of course, about music itself. It is not a coincidence either that the medium without mediation par excellence, the Independent Media Center, was at the same time so closely connected to the punk movement. Cazé, which most likely is the nickname of Carlos André dos Santos, who among other activities studied the Independent Media Center, once left a comment on a website helping celebrate the five years of the Turnstile Revolts: “Most of the folks from the Independent Media Center who I interviewed for my research about the network in Brazil came from the punk and hardcore scene.”²⁴

However, the Independent Media Center is important not only in terms of the diffusion of socially relevant news. For some time, even the organization of the protests themselves could happen cooperatively through the website, before it became a surveilled space by the repressive state apparatus. In 2007, Rodrigo Ponce declared about the state of things and the brief history of that digital space:

The Indymedia website or later the Independent Media Center [CMI] in Brazil served to spread news about demonstrations, meetings, *to exchange ideas about how to demonstrate*. It was basically like that in the beginning. After some time, I believe that people stopped organizing themselves so openly on the Independent Media Center, because today there is a lot of surveillance on the website, lots of right-wing attacks, lots of people who could use that information to destroy the demonstrations. Therefore, I believe today that there is a new context that is a challenge to the Indymedia network: to continue to be an independent media center, with an open and democratic publication platform, *which can be used for popular organization and not something turned into a stage for bickering, for reactionary ideas, or a database for repression.*²⁵

The militants had to gain the awareness that the Internet could be a tool for the construction of utopia but would not necessarily be a utopian place in itself.²⁶ The struggle to keep the Independent Media Center out of the hands of the Right exemplifies a type of clash that even the punk culture itself occasionally had to endure. One notorious case is that of Michel Stamatopoulos (known as Sukata) from the band Garotos Podres. After a successful music career, he later became a vocal advocate of far-right politician Jair Bolsonaro.²⁷ Garotos Podres, created in the 1980s, stands as one of the most influential punk ensembles in Brazil; it was cited, for example, as an inspiration by S288, the Florianópolis hardcore band of the early 2000s that had links to some activities promoted by the militants for the free fare.²⁸ After the breakup of Garotos Podres because of fundamental political divergences, the band’s vocalist, Mao, who continued to be a left-wing militant, went on to form O Satânico Dr. Mao e Os Espiões Secretos (The Satanic Dr. Mao and the Secret Spies).²⁹ For the release in 2013 of the first version of the song “Repressão Policial (Instrumento do Capital),” meaning “Police Repression (An Instrument of Capitalism),” Mao wrote that the lyrics were initially

composed “by way of a simple tribute to these young people from the Free Fare Movement.”³⁰ In short, Garotos Podres had to be protected from right-wing use by means of a breakup and the later creation of a new band. If punk had to go through such challenges, precautions must have been taken by a website such as the Independent Media Center, which is derived in part from the do-it-yourself philosophy. These precautions would help guard against the media platform being transformed into a conservative or inefficient weapon by appropriation, instability, or surveillance.

This entire account of the Independent Media Center should sound quite similar to the evolution of social media and social networking websites today. These are new instruments that allow a more interactive and egalitarian interaction, a rapid and inexpensive way for the spreading of ideas and events, and the possibility of finding and connecting with like-minded people who would never associate otherwise. In sum, today’s social media were a small revolution for leftists and social movements until those same spaces became invaded by state surveillance or were attacked by right-wing thought. The similarities are not a coincidence. According to Manoel Nascimento: “The Independent Media Center was a social media site before social media existed.”³¹ The Independent Media Center created a space in which it was possible to network with others and to discover, share, and comment on non-mainstream information. It is not only a question of simple anticipation of a historical phenomenon; the social media of today might actually have their origins in the Independent Media Center. Such a website, created in opposition to the status quo and heavily influenced by radical ideas, most likely provoked a real worldwide transformation in the possibilities of communication. Its principles subverted, reverberated, and infiltrated other areas of the digital human enterprise. Ortellado is one of those who believes that the new anti-capitalist movements that emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s had a significant and decisive influence on the development of the contemporary Internet:

The inventor of the concept of the blog was the Independent Media Center. There were no blogs. People did not do that. They created sites. The idea of a blog, something that is easy to write on and capable of being updated quickly, did not exist. The Independent Media Center is a pre-blog thing, pre-creative commons. And it is not by chance that many of the social network companies were developed from the Independent Media Center: Twitter, YouTube, Flickr, and Craigslist. . . . This also has to do with the form of organization belonging to the US liberal left that allows passages from social movements to the market in a way that we [Brazilians] would consider bizarre—but in the US context it is not. . . . However, this is a hidden history: this history was never told because the actors are ashamed. I know several of them. They are ashamed because they are people who are still militants today. The same way I went into academia, they went to work for companies. . . . But it is important to

exemplify this issue to make clear that we are not copying the networks, but, in fact, they copied us.³²

It is still not possible to trace those connections pointed out by Ortellado without hearing the personal accounts of engineers and programmers involved in the early years of enterprises such as Twitter or YouTube. Hopefully, one day that information will be gathered and reported in detail. What we can trace, however, is that 1999 was indeed a watershed year in the digital realm concerning the creation of new tools for collaborative communication and the sharing of information. By about February 1999—the year in which the first post went online on the English-version website of the Independent Media Center—it was believed that only 23 blogs operated on the web, as reiterated in an article by Cameron Chapman: “By the middle of 2006, there were 50 million blogs according to Technorati’s State of the Blogosphere report.”³³ The word “blog” was coined in the first half of 1999, and the platform Blogger was initially made available in August of that year.³⁴

Although it marginally followed the creation of blog platforms such as Groksoup, Pitas, and Blogger, the innovation of the Independent Media Center a few months later seemed to offer more than the possibility of getting a new web address or using an existent one and “updat[ing] [it] frequently with chronologically sorted posts . . . by submitting a form on . . . [a] web site,” as explained by Blogger at the end of the twentieth century.³⁵ The produced material made public through Blogger was still fragmented across several digital locations and was difficult to compile, especially in those early days of modern Internet search engines. The Independent Media Center, whose use in Brazil was propelled by the anti-capitalist protests in São Paulo, consisted of a collective and open endeavor in which anyone could not only comment on the work of others but also create their own posts without the need for establishing their own web address. In sum, it connected the best of two worlds as a true social media platform. All news would be easily concentrated in one place while at the same time being generated in a decentralized fashion. Another militant from the anti-capitalist generation of the turn of the century, Felipe Corrêa, follows a similar line of thought, linking the tools of the Internet of the 2010s with the innovations caused by the Independent Media Center in 1999.

What history shows . . . is that the tools of the Web, which today are called 2.0, were, to a great extent, a creation of this movement of the new global Left. [They were] decentralized technologies, which allowed participation, collective construction, within the spirit that characterized the movement itself. . . . Some members of the Global Independent Media Center [Network] became, for example, central members within the project of the development of Twitter. The example of the Independent Media Center of an open comments section was followed by the majority of web portals belonging to corporate media.³⁶

Punks, with their do-it-yourself principle, had previously used the Xerox machine to circumvent the printing industry before the rise and popularization of the Internet.³⁷ At that time, the need for mediation was already beginning to be eliminated. With access to photocopiers becoming increasingly common all over the world, news and other information about the movement and its ideology could be spread within each national context, and perhaps even international exchanges could emerge. No doubt it was an effective method, but it carried its own limitations. Monetary constraints could play a role. The distribution system for physical copies of a text or image required shipping or face-to-face sales. The very number of copies was, obviously, finite, and the networks of contact could be restricted to small circles. With the Internet, however, a radical new model of communication served punks and activists so that they could step up to a different level. They were finally a decent match for the heavy hitters in terms of reach. Now, many of those limits were instantaneously removed. Ironically, however, it was the music industry that orchestrated one of the largest attacks on Internet freedom with its anti-piracy campaigns.³⁸ Music dominated by capitalist interests served as the perfect excuse to regulate what people could do with the new sound, visual, and textual media types. Faced with a loss of power, the large entertainment companies attempted to act as steamrollers to squash less-conforming users of cyberspace. This led to the *de facto* elimination of many websites and application software. Reebee Garofalo wrote in 2003 in this regard:

The music industry has been trying to convince consumers that there is a monster in their computers: the monster of copyright violation. It has gone variously by the name of MP3, Napster, Gnutella, Freenet, Scour, and LimeWire, and already there are others such as Morpheus and KaZaA. These technologies are part of a digital revolution that is transforming the way music is produced and consumed. The music industry is terrified that computer users sharing and downloading music tracks for free over the Internet will seriously cut into sales of compact discs, still the centerpiece of the industry's business model. In their attempts to curtail this development, the industry has adopted a two-pronged strategy of legislation and litigation, advocating for laws that extend the reach of copyright and filing lawsuits against alleged copyright infringers. . . . While Napster was subsequently crushed under the weight of music industry litigation, newer technologies such as Gnutella and Freenet and second-generation services such as Morpheus and KaZaA have taken the process further.³⁹

However, as corporations in developed countries began lobbying for harsher copyright laws and resorting to aggressive legal measures, opposition to these tactics emerged as well. Many people believed that the new possibilities of the digital era should be defended, and dissent emerged even on the margins of Western capitalism. Punk resistance in Brazil was not only musical but also political. The assault on "piracy" produced a do-it-yourself

response among both militants and musicians, which was (the encouragement to) the use of open-source software and free downloadable cultural artifacts. It was in 2002 that São Paulo's hardcore music festival, Verdurada, would, for example, organize the debate on copyleft featuring guest speaker Ortellado. In 2006, Belo Horizonte's hardcore and punk political event, Carnaval Revolução, would include the dissemination of free open-source software as part of its activities.⁴⁰ Additionally, it is wise to remember that most of the work published on the Independent Media Center website was instantly labeled copyright-free.

The punk do-it-yourself attitude was then the perfect match for movements such as the Independent Media Center or Verdurada that wanted to make the enforcement of copyrights less constraining. Additionally, freeing oneself of copyright restrictions would fit nicely with those who wanted a *free* public transportation system as well. Propelled by the new possibilities of the digital era, a growing open-source, copyleft, and free culture could connect itself with the principle that people should develop, create, and *circulate* what and where they desire without the need for resources unattainable by the non-rich individual, isolated citizens, or non-professional groups. With copyleft, not only could one do it by oneself, one could also build upon the work of others with very few restrictions and without the fear of being targeted by a lawsuit of some kind. Better still, the resulting derivative work would have to be placed in the same chain of freedom for others to use and, perhaps, to improve upon, again and again. In the end, copyleft and free public transportation are both about autonomy of movement.

Vegetarianism and the Struggle for the Free Fare

The new wave of members of the broad punk culture in Brazil in the 1990s and 2000s—more specifically, those who designated themselves as being straight edge—had a composition somewhat different from that of the early days of the punk movement in São Paulo.

The older punk culture from the late 1970s and the 1980s was characterized as originating from the poor outskirts of Brazil's largest urban area. It is a startling paradox: the tropical version of an international avant-garde phenomenon was born in the highly underprivileged regions of São Paulo, among the renegades of a city with profound misery that, at the same time, stood as an industrial leader of the Western Hemisphere.⁴¹ Those early punks became globally known for a 1982 festival titled *O Começo do Fim do Mundo* (The Beginning of the End of the World). The event was described as a moment of “utopia” by Pádua, a member of the punk band *Passeatas (Marches)*, thanks to its do-it-yourself ethos and its objective of sowing peace among several rival factions.⁴² A radical leftist inclination was already being openly displayed at the festival. One of the performing bands, *Inocentes*, remarked from the stage: “I want to see you practicing anarchy. Long live the working class. Long live the proletarian class. Long live punks!”⁴³ The

festival also embraced the repudiation of a decaying military dictatorship. For the participants, the termination of the world should mark the birth of a new one, characterized by the hope for less repression and more freedom, as one can understand from the following description: “The festival . . . blows up punk culture in everyone’s face in the midst of an authoritarian government.”⁴⁴ Linking this last sentence with the war cry of *Inocentes*, it is possible to say that such a rejection of the military dictatorship of that epoch had the intense characteristic of being undertaken by those at the bottom of the social stratification.

Some of São Paulo’s younger straight-edge individuals, some of whom were involved with the *Verdurada* Collective in the 1990s and 2000s, originated from more economically stable homes within the wealth pyramid and from a more formally democratic state. Mesquita, for example, confirmed in an interview that he is an inhabitant of a “middle-class neighborhood” and not the “outskirts” of the metropolis.⁴⁵ Frederico Freitas also comes from the central neighborhoods of São Paulo.⁴⁶ Freedom of expression, in its turn, was relatively higher in the 1990s as well, when *Verdurada* was established. In general, straight-edge individuals listen to hardcore-punk music but also are known for abstaining from using drugs, alcohol, and tobacco, and many of them are vegetarian or vegan.⁴⁷ They believe that the human organism and its mind must be kept clean from external harmful agents; they also seek to stop the destruction of other bodies and to refuse the ingestion of any food considered unethical. However, not all of those new punks were from the middle class, even though this seemed to be the case in a higher proportion than was found in the 1980s. Moreover, straight-edge vegetarianism and anti-drug attitude are in opposition to the social inequalities of peripheral capitalism:

In Brazil, we were tired of seeing people from the outskirts trying to be playboys by sniffing poor-quality cocaine. Capitalism drugged itself. Should we do the same? We wanted to shock, and we shocked. We ended up being disliked by all groups: punks, non-punks, headbangers, skateboarders, junkies. Fuck them. In order to avoid annoying comments and to escape from punk gangs, we started to organize our own shows in alternative venues . . . [like] cultural centers, libraries, and even in unimaginable places such as beauty salons. These activities culminated with the creation of *Verdurada*, which ended up gathering more than 1,000 people in Jabaquara starting in 1996, but it had also taken place before that (1993–1994) in Guarulhos and Grajaú (in the southern zone of São Paulo).⁴⁸

Based on these words delivered by Kiko Dinucci, it appears that the rejection of drug use by the Brazilian straight-edge punks also represented a denunciation of a society in which narcotics were linked to a life of productivity at all costs. Worse, it could be a form of alienation and fundamental inaction in the face of an alarming sociopolitical situation. This stance made straight edge a well-defined and particular subgroup within punk culture,

which led them to develop their own means of expression and circulation of ideas. Verdurada was the culmination of this process. As a result of the group's opposition to alcohol and other drugs, straight-edge events and shows in Brazil are known for explicitly prohibiting the consumption of those substances inside their venues. Within a culture that praises freedom, these are behaviors that remain expressly forbidden. Such a thing led to criticism of the straight-edge community as being a conservative and even religious-like manifestation derived from (and with the aim of purifying) punk culture.⁴⁹ However, Freitas argues that “the straight edge that I tried to do, that I tried to create through Verdurada and through my band [Point of No Return] was a leftist, emancipatory, progressist, and critical political thing. . . . It was not conservative, far from that.”⁵⁰ In fact, the alcohol and drug avoidance can sometimes represent an anti-establishment stance.⁵¹ In Brazil, where the promotion of alcohol is widespread and its intake is positively depicted on television (commercials are heavily based on the figure of the *macho*), the straight-edge attitude can be seen as embodying a sign of nonconformism and a critical posture. São Paulo's band Discarga recorded in 2008 “Teor alcoólico” (“Alcohol by Volume”), in which the ensemble denounces the damage caused by excessive drinking. In the first line of the lyrics, they refer to an advertising slogan for the beer brand Skol, which repeatedly states that its product is “the beer that goes down smooth,” but Discarga changed the word “beer” to “sentence.” They walked away from the advertisement to arrive at punk music.

*A sentença que desce redondo
Embriaguez é a ruína da razão
É uma velhice prematura
Uma morte temporária
Jogando sujo à moda capitalista
Diversão, alucinação e alienação
Vício degradante e humilhante
Social, prático e legal
Uma velhice prematura
Uma morte temporária
Deturpação de ideias
Ideias deturpadas*

*The sentence that goes down smooth
Drunkenness is the ruin of reason
It's a premature old age
A temporary death
Playing dirty the capitalist way
Fun, hallucination, and alienation
Humiliating and degrading addiction
A social, practical, and legal one
A premature old age
A temporary death
Perversion of ideas
Perverted ideas⁵²*

In addition to their class composition, condemnation of alcohol and drug use, and veganism and vegetarianism, a significant number of members of the straight-edge scene in São Paulo can be defined as White, especially more toward the beginning of the scene in the mid-1990s.⁵³ This is especially so if one considers Brazil's skin-color pigmentocracy and compares the composition of straight edge to other insubordinate youth cultures such as Brazilian hip-hop. It is also significant that, for a former member of the São Paulo straight-edge band Point of No Return, Frederico Freitas, the

predominance of “aesthetic whiteness” was an issue that would deserve more attention from the scene.⁵⁴ In a 2008 interview, Róbson Véio, the vocalist of the band Lumpen from Salvador, where the hardcore scene included many more people of color, voiced hope after seeing more Blacks in the shows of São Paulo. His statement could mean that, several years before 2008, the shows were actually predominantly White: “For me, hardcore was always a community, and I thought it was becoming lost. Today, I am glad because there are many more Black people [in the shows in São Paulo]. . . . Because hardcore was always a street thing. And, for me, a straight-edge individual is a punk who doesn’t drink.”⁵⁵ This statement is in tune with another argument by Freitas that, toward the 2000s, more people of color joined the scene.⁵⁶ Anyhow, Brazil might not have always differed from other countries in the same Western hemisphere, where the participants of the hardcore culture were primarily young White men.⁵⁷ However, one needs to consider that many times, as posited by Stephen Duncombe and Maxwell Tremblay, these White young men precisely turned to punk as an “outsider identity” and even as a way “to reject one’s inherited whiteness,” which, on the one hand, is a positive instance that weakens racism and, on the other hand, can have paradoxical implications such as the non-acknowledgement of deeper racial issues within the scene.⁵⁸

Even though there are characteristics that make straight edge a particular and relatively newer group within the punk scene in Brazil, the straight-edge individuals sought to learn either from the early punks or from other divisions of punk. This is illustrated not only by inviting older bands to perform at the shows, but also by the person selected to speak and teach them about copyleft at the 2002 Verdurada—the activist Ortellado.⁵⁹ Here, a connection between generations or at least between different branches of punk is established. To quote Ortellado himself, there was that first generation of Brazilian punks who emerged “in the late 1970s, which we called the ‘Generation ’82.’”⁶⁰ In the early 1980s and until at least the mid-1990s in São Paulo, a considerable number of members of incarnations of the punk movement worked as “office boys,” doing outside errands for companies and businesses.⁶¹ Their habitat was, in fact, the streets of the metropolis, and they belonged to the proletariat of the country’s financial center. Ortellado’s own generation came along a bit later after Generation ’82. Still with a strong presence of office boys, it was made up of:

Punks who got politicized in the very late 1980s. It must be the second or third generation. . . . It was the generation that met the unions. In 1987 and 1988, we tried organizing the office boys’ union (I was an office boy) together with a process of refoundation of the Brazilian Workers’ Confederation [Confederação Operária Brasileira], which was the 1910s Anarchist Workers’ Confederation.⁶²

In the 1990s and 2000s punk movement, there was important engagement with left-wing politics as well, with bands espousing various positions

within the progressive political spectrum. The movement extended beyond anarchist tendencies (some ensembles were composed of Marxists) and found itself to be distinctively global, with the Brazilian scene in dialog with the scenes from other countries. Maikon Duarte, even though not living specifically in São Paulo but in Joinville, stated in an interview a sentiment that can now serve to explain a general tendency of the straight-edge community in Brazil concerning its international connections: “The hardcore and punk bands from the Netherlands, particularly the straight-edge bands (we even called them ‘red edge’), which were openly communists (Manliftingbanner, Mainstrike, Feeding The Fire, Seein’ Red, DeadStoolPigeon) . . . [were important for] the punk, hardcore folks, who had a more political, left-wing attitude, who understood themselves as leftists.”⁶³

Left-wing politics strongly connected to animal rights defines much of the straight-edge punk community. As explained by Craig O’Hara: “A rational look at the wasted resources, health issues, and the acceptance of a deeper or more humane ecology has caused a growing number of punks to become vegetarians. . . . The punk philosophy tends to believe that the exploitation of animals is another step towards allowing the exploitation of people.”⁶⁴ The oppression of humans by capitalism runs parallel to the relationships between humans and nature as well as humans and other animals, which are seen as slaves to the insatiable desire for profit. Discarga once more addressed a favorite theme of the straight-edge community with a 2003 song called “Sempre ganância” (“Always Greed”), in which those aspects linking the oppression of men and women to animal subjugation are condensed:

<i>Mais um pescoço degolado</i>	<i>Another decapitated being</i>
<i>Outra refeição é servida</i>	<i>Another meal is served</i>
<i>Mais um cérebro perfurado</i>	<i>Another pierced brain</i>
<i>Outra pesquisa concebida</i>	<i>Another research is conceived</i>
<i>Exploração humana e animal</i>	<i>Human and animal exploitation</i>
<i>Para servir uma podre ganância</i>	<i>In order to serve a rotten greed</i>
<i>O funil ao contrário do capitalismo</i>	<i>Capitalism’s inverted funnel</i>
<i>Mata, desperdiça, contamina</i>	<i>It kills, wastes, contaminates</i>
<i>Poluindo águas, desmatando florestas</i>	<i>Polluting waters, deforesting woodlands</i>
<i>Injetando venenos, não há ética</i>	<i>Injecting poisons, there is no ethics</i>
<i>Isso tenta se esconder</i>	<i>They try to hide it</i>
<i>Mas meus olhos tudo podem ver</i>	<i>But my eyes can see everything⁶⁵</i>

In the song, animals lose their lives through vicious exploitation, and the natural environment is ruined as well. Both the destruction of animals and of the environment are perhaps a consequence of the domination of one human being by another. The hardcore-punk singer acts as the one responsible for unveiling the situation; he stands inevitably conscious of it. Moreover, abstention from eating meat and using animal-based products represents a stance against industrialization. The factory-like raising of living creatures is

attacked, as these creatures are restricted only to production and reproduction. Here, one can see another remarkable equivalence with the struggle for free public transportation for students. In the same way in which it is unacceptable to reduce animals' lives only to production, one cannot tolerate the lives of young people being restricted only to school (the preparatory institution for youths to enter the productive system). The liberation of animals becomes linked with the liberation of students, and a connection can be traced between animal rights and the right to free and unrestrained mobility. Young people must release themselves from the cage of education as their only allowed activity. They should be able to circulate through cultural spaces or even roam the city to ensure that they can understand and appreciate different realities. Bicycles appear to be a first alternative, but, ultimately, buses are the mode of transportation that enables broad circulation and roaming. Universal access to public transportation becomes the other side of a coin that has as one of its faces the fight for vegetarianism and veganism.

It is not a coincidence that, as early as 2003, a Verdurada event offered a reduction in the entrance ticket price for those arriving by bike and, hence, using an alternative, less-polluting, and more democratic means of transportation.⁶⁶ The appeal of bicycles remained strong for some of those hardcore, straight-edge punks. In November 2005, another Verdurada hosted shows featuring the bands Periferia S/A, ROT, Polara, Julgamento (Judgment), and Busscops. Together with the performances, they prepared the screening of the film *Sociedade do automóvel* (*Automobile Society*), whose exhibition had the support of those who had participated in São Paulo's Critical Mass cycling event (Bicicletada).⁶⁷ However, nothing compares to what had happened in July of that year, 2005, when the 13th São Paulo Hardcore Festival included a discussion about nothing less than "the free fare struggle."

That São Paulo Hardcore Festival was organized by the Verdurada Collective, obviously following the ideas of the straight-edge community. It completely forbade tobacco and alcoholic beverages, and a "free vegetarian/vegan dinner [was served] at the end of the event." According to an announcement promoting the activities, both the bands Discarga and B.U.S.H., which later would change its name to Futuro (Future), performed at the festival.⁶⁸ They shared the stage with other ensembles: Violator, D.E.R., Deeper Than That, Besta-Fera (Bestial Beast), Morte Asceta (Ascetic Death), Lobotomia (Lobotomy), Are You God?, and Thee Butchers' Orchestra. The poster bears the names of the bands, the strict rules about intoxicating substances, and information regarding the lecture on free public transportation and the free vegan food to be served at the conclusion of the activities. Additionally, it bears a drawing loosely divided into three sections. Below, there is a wall of policemen whose helmets are typical of anti-riot forces; they stand ready for repression. In the middle, the design depicts empty buses, most likely representing the ones stopped by protesters during a revolt against a fare increase. Above, young militants represent the celebration of victory. Flames in the background hint at the dimension of the conflict (Fig. 5.1).



Fig. 5.1: Coletivo Verdurada (Design by Felipe Madureira), *13th São Paulo Hardcore Festival*, July 2005. CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.⁶⁹ The São Paulo hardcore event took place just two and half weeks after the end of Florianópolis' Second Turnstile Revolt. As stated by André Mesquita, in the posters for Verdurada: "We always thought about placing some image making reference to a case of our interest."⁷⁰

Felipe Madureira, who authored this specific poster, also stated: "We knew that much repression was going on [in Florianópolis] . . . and we were kind of in solidarity with the people who went through that. . . In this poster, there are the little buses from Sex Pistols. . . The police are there defending private interests. Transportation, although part of it [being] public, much of it is controlled by the private sector. And we know that police protect capital."⁷¹ Madureira is referring to the buses from Jamie Reid's design for Sex Pistols' single "Pretty Vacant." One of the most telling things about the Brazilian version is that the buses in the Sex Pistols' poster come displaying the words "nowhere" and "boredom," which were apparently substituted for "holiday" by Madureira.

The link between the Verdurada hardcore-punk event and the discussion about the democratization of transportation within the city were further strengthened throughout the years. According to Lucas “Legume” Oliveira, the Free Fare Movement took advantage of the shows to sell its politically oriented merchandise and even sometimes received monetary help from the Verdurada Collective.⁷² As another example, at the end of January 2011, the same Verdurada Collective organized the two-day 18th São Paulo Hardcore Festival. In between the shows, there was a lecture by Pedalinas, a feminist collective engaged in making it possible for female bicyclists to pedal more safely around the city. Pedalinas shared the stage with the bands Violator, Sweet Suburbia, Jah-Hell Kick, Western Day, Homem Elefante, Confronto, Futuro, Final Round, and Against All My Friends (from Chile).⁷³ The anti-capitalist discourse was, undoubtedly, present throughout the performances; one has simply to look for it in the compositions of an ensemble such as Confronto. They came from Rio de Janeiro with works such as “Guerra, queda e morte” (“War, Fall, and Death”). Released as part of their 2001 album *A Insurreição* (*The Insurrection*), it features a screaming voice that demands: “War against property / Down with the state / Death to the followers.”⁷⁴ However, it was a thrash metal band, Violator, from the city of Brasília that had recorded a piece of extreme significance to the struggle against cars as the privileged means of transportation in the early twenty-first century. In their repertoire, there is a work called “Apocalypse Engine.” Sung in English and released in 2010, its lyrics were inspired by the book *Apocalipse Motorizado*, the compendium of anti-car texts translated into Portuguese by one of the key figures of Florianópolis’ Turnstile Revolts, Leo Vinicius:

*Machine Tyranny
Anxiety for freedom
Ignoring other's pain
Becoming another prison.*

*Smashing. Pollution damage growing up so high.
Mass graves so that few have the privilege to oppress more.*

*Blood for oil
Supporting their war.
The crisis won't be felt
Inside the armored box.*

*Smashing. Pollution damage growing up so high.
Mass graves so that few have the privilege to oppress more.*

*Feel the signs of rot
The Apocalypse Engine*

*Fuel for the end of times
The Apocalypse Engine*

*Will come the day, [and] it's not so far,
that the smoke will erase [us] from our mind
Lungs as black stop the pulse
until then, let the engines make noise!*

*Apocalypse! Engine!
Apocalypse! Engine!*

*Your thirst for speed,
Consents destruction
Use your belt,
In the rape of our land!*

*Feel the signs of rot
The Apocalypse Engine
Fuel for the end of times
The Apocalypse Engine⁷⁵*

In Violator's song "Apocalypse Engine," the car is the destroyer of the environment and not a synonym for human emancipation. It will bring the end of the world through contamination of the Earth and the wars provoked by the interests of the fuel industry. The dark sound of the electric guitar and its slow tempo during the introductory chords helps to create the atmosphere of catastrophe. The delay effect applied on the voice of the singer in the last word of the first and third lines of the fifth and ninth stanzas complements the prophetic nature of the song. According to Attali: "The musician, like music, is ambiguous. He plays a double game. He is simultaneously *musicus* and *cantor*, reproducer and prophet. If an outcast, he sees society in a political light. If accepted, he is its historian, the reflection of its deepest values. He speaks of society and he speaks against it."⁷⁶ Violator, a band recognized as important by Verdurada, acts as a radical historian registering the chaotic state of the human habitat as a result of our selection of the automobile as our primary means of transportation. The band also registers the new thought emerging in Brazil at the time (the song is derived from a radical, left-wing book): a growing opposition to the current condition of urban spaces where the metropolises are constructed to grant privileges to the circulation of cars. At the same time, the members of Violator are outsiders, performing thrash metal in English in a country like Brazil. Prophetically and politically, they announce that civilization will most likely collapse if it continues to follow the same path.

After January's event with the women cycling collective Pedalinas and the band Violator, another Verdurada was organized in June 2011. This time, the

Free Fare Movement occupied the position of special guest, and a discussion led by Lúcio Gregori about the movement's activities enjoyed a central place.⁷⁷ A punk who attended the activities wrote the following about that day:

The folks from the Free Fare Movement take the stage in order to conduct a very cool lecture about the struggle against the hikes of the fare and the new combat flag of the movement: mobilization for the zero fare. . . . I became very happy to know that that small spark from an ending bonfire was not an unsuccessful story of a one-day wonder, but rather the beginning of a great flame of struggles, which each person must ignite within oneself and must call upon oneself the responsibility of asserting the dissatisfaction against this rotten transportation system, totally dominated by mafia-like businessmen. The zero fare is based on the following plausible argument: if public schools and hospitals are free, why not transportation, too? The reason why one should join that struggle was thoroughly explained. [I was] amazed at the lecture and the public's attention, which asked some talkative people to shut up so that they did not disturb.⁷⁸

The engineer Gregori, then in his 70s, was rediscovered by the young militants as a person who, two decades earlier, had attempted to implement a groundbreaking project in São Paulo regarding urban mobility, demonstrating that the struggle for free public transportation in Brazil was a long one. It stood there, before and after the Turnstile Revolts of Florianópolis. Its modern institutional consequences could be traced back to Gregori's plan for a universal zero fare when Luiza Erundina from the Workers' Party, as the mayor of São Paulo (1989–1992), selected Gregori to head the transportation division of the city's government: the universal zero fare was, in fact, partly applied in a sector of the metropolis.⁷⁹ By reading the work of Vinicius, one can say that the rediscovery of Gregori occurred when this historical precedent was learned by the Free Fare Movement: "The evolution of the Free Fare Movement's banner, from the student free fare to the universal free fare (the zero fare), started already in 2005, the year in which they found out about the proposal and the experience that occurred in 1990 in São Paulo."⁸⁰ In that Verdurada, together with the Free Fare Movement discussion led by Gregori, the public had, of course, the opportunity to participate in the shows of punk and hardcore bands: Cólera, Periferia S/A, Positive Youth, Ralph Macchio, and Pushmongos.⁸¹ There was also an unscheduled appearance by the band Test.⁸² Pushmongos was the punk rock band of Felipe Madureira, who designed the 2005 poster for 13th São Paulo Hardcore Festival in which the discussion about the revolts against hikes in Florianópolis took place. The members of the broader punk scene assumed several roles throughout the years: designers, musicians, organizers, activists, protesters, scholars.

What do hardcore-punk festivals holding debates on the free fare struggle together with several music shows mean in these historical contexts? It is true that the 2011 Verdurada incorporated the Free Fare Movement as a

guest thanks to the protests that were happening in São Paulo.⁸³ However, in a somewhat unexpected way, that city cannot always be seen at the forefront of a political and cultural movement. As for the 2005 event that also had the free fare struggle as its main point of debate, the Verdurada Collective incorporated the lecture's subject matter as a consequence of the events in a peripheral state capital: Florianópolis. The drawing of the poster (Fig. 5.1) includes the same elements of the Turnstile Revolts of 2004 and 2005 opposing the bus fare hike. In a news report about São Paulo's Hardcore Festival, it was actually stated (even more clearly than in the poster) that the organizers' intention was not only to talk about the issue of the free fare in general terms, but that they specifically wished to discuss Florianópolis' Turnstile Revolts: "In the edition of July [2005], the theme [of the festival] was the struggle for the Free Fare *in Florianópolis*."⁸⁴ The Brazilian metropolis of São Paulo, which de facto dictates most of the directions of the country's modernity, then had to catch up with the train of history to be in synchrony with its much smaller counterpart. The Free Fare Movement did not exclusively radiate from the financial center of the country, but was brought into existence largely on the margins of Brazilian capitalism. As a result of the novelty and size of the revolts, Florianópolis and its militants became the model. As a city, it had lost its air of provincialism.

São Paulo Becomes Florianópolis

After 2004 and 2005, the experiences of Florianópolis' Turnstile Revolts opposing the hikes in the bus fare were exported to and gained momentum in other parts of Brazil. The previous movements and struggles around public transportation—as well as the learning acquired in Brazil from the process of nationalization of the Free Fare Movement—led more and more cities to create or increase the numbers and quality of their own local social actors who were engaged with urban issues. They operated to confront and to place pressure on their respective municipal governments. Ortellado offers his perspective on the wave of events subsequent to the Turnstile Revolts: "It happened in Florianópolis twice, 2004 and 2005. Later, it happened in several cities; there should have been more than 10 transportation revolts between 2004 until now [2013], perhaps more than 20. And the political institutions were deaf to this process."⁸⁵ As with a computer software created by a hacker that spreads uncontrollably from machine to machine, the youth had the banner of the free fare decisively inserted into their own imagery: a hacker working against the operating system of public transportation in the hands of private companies. Toward the end of 2006, more than a year after the second of the revolts in Florianópolis, a series of protests against a fare increase took over São Paulo. The major newspaper in that city (and in Brazil, for that matter), *Folha de São Paulo*, reported

that the demonstrations featured a vast variety of left-wing political ideologies. Among the militants, there were punks. A journalist managed to meet one of them:

Yesterday, the new fare became official, but, in any case, about 1,200 young people from a diverse political spectrum (punks, “ ninjas,” college students, militants from the Socialism and Freedom Party [PSOL], the Socialist Party of Unified Workers [PSTU], and the Homeless Workers Movement [MTST], dressed-up clowns, and skateboarders) marched from the Municipal Theater to the Sé Square, returning through Líbero Badaró Street and the Chá Viaduct. . . . A “ punk” called João, 19, raises the red and black flag from the Spanish National Confederation [CNT]. . . . What is punk? “ Not even the sociologists were able to explain it, bro.”⁸⁶

The presence of punks at the protests for free public transportation in São Paulo in the mid-2000s cannot be considered a surprise, a coincidence, or an unusual connection. Far from such a representation, there was, in fact, a constructed alliance between those behind the urban social movement and those playing in bands and attending the punk shows of the metropolis. Part of the militant work became the organization of *both* demonstrations *and* shows. On October 22, 2006, the Free Fare Movement of São Paulo staged an event to celebrate the National Week of Struggle for the Free Fare. The chosen motto stated, “ Because culture is not a commodity too!,” which is a wordplay on the movement’s own slogan, “ Transportation is not a commodity! ” Among activities that involved various types of exhibitions and workshops, there were public presentations by several bands: Violência Sonora (Sound Violence), Juventude Perdida (Lost Youth), Bacantis, Caos Alternativo (Alternative Chaos), Destroyer of Senses, and Mine.⁸⁷

The attractions at this Cultural Free Fare Festival were not chosen arbitrarily. It is possible to recover the radicalization of the sound that emanated from music performances on that day. One of the bands, Violência Sonora, had recorded in 2005 a very primitive demo CD-R composed of eight songs. The track called “ Sistema Falido ” (“ Failed System ”) helps to display the band’s intense anti-capitalist sentiment, with the piece reverberating like an actual political manifesto. Through its direct discourse, the bourgeoisie, the state, and the economic system are condemned and repelled. The rawness of the recording gives the song an aesthetic of poverty, and, most likely, such an aural appeal was repeated when the song was played live. The working class becomes present through the distortion of sounds. For the Free Fare Movement, the alliance with bands such as Violência Sonora must have signified that its militants were combining forces with the marginality of the excluded. The song even denounces the challenges that the transportation system poses for workers. The fares are so high that sometimes the only option for the poor is to walk for several miles:

[canto]

[...]

[singing]

...

[discurso falado]

Burguesia não é sinônimo de superioridade, mas aqui quem tem dinheiro é quem dá as ordens: os donos de empresas multinacionais, os governantes, os banqueiros, donos de impérios que eles conseguiram, mas às custas de quem? Daquele que acorda cedo e sem dinheiro para o ônibus vai a pé para o trabalho [...]

[spoken words]

*Bourgeoisie is no synonym of superiority, but here he who has money gives the orders: the owners of multinational companies, the rulers, the bankers, the owners of empires that they constructed, but at the expense of whom? Of those who wake up early and without any money for the bus go to work by foot . . .*⁸⁸

São Paulo's Cultural Free Fare Festival featuring the punk show by Violência Sonora occurred in October 2006, and it served as a prelude to the protests that would take place a few weeks later in the same city. However, not only punks were involved in the demonstrations of that year in São Paulo: the spirit of Florianópolis was present as well. This influence actually took written form in a November pamphlet by the Struggle Front Against the Hike (of which the Free Fare Movement was a constituent).⁸⁹ Here is one of the sentences used to call people to take to the streets: "In Florianópolis and Vitória, the population organized itself and stopped the hike."⁹⁰ Besides the Struggle Front Against the Hike, demonstrations were organized by at least one other group: the traditional student organizations. Similarly, in this second branch of the protests, the president of the National Students' Union (UNE) also hoped for powerful activities that would emulate the previous storming of two state capitals, Florianópolis and Salvador, something that would, in fact, shake the economic center of the country.⁹¹ But it was when militants in São Paulo, during a violent confrontation with the police, were reported to be using the same methods learned in the previous years through the events of Florianópolis' Turnstile Revolts, that the relatively small city in the south of Brazil proved to be the archetype that was being followed. The influence appeared so strong that an urban legend even appeared in the leading newspaper of the country, *Folha de São Paulo*. It alleged that anarchists would be coming from Florianópolis for the purpose of teaching their comrades in the larger metropolis:

The leaders from the Front that directs the struggle against the hike of the fare in São Paulo do not hide the fact that their urban mobilization tactic was copied from that which, in Florianópolis in July 2005, managed to impede a hike of 30% that the southern mayor wanted to apply to the bus fare. Nine militants from Santa Catarina transferred themselves to São Paulo in order to help the organization against the hike of the bus

fare. They transmit[ted] the winning script of Florianópolis, which is to make a series of demonstrations—day after day, no rest—to force open the doors of buses and to disable turnstiles in order to gain popular support. One of those transferred militants is Guaxinim, from IML, an acronym that, in this case, means Instituto do Motim Libertário [Institute for the Anarchist Mutiny]. An anarchist, he studied contemporary art at the Federal University of Santa Catarina and is now enrolled at the University of São Paulo.⁹²

This story appears to be a contribution to the creation of a myth. No reference to this Institute for the Anarchist Mutiny is contained in the many thousands of files from the Independent Media Center website stored at the Internet Archive. The only exceptions are when someone refers to this very news piece published by *Folha de São Paulo* and cited above. Most likely, the person identifying himself as Guaxinim made a joke to have some fun in case an account was later circulated by the traditional media. He could also be part of a group whose intention was to create confusion both inside and outside the movement, as a form of sabotage.⁹³ For example, he appeared to have posed as a leader of a leaderless movement.⁹⁴ It is still relevant, however, that this so-called Guaxinim decided to use Florianópolis as the habitat of a vanguard, from where wiser militants would come to give guidance to their counterparts in São Paulo. At least, it confirms that Florianópolis resided in the national, public imagery as the center of the struggle against bus fare hikes in particular and for free public transportation in general. Such a story sounded credible enough to the newspaper editors and the reporter. However, there was not universal approval of the way in which the movement was portrayed. An activist who participated in the protests, the artist Graziela Kunsch, formally responded to *Folha de São Paulo*. She argued that the movement had no leaders, that no group of almost 10 militants came from Florianópolis to São Paulo to become insurrection instructors, and, at the time, no degree in arts even existed at the Federal University of Santa Catarina, making it impossible to believe Guaxinim had been completely truthful. At the same time, she acknowledged that the Free Fare Movement, now nationalized with a chapter in São Paulo and born, to a great extent, from the previous events in Florianópolis, was effectively a strong force behind the demonstrations in the large metropolis.

It is not possible for such a person called Guaxinim to be one of the leaders of the movement, because this movement is horizontal, without hierarchies. The demonstration was organized by the Struggle Front Against the Hike, which encompasses student groups from São Paulo and diverse social movements around a common objective: to stop the hike. The affirmation that nine leaders from a so-called Institute for the Anarchist Mutiny would have moved from Florianópolis to lead the act is so ridiculous as saying

that the young man studied contemporary art at the Federal University of Santa Catarina [UFSC] (where there is no B.A. in arts). The Free Fare Movement (MPL), which is a member of São Paulo's Front and was the greatest catalyst of Florianópolis' protests, was not even mentioned in the news piece.⁹⁵

Kunsch posted this response on the Independent Media Center website. Even though she ultimately sought to have it published by *Folha de São Paulo* or its cybernetic branch (the web portal UOL, as her letter was directed to its ombudsman), the piece was already online and accessible on the Internet without the need for external approval or any kind of intermediaries. It confirms that the activists could now counterargue the depictions of their actions by the mainstream media. If a news item or column debasing them was published, there was a vehicle through which this could be remedied, in part. Additionally, memory of the historical facts could be documented in a much more complex way. Knowledge should travel through many routes, and the dispute about what is true would become an increasingly egalitarian game.

Independent from the veracity of the account of the nine militants who allegedly transferred their activities from Florianópolis to São Paulo, there was real transportation going on between the two cities—if not of actual activist bodies, then at least of political ideas coming especially from the south. Those ideas were infiltrating the most important urban center of the country. In the view of Ortellado, Florianópolis became “the positive model,” sometimes being even remembered during transnational dialogs with foreign activists.⁹⁶ According to Vinicius, the success of the militants from Florianópolis in blocking the actions of the local government would generate enthusiasm in other cities. No longer would a mayor shove down the people’s throats a higher price for riding the bus without facing the possibility of strong resistance. The events in Florianópolis opened a new door for the organization of social movements. They proved that non-hierarchical structures could be as effective as (or perhaps more efficient than) rigid, vertical configurations in certain scenarios.

Florianópolis’ revolt had managed . . . to cancel the hike. The event would reverberate among young militants of other cities and would become as inspiring as [Salvador’s] Bus Revolt had been [previously], mainly among the anarchist youth, because of the movement’s non-partisan and autonomist character—street assemblies, direct democracy. . . . In São Paulo, we certainly find an example of that.⁹⁷

The militants now acted from a stronger standpoint developed in and fed on the praxis of the earlier revolts and their teaching-like circumstances. However, the police also absorbed lessons from the events. The 2004 revolt in Florianópolis was met with what one can consider to be mild repression, while in 2005 the police demonstrated a change in posture, acting much

more violently to control the situation. Apart from the idiosyncrasies of local politics that played a role in the adjustment of the police's attitudes, one cannot dispute that the repressive state apparatus had acquired more data on how to manage students in an uprising.⁹⁸ The government would not be taken by surprise if a decision were made to crush demonstrations; indeed, fierce suppression of protests became a common recurrence. In the protests that took place at the end of 2006 against the fare hike in São Paulo, it was reported that, on November 24, "several people were injured by splinters from sound grenades, rubber bullets, billy clubs, in addition to the use of pepper spray."⁹⁹ The police also arrested activists in a showcase of their power.¹⁰⁰ Years later, in January 2010, another round of demonstrations emerged against a fare increase in São Paulo. The protesters took to the streets to display their opposition to the state and to the cost of public transportation. Images circulated of activists being beaten and arrested by the Military Police. Dressed for the occasion, the policemen wore helmets and wielded billy clubs, tear-gas grenades, and pepper spray, putting their weaponry into use (Fig. 5.2).



Fig. 5.2: Marcelo Pereira, *In the Turnstile*, São Paulo, January 7, 2010. "The Military Police suppress a protest in the bus terminal Parque Dom Pedro against the bus fare hike in São Paulo. . . . Close to 200 people, mostly members of the Free Fare Movement, participated in the demonstrations; three were arrested."¹⁰¹ It is documented by the press that the police arsenal, besides billy clubs, pepper spray, and stun grenades, included "tear gas," and at least one of the policemen is pictured while he openly "holds a firearm" in front of the protesters.¹⁰²

Compared to Florianópolis, the demonstrations in São Paulo seem to have been comprised of older militants who were more likely to engage in direct action, which could have elevated tensions between the protesters and the police. For instance, anarchist flags were displayed at the 2006 protests, which is something apparently not registered in Florianópolis, if one considers the documents consulted here.¹⁰³ According to Daniel Guimarães, São Paulo's Free Fare Movement had deeper "anarchist/autonomist" tendencies compared to that of Florianópolis, which featured more links with Marxist organizations.¹⁰⁴ In any case, the repression by the state was unquestionably strong in the main metropolis of the country. A participant in São Paulo's 2006 demonstrations stated his perspective on the police violence: "The indignation is huge with the brutality perpetrated against us, which makes me feel really bad, and I keep asking myself: 'How do they have the nerve to do that? Why?!" This was my first demonstration that ended up like this, with such repression and brutality, and I now wonder about what a shit democracy is this one, which they who are in power are proud to say we live in."¹⁰⁵ One must note that such a criticism of Brazilian democracy was lodged during the left-wing presidential government of Lula, who remained in power from January 2003 through December 2010. Clearly, more radical militants and musicians did not see Lula in a positive light. The repressive stance of the police in São Paulo did not help to lead the activists to believe that a left-wing president would make things easier for them, both in terms of protesting and regarding the achievement of their goals.

In 2009, the 17th São Paulo Hardcore Festival, organized by the Verdurada Collective, hosted two lectures, the first on animal rights and the other on the Free Fare Movement. The talks were accompanied by shows by the bands Confronto, I Shot Cyrus, Red Dons, Eu Serei a Hiena (I Would Be the Hyena), Nossa Vingança (Our Vengeance), Mukeka di Rato (Rat Stew), Naifa, Avalanche, Will Champion, and Corleone.¹⁰⁶ One of those ensembles, Naifa, had recorded in 2008 a song containing sharp criticism of Lula, attacking him over two of his appealing characteristics: his rise from the lower classes and his history as a union leader. Titled "Presidente do povo" ("The President from the People"), the piece was published on an album split with another band called Morto pela Escola (Killed by School). The lyrics of "Presidente do povo" create a narrative of a politician who, in spite of originating in the workers' movement, deceived his constituents and essentially abandoned the poor. Now, he sits at a table with the country's rich and powerful. Here is a fragment of the song:

[...]

...

*O presidente do povo
Lutava com o povo
Brigava pelo povo
Mas se esqueceu do povo*

*The president from the people
Struggled alongside the people
Fought for the people
But he forgot the people*

*O presidente do povo
Prometeu para o povo
Mentiu para o povo
E já não é do povo*

[...]

*The president from the people
Made promises to the people
Lied to the people
And no longer belongs to the people*

...¹⁰⁷

Criticism of Lula permeates the lyrics despite his proven ability to effectively bring millions out of poverty through reformist (not revolutionary) actions. These actions also caused a set of problems that could be traced to the way in which they were carried out. As posited by Alfredo Saad Filho, social and fiscal measures promoted by Lula during his term as president of Brazil, together with his general achievements when leading the country (according to Lula's own rulebook), provided more people with the opportunity and the means to own a car, which caused the worsening of urban mobility: "Faster economic growth in the 2000s, the distribution of income, and the wider availability of credit and tax breaks to manufacturing industry triggered the explosive growth of automobile sales, while woefully insufficient investment in infrastructure and public transport led to traffic gridlock in many large cities."¹⁰⁸ Thus, the presence in the same hardcore/punk event of a band criticizing Lula and a lecture on the Free Fare Movement displays the spirit of the epoch, especially in a city like São Paulo. There, the streets were saturated with cars containing people fleeing the precarious and costly public transportation system, creating a snowball effect. Those who could abandon the use of buses and the subway for private solutions would do it, but the rising number of vehicles would make enormous traffic jams an ever more common occurrence in everyday life.

The chaotic condition of traffic in general, and not only public transportation in particular, might explain part of the evolution of the Free Fare Movement in São Paulo. The necessity of a better public transportation system became increasingly evident, even for people who managed to afford an automobile. They could not be directly dependent on buses, trains, or the subway, but certainly they were indirectly affected by the lack of options available to navigate the city if the population was considered as a whole. As stated by Mariana S. Mendes: "[The Free Fare Movement's] critique is therefore not only a matter of having free and better public transport but also a plea for a more efficient system of circulation and mobility. This is a particularly pressing need in a city like São Paulo, where traffic jams rank among the worst in the world."¹⁰⁹ Starting with those mid-2000s protests, the rage would only grow over the years. In the militants' view, all those who could not pay (or could hardly pay) to use the public transportation system and those who had the means to use a private vehicle were doomed. More cars did not mean a solution. More buses should circulate. More subways needed to be constructed. The access to them must be universal and funded by taxes on the rich. The turnstile had to be destroyed.

Burning Turnstile

Flora Lorena Müller, a Florianópolis militant, once wrote: “The struggle against turnstiles is the struggle for the right to the city.”¹¹⁰ The movement had chosen an object that, unquestionably, had to be eliminated. Bus turnstiles exemplified the worst characteristics of a transportation system that was the focus of the militants’ fight. Rooted in another urban context, Gregori, the pioneer who conceptualized the zero fare in the early 1990s and São Paulo’s former secretary of transportation, declared that “a turnstile is not only something big and ugly. It can also be a symbol of humiliation.”¹¹¹ It is humiliating especially for the poor, signifying the impossibility of coming and going through the urban space. Müller and Gregori lived in different cities, but they shared a strong opposition to the same device. Throughout the country, the “burning turnstile” would become the iconic image, the representational metaphor, of the campaign for unrestricted access to the city.¹¹² Within this campaign, the punk culture became particularly present in the cathartic moment of destruction of these metal barriers. Sometimes, punk existed as a soundtrack: in 2005, Camarada D. (the pen name likely being used by Daniel Guimarães) described a meeting in Florianópolis in which the protesters initiated a demonstration under the soundwaves of this music genre; the protest ended with the militants seeking to reduce two turnstiles to ashes.¹¹³ Other times, punk made itself visible as the provider of bodies to carry out the execution of an anarchic ritual: in São Paulo, turnstiles were ignited with the support and the active vigor of people who identified with the punk movement. There, they would become the front line of the attack (Fig. 5.3).

Fig. 5.3: *see opposite* Marcel Maggion Maia, *Demonstration Against the Bus Fare Hike*, São Paulo, January 14, 2010.¹¹⁴ CC BY-NC-SA 2.0. In the background, a young man in black sports a garment from Edinburgh band The Exploited with the cover design of their 1981 album *Punks not Dead*, which bears a song with the lyrics: “I’m not ashamed of being a punk / And I don’t care, I don’t give a damn / And I don’t care what you say / Cause I believe in anarchy.”¹¹⁵ On the back of the jacket of the protester wearing a mohawk and pouring a flammable liquid over the turnstile, one can read most of the phrase “Êra Punk” and words associated with the international punk music scene, displayed around the pierced skull, referring to the “D-beat,” “rawpunk” band Disclose (1991–2007). This band was composed of Japanese members who searched for a musical expression shaped after the English group Discharge and featured anti-war discourses in the lyrics of their songs such as in the piece “Noise Not Music.”¹¹⁶

As explained by researcher Walisson Pereira Fernandes: “The term ‘Êra’ is a salute and, at the same time, a war cry used by Brazilian punks since the 1980s. The term really gained momentum in the 1990s, with the creation of São Paulo’s East Zone rawpunk movement. As anarcho-punk and hardcore grew in Brazil, several punks felt the necessity to concentrate more on punk



culture than anarchist politics; from that, [São Paulo's] rawpunk emerged, created by Márcia, Jaka, and by many others . . . from Punks do Subúrbio [Punks of the Outskirts]. Because of this necessity of highlighting and preserving punk culture, elements such as mohawks, patches, sound structure

(D-beat) and production of zines had a greater emphasis. . . . The most convincing theory (raised also by Jaka himself) is that ['Êra'] comes from a song called 'Êra Suburbanos' [by the band Suburbanos, 1982]; it is the consensus that this term was used because of a contraction from the word 'eira' [threshing floor] as in '*sem eira nem beira*' [literally, without a floor or a roof]."¹¹⁷

Still, according to Pereira Fernandes, in São Paulo there was a differentiation between rawpunks, anarcho-punks (from the Anarcho-Punk Movement, also known as MAP), and the people belonging to the hardcore scene: "This does not mean that rawpunks were not anarchists, on the contrary: the majority of rawpunks that I interviewed or were part of my ethnographic work . . . are anarchists. What happens is that we had the creation of the Anarcho-Punk Movement (MAP) in the beginning of the 1990s, and MAP possessed a greater political connotation compared to punk. After some time, politics

became a constant, putting aside traits of punk culture (aesthetics) and incorporating patterns with a greater social acceptance: short hair (rather than mohawks), clothes with colors (rather than the nihilistic aesthetics of black), sneakers (rather than combat boots). . . . This is so interesting that I realized, during all those years, that the people from São Paulo's punk [scene], mainly those coming from the more poeticized scene (a.k.a. 'hardcore'), do not use the term 'Êra.' The term is used more by punks from the lower classes and predominantly by rawpunks."¹¹⁸

In this modern but tribal-like ceremony of turnstile burning carried out by punks and militants in support of free public transportation, fire—when seen as an element of transformation—carries two implications. On one hand, fire destroys the device that physically impedes São Paulo's youth and poor from enjoying and exploring in a liberated fashion their indigenous environment: the urban space. On the other hand, fire functions as a means of expressing one's rage. It represents fury and indignation against the institutions of power that are acting upon one's life: the turnstile is a mechanical obstruction through which money is collected in exchange for motorized mobility. At the same time, the turnstile represents the administrative bodies of the government as well. As a result, the attack on the turnstile becomes an attack on the state.

The burning turnstile is a mobile metaphor for the struggle for the free fare; it can be transposed to other items and institutions instead of being restricted to only one object, because, according to the social movement itself: “The turnstile repudiated by the Free Fare Movement is also a symbolic one. There are invisible turnstiles all over, not allowing full access to spaces and services. Together, we need to destroy all of them. Through our struggle, we want to build a world in which there is no sort of turnstile.”¹¹⁹ This political statement provided by participants of the Free Fare Movement is basically the proposition of a socialist world, which could be achieved only through the destruction or at least the radical transformation of the status quo.

In a 2007 letter signed by the Florianópolis chapter of the Free Fare Movement, and retrieved by Yuri Gama through his academic work, one can understand that the burning of turnstiles—in cases where it evolves to reach its full potential of destroying all forms of access limitations to public transportation—is considered a revolutionary act by the movement: “Historically, the organization of the circulation of the poor population in cities has always been based on very clear class criteria, which impeded the lower classes from fully using the urban space and its public services. . . . This means that [the act of] freeing public transportation from turnstiles takes the shape of a historical revolutionary measure.”¹²⁰ To put an end to the existence of turnstiles is among the first steps of a revolution. This reasoning can have only one logical outcome: institutions are not safe from the fire that emerges from the movement. This fury can spread from the turnstile to other impediments or state bodies that need to be destroyed through revolution. It is a trigger for much larger achievements on the path to social equality.

The “Manifesto of the National Meeting for the Free Fare,” written in 2004, declared (in a way now transparent to us) that images of burning turnstiles should be just the beginning: “In the most different corners of this country, a spark is setting the hearts and minds of students on fire: it is the Campaign for the Free Fare. *This same spark threatens to set fire to buses, streets, city council buildings, and offices of mayors.*”¹²¹ In the following year, this general feeling captured by that declaration became more of a reality; in fact, it was put into practice. The spirit present in the burning of turnstiles by a ritualistic congregation of protesters was momentarily transported to an attempt to burn

down Florianópolis' City Council building. As Thais Ikuhara Santos writes, the 2005 Turnstile Revolt in that city reached its pinnacle with the reported number of "10,000 students . . . who blocked Paulo Fontes, Mauro Ramos, and Beira-mar avenues; they invaded and closed terminals, chained themselves to the mayor's office building, and *even set fire to the City Council building, too.*"¹²² In São Paulo, hundreds of miles north, every time a turnstile was set on fire then, the act should function as a warning to the politicians in charge. As it happened in Florianópolis, one day it will be the palaces of the larger metropolis that will burn. The critical issue is: were those politicians paying enough attention? Or were they deaf to the noise of protests?



Fig. 5.4: Douglas, *Burn Turnstile Burn*, São Paulo, 2005. Copyleft CMI Brasil – Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil (see note for details).¹²³

Notes

- 1 Teixeira Coelho, *Fliperama sem creme* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1984), 76–77 (emphasis in original).
- 2 Racionais MC's, "Negro Drama," disc 1, track 5 on *Nada como um dia após o outro dia* (São Paulo: Cosa Nostra, 2002), CD; Nicolau Sevcenko cited in Alexandra Perloff-Giles, "Brazil's Public Intellectual," *Harvard Gazette*, Oct. 21, 2010, <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2010/10/brazils-public-intellectual/>; see also: Steinmacher, *Sons de uma ilha subterrânea*, 33.
- 3 Caetano Veloso, "Sampa," track B2 on *Muito (Dentro Da Estrela Azulada)* (Rio de Janeiro: Phonogram/Philips, 1978), vinyl.
- 4 B.U.S.H., "Andando pelas ruas," trans. by the band, track A2 on *São Paulo* (Recorded in São Paulo: Rocha Studios, 2007; Published in Germany: Thrashbastard: 2007), Vinyl (lyrics and the band's own translation changed according to the recording and for punctuation, spelling, grammar, and capitalization).
- 5 Freitas, "Do It Yourcast #45"; *Verdurada: a face sóbria do punk*, dir. Guilherme Frimm, Paulo Henrique Marçaioli, and Rafael Takano (São Paulo: Faculdade Casper Líbero, 2007), video, <https://youtu.be/K688paVX6nA>.
- 6 Calíli Alves Cavalheiro, Fabiane Cortez Verdu, and Juliana Marangoni Amarante, "Difusão do vegetarianismo e veganismo no Brasil a partir de uma perspectiva de transnacionalização," *Revista Eletrônica Ciências da Administração e Turismo*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Jan.–Jul. 2018): 56–57, <http://incubadora.periodicos.ifsc.edu.br/index.php/ReCAT/article/view/384>.
- 7 Coletivo Verdurada, "Release," Verdurada, archived Dec. 12, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20021212223346/http://www.verdurada.org/release.htm>.
- 8 *Verdurada*, dir. Frimm, Marçaioli, and Takano; Felipe Madureira, in conversation with the author, January 2022; Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 3 and 125.
- 9 See: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 253–254.
- 10 Mesquita, "Do It Yourcast #09" (my emphasis).
- 11 Pereira Fernandes, *Straight edge*, 228; Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 127–128.
- 12 "FAQ CMI Brasil," Indymedia Documentation Project, archived Feb. 7, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20040207121457/http://docs.indymedia.org/view/Local/RedeCMIBrasilFAQ>; see also: Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 150–152.
- 13 O Coletivo Libertário, "Entrada do 3º milênio na Paulista," *CMI Brasil*, Jan. 3, 2001, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140901195859/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2001/01/22.shtml>.
- 14 Coletivo Verdurada, "Release."
- 15 Ortellado, "Pablo Ortellado" (my emphasis).
- 16 Scarcelli, "As origens do Movimento Passe Livre," 10 (italics in the original, perhaps owing to "punk" being an English word).
- 17 Matthew Arnison and Mansour Jacobi cited in Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 71; original publication: maffew and manse [Matthew Arnison and Mansour Jacobi], "Welcome to indymedia," Seattle Indymedia Center, Nov. 24, 1999, <https://web.archive.org/web/20041102030132/http://seattle.indymedia.org/en/1999/11/2.shtml> (I followed the spelling of the original).
- 18 About the latter, see: Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 241 (passage cited further into the text); see also: Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 155.
- 19 In an archived page from 2004, the Independent Media Center claimed to be present in "all continents, in more than 90 cities" (Indymedia Documentation Project, "FAQ

CMI Brasil"); Carlos André dos Santos claimed the existence of more than 170 collectives belonging to the Independent Media Center around the world until 2008 and exactly 162 in 2004 (Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 107, 132, and 136–137); see also: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 10, 16, 89 and 115.

20 Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 241.

21 See: Greene, *Punk and Revolution*, 190; Greene, "On Misanthropology," 42.

22 See: O'Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk*, 166.

23 Attali, *Noise*, 11.

24 Cazé [probably Carlos André dos Santos], comment to: "5 anos da Revolta da Catraca – o 4º debate," *Passa Palavra*, Jun. 29, 2009, <https://passapalavra.info/2009/06/7159/>; see, for example: Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 190 and 256; see also: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 198n20.

25 Ponce and Takahashi, "Indymedia" (my emphasis).

26 See: Corrêa, "Balanço crítico acerca da Ação Global dos Povos no Brasil."

27 Gustavo Fioratti, "Briga de ídolos do punk de SP espelha a polarização política," *Folha de São Paulo*, Aug. 21, 2018, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2018/08/briga-de-idolos-do-punk-de-sp-espelha-a-polarizacao-politica.shtml>.

28 See: Chapter 2.

29 Lincoln Secco, "O som de Junho," *Blog da Boitempo*, Oct. 10, 2014, <https://blogdabotitempo.com.br/2014/10/10/o-som-de-junho/>.

30 Mao, comment to: Daniel Accioly, "Garotos Podres perde integrante e mudará de nome," *Minuto Música*, May 15, 2013, <https://minutomusica.wordpress.com/2013/05/15/garotos-podres-perde-integrante-e-mudara-de-nome/>.

31 Nascimento, in conversation with the author, August 2020; see also: Nascimento, "A 'geração Seattle' e a 'geração de acampantes'."

32 Ortellado, "Pablo Ortellado"; see also: Oliveira, "Entrevista com o Movimento Passe Livre"; and: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 77 (Wolfson, by citing Dorothy Kidd, reinforces a kind of opposite or complementary story, of how employees of already existent tech companies helped in the creation of the Independent Media Center).

33 Cameron Chapman, "A Brief History of Blogging," Webdesigner Depot (WDD), Mar. 14, 2011, <https://www.webdesignerdepot.com/2011/03/a-brief-history-of-blogging/>; see also: Rebecca Blood, "Weblogs: A History and Perspective," Rebecca's Pocket, Sep. 7, 2000, <https://smg.media.mit.edu/library/blood2000.html>.

34 Chapman, "A Brief History of Blogging"; Peter Merholz, "Play with Your Words," Peterme.com, May 17, 2002, <https://www.peterme.com/archives/00000205.html>; "Camworld," Camworld, Feb. 7, 1999, <https://web.archive.org/web/19990208011955/http://www.camworld.com:80/>.

35 "Blogger," Blogger, archived Oct. 12, 1999, <https://web.archive.org/web/19991012022531/http://blogger.com/> cited in Amanda Zantal-Wiener, "A Brief Timeline of the History of Blogging," HubSpot, Sep. 13, 2016, <https://blog.hubspot.com/marketing/history-of-blogging>; see also: Scott Rosenberg, *Say Everything: How Blogging Began, What It's Becoming, and Why It Matters* (New York: Crown Publishers: 2009), 113; Blood, "Weblogs"; Chapman, "A Brief History of Blogging."

36 Corrêa, "Balanço crítico acerca da Ação Global dos Povos no Brasil."

37 Greene, *Punk and Revolution*, 18–19 and 175.

38 In terms of the leap forward that the Internet represented for underground musicians and members of the scene and the reactionary stance adopted by the music industry, see: Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 47–48, 119–122, and 129.

39 Reebee Garofalo, “I Want My MP3: Who Owns Internet Music?” in *Policing Pop*, ed. Martin Cloonan and Reebee Garofalo (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 30 and 31, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt14bsz5b.6> (changed for capitalization).

40 See: Chapter 4.

41 Bivar, *Punk*, 102.

42 *Botinada*, dir. Gastão Moreira.

43 *Inocentes – 30 anos*, dir. Carol Thomé and Duca Mendes, trans. uncredited (São Paulo: 6:01 Audiovisual, 2011), video, <https://youtu.be/jSUFZE5SiOE> (translation changed for capitalization).

44 *O fim do mundo, enfim: o documentário*, dir. Camila Miranda, trans. uncredited (São Paulo: SESC, 2016), DVD (translation corrected for spelling).

45 Mesquita, “Do It Yourcast #09.”

46 Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

47 Gabriel Kuhn, ed., *Sober Living for the Revolution: Hardcore Punk, Straight Edge, and Radical Politics* (Oakland: PM Press, 2010), 13.

48 Kiko Dinucci, “Posfácio: o punk e a sua eterna reinvenção,” in *Punk*, Antonio Bivar (São Paulo: Edições Barbatana, 2018), 129.

49 Pereira Fernandes, *Straight edge*, 105–106, 263, 266, and 268.

50 Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

51 Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 90.

52 Discarga, “Teor Alcoólico,” track 4 on *Música pra guerra*, recorded 2008, <https://lajarex.bandcamp.com/album/m-sica-pra-guerra> (lyrics changed according to the recording).

53 According to Walisson Pereira Fernandes: “In a video of the first Verdurada [in 1996], of the show by the band Self Conviction (with the song ‘Something to Stay’), one sees a crowd of people with short hair, colorful clothes, *most of them white*, listening to a band that sings its songs in English” (Pereira Fernandes, *Straight edge*, 178) (my emphasis); a predominantly White majority also seems to a characteristic of the Independent Media Center (and predecessors), at least in its US incarnation. See: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 8, 12, 22, 49, 70, 172 and 190.

54 Freitas, “Interview with Frederico Freitas,” 94.

55 Lumpen, “Entrevista – Lumpen.”

56 Frederico Freitas, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

57 Kuhn, *Sober Living for the Revolution*, 2010; gender disparity was, for example, rampant in the Brazilian straight scene of the mid-1990s and continued until the 2010s (Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 126 and 158).

58 Duncombe and Tremblay, “White Riot?,” 3–4 and 9.

59 Restos de Nada, for example, is a historical punk band that would be approached to play at Verdurada in 2012 (Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 136 and 176).

60 Ortellado, “Pablo Ortellado.”

61 *Botinada*, dir. Gastão Moreira; *Punks*, dir. Yakhni and Gieco; Gomes dos Santos, *Vivo na cidade*, 55; Lopes de Sousa, *Punk*, 56–57.

62 Ortellado, “Pablo Ortellado.”

63 Maikon Duarte, in conversation with the author, July 2020.

64 O’Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk*, 132 and 137.

65 Discarga, “Sempre ganância,” track 9 on *Sem remorso*, recorded 2003, <https://lajarex.bandcamp.com/album/sem-remorso>; Discarga, “Sempre ganância,” Letras, accessed Jul. 8, 2020, <https://www.letras.mus.br/discarga/689186/> (lyrics changed according to the recording and for punctuation and capitalization).

66 Coletivo Verdurada, “verdurada.novembro.2003,” Flickr, Sep. 13, 2008, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/cartazesverdurada/2853504631/in/album-72157607271244226/>.

67 Busscops, “Classic – Shows (7 of 91),” Myspace, accessed May 25, 2022, <https://myspace.com/busscops/mixes/classic-shows-363753/photo/89306525>; Coletivo Verdurada, “verdurada.novembro.2005,” Flickr, Sep. 16, 2008, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/cartazesverdurada/2864530688/in/album-72157607271244226/>; “Verdurada,” Last.fm, Nov. 13, 2005, <https://www.last.fm/festival/57575+Verdurada>; *Sociedade do Automóvel*, dir. Branca Nunes and Thiago Benicchio (São Paulo: 2005), video, <https://youtu.be/4eWvSwzkidE>.

68 About the change of name from B.U.S.H. to Futuro, see: Eric Phipps, “São Paulo Punks Futuro,” *Impose*, n.d., <https://imposemagazine.com/bytes/new-music/so-paulo-punks-futuro>; and: Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 182.

69 Coletivo Verdurada, “festival.julho.2005,” Flickr, Sep. 13, 2008, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/cartazesverdurada/2853505047>.

70 Mesquita, “Do It Yourcast #09.”

71 Felipe Madureira, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

72 Lucas Oliveira (Legume), in conversation with the author, January 2022.

73 Coletivo Verdurada, “festival.janeiro.2011,” Flickr, Dec. 22, 2010, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/cartazesverdurada/5325217349/in/album-72157607271244226/>; Ribeiro, “A história oral da Bicicletada em SP”; “Pedalinas ajuda mulheres que querem andar de bike,” *Catracalivre*, Sep. 28, 2011, <https://catracalivre.com.br/saude-bem-estar/coletivo-pedalinas-incentiva-e-ajuda-mulheres-que-querem-andar-de-bike/>; “Pedalinas marcam presença na Verdurada!” *Pedalinas*, Feb. 5, 2011, <https://pedalinas.wordpress.com/2011/02/05/pedalinas-marcam-presenca-na-verdurada>.

74 “Guerra à propriedade / Queda ao Estado / Morte aos seguidores” (Confronto, “Guerra, Queda e Morte,” track 1 on *A Insurreição*, recorded 2001, mp3, <https://confronto.bandcamp.com/album/a-insurrei-o>); “Confronto,” Deck, accessed Jun. 20, 2020, <http://deckdisc.com.br/confronto/>).

75 Violator, “Apocalypse Engine,” track 4 on *Annihilation Process*, recorded 2009, released 2010, mp3, <https://violatorthrash.bandcamp.com/album/annihilation-process> (lyrics changed for spelling and according to the record); Adriana Farias, “Com ingressos esgotados, banda Violator fará último show em SP,” *Veja São Paulo*, Jan. 19, 2018, <https://vejasp.abril.com.br/blog/musica/violator-ultimo-show-sp/>.

76 Attali, *Noise*, 12.

77 Coletivo Verdurada, “Release: Verdurada de junho,” *Altsongs*, May 10, 2011, <http://altsongs.blogspot.com/2011/05/release-verdurada-de-junho.html>.

78 Fernando Feio, “Verdurada – 05/06/2011 – Ego Club, centro de São Paulo,” *Cena Punk SP*, Jun. 13, 2011, <http://cenapunksp.blogspot.com/2011/06/verdurada-05062011-ego-club-centro-de.html> (some words changed for capitalization); of course, the lectures at Verdurada had no unanimous attendance, as some people were more interested in music than in politics (see: *Verdurada*, dir. Frimm, Marçaioli, and Takano); for a general description of the environment during a lecture at Verdurada, see: Reia, *Straightedge no século XXI*, 185–188.

79 Bispo and Frighetto, “Movimento Passe Livre nasceu em Florianópolis e tomou o Brasil.”

80 Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 13.

81 Coletivo Verdurada, “verdurada.junho.2011,” Flickr, Apr. 21, 2011, [https://www.flickr.com/photos/cartazesverdurada/5639166537/in/album-72157607271244226/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/cartazesverdurada/5639166537/in/album-72157607271244226).

82 Feio, “Verdurada.”

83 Lucas Oliveira (Legume), in conversation with the author, January 2022.

84 Mariana Albanese and Silvana Salles, “Livraria-me da carne,” *Revista Viração*, no. 20, Sep. 2005, 14, <https://issuu.com/viracao/docs/edicao20> (my emphasis).

85 Ortellado, “Pablo Ortellado.”

86 Paulo Sampaio, “No dia do reajuste, 1.200 protestam no centro,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Dec. 1, 2006, C6.

87 MPL-SP, “[mpl sp] Impressos e agenda da Semana Nacional de Luta pelo Passe Livre!” *CMI Brasil*, Oct. 12, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20061106080518/http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/10/362345.shtml>.

88 Violência Sonora, “Sistema Falido,” track 8 on *Demo tape (cdr demo)*, recorded 2005, audio streaming, <https://youtu.be/VVlrGaWJFy8>; the transcription of the lyrics is available at Violência Sonora, “Sistema Falido,” Letras, accessed Aug. 18, 2022, <https://www.letras.mus.br/violencia-sonora/sistema-falido/> (lyrics changed for capitalization, punctuation, and spelling).

89 “Semana contra o aumento das tarifas em São Paulo,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 27, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427120524/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366922.shtml>, also reproduced at: <http://vidasemcatracas.blogspot.com/2006/11/semana-contra-o-aumento-das-tarifas-em.html>.

90 Frente de Luta Contra o Aumento, “[SP] Ato contra o aumento da tarifa no dia 24/11,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 22, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427213825/http://midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366253.shtml>.

91 “Notícia sobre a primeira manifestação contra o aumento em São Paulo,” UNE, Nov. 23, 2006 [circulated via e-mail].

92 Laura Capriglione, “Estudantes arrombam ônibus contra a tarifa,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Nov. 25, 2006, C8.

93 Inte, “[São Paulo] Frente de Luta Contra o Aumento das Passagens mostra a sua cara,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 26, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150503194047/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366846.shtml>.

94 See: [Graziela Kunsch] Versão dos manifestantes, “Resposta à matéria da Folha de S. Paulo sobre ato contra o aumento,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 25, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427221744/http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366626.shtml>.

95 [Graziela Kunsch] Versão dos manifestantes, “Resposta à matéria da Folha de S. Paulo sobre ato contra o aumento”; see also: Inte, “[São Paulo] Frente de Luta Contra o Aumento das Passagens mostra a sua cara.”

96 Pablo Ortellado, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

97 Vinicius, *Antes de junho*, 295 and 311; the influence of Florianópolis’ free-fare struggle on other cities is also corroborated by Legume (Lucas Oliveira [Legume], in conversation with the author, January 2022); and: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 58.

98 See: Chagas, “Dário pede repressão e governo acata”; Ludd [Vinicius], “A Guerra da Tarifa”; Vinicius, *A Guerra da Tarifa*, 54–55 and 58–59; Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 62; sociologist Janice Tirelli Ponte de Sousa declared, for example, that just after the Second Turnstile Revolt: “It is even possible that state intelligence agencies, besides the Military Police, are also trying to understand what is going on [in Florianópolis]” (Sousa, “Primeiro bate e depois negocia,” 18).

99 CMI-SP, “[Busão] Repressão em ato contra o aumento da tarifa em São Paulo – I,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 24, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427190548/http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366512.shtml>.

100 CMI-SP, “[SP] Todos os detidos do ato contra o aumento foram liberados!” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 25, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427205348/http://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366567.shtml>.

101 “Na Catraca,” *Folha de São Paulo*, Jan. 8, 2010, C7; see also: “Manifestação contra aumento da tarifa de ônibus acaba em tumulto em SP,” *Gi*, Jan. 7, 2010, <http://gi.globo.com/Noticias/SaoPaulo/o,,MUL1438798-5605,00.html>.

102 “Protesto contra tarifa termina em confronto em SP,” *UOL Notícias*, Jan. 7, 2010, https://noticias.uol.com.br/album/100107protesto_album.jhtml?abrefoto=11; Guilherme Balza, “Protesto contra aumento da passagem de ônibus termina com três detidos e feridos em SP,” *UOL Notícias*, Jan. 7, 2010, <https://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2010/01/07/ult5772u6943.jhtml>, also replicated at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20160630045108/http://tarifazero.org/2010/01/page/2/>.

103 CMI-SP, “[São Paulo] Ato da Frente de Luta Contra o Aumento,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 26, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427173621/http://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366671.shtml>; CMI-SP, “[São Paulo] Ato da Frente de Luta Contra o Aumento II,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 26, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427182702/http://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366692.shtml>; CMI-SP, “[São Paulo] Ato da Frente de Luta Contra o Aumento V,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 26, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427180656/http://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366776.shtml>.

104 Guimarães, “Do It Yourcast #20.”

105 Sirley Alencar, “Indignação,” comment to: CMI-SP, “[São Paulo] Fotos repressão em São Paulo,” *CMI Brasil*, Nov. 25, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427185242/http://www.midia independente.org/pt/blue/2006/11/366572.shtml>.

106 Coletivo Verdurada, “festival.janeiro.2009,” Flickr, Dec. 23, 2008, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/cartazesverdurada/3264091558/in/album-72157607271244226>.

107 Naifa, “Presidente do povo,” track 12 on *Split: Naifa & Morto pela Escola*, recorded 2007/2008, released 2008, audio streaming, <https://lajarex.bandcamp.com/album/naifa-e-morto-pela-escola>.

108 Saad Filho, “The Economic Context of Social Protests in 2013.”

109 Mendes, “Brazil’s popular awakening,” 77.

110 Flora Lorena [Müller], “Por uma vida sem catracas e sem machismo,” in *Tarifa Zero* (Florianópolis: MPL, 2011), 11, <https://mplfloripa.wordpress.com/2011/07/01/caderno-de-textos/>.

111 Lúcio Gregori, “Tarifa nos transportes coletivos urbanos: uma iniquidade,” in *Tarifa Zero* (Florianópolis: MPL, 2011), 5, <https://mplfloripa.wordpress.com/2011/07/01/caderno-de-textos/>.

112 *Jornal Sem Terra*, “A luta por transporte público a favor do povo.”

113 [Camarada] D., “[Floripa] Queima catraca, queima!”

114 Marcel [Maggioni] Maia, “Ato Contra o Aumento do Ônibus em São Paulo,” Flickr, Jan. 14, 2010, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/panopticosp/4276429774/in/album-72157623087685835/>; “A Luta Continua,” *Rede Contra o Aumento da Tarifa*, Jan. 16, 2010, <https://barraroaumento.wordpress.com/2010/01/16/a-luta-continua/>.

115 The Exploited, “I Believe in Anarchy,” (re)recorded 1981, track B15 on *Punks not Dead* (Wallingford [UK]: Let Them Eat Vinyl, reissued 2014), vinyl; song’s ([re]recording) date information and lyrics cited in Bestley, “Big A Little A,” 61–62; Morat, “The Exploited History,” The Exploited, Jan. 2003, <http://www.the-exploited.net/history.htm>.

116 “About Disclose,” Disclose, accessed Apr. 18, 2019, <http://disclose.likesyou.org/about.html>; “7 inch Records,” Disclose, accessed Apr. 18, 2019, <http://disclose.likesyou.org>.

org/d7in.html; “Lyrics in Alphabetical Order,” Disclose, accessed Apr. 18, 2019, <http://disclose.likesyou.org/lalpha.html>; Disclose and No Fucker, *Noise Not Music*, released on vinyl in 2004, audio streaming, <https://youtu.be/pWmbMwK8uhs>; for written examples in which the salute “Éra Punk” is used, see: “Manifesto ruído antifascista,” *Pânico em CWB*, Oct. 2012, <http://uniondezesseis.blogspot.com/2012/10/manifesto-ruido-antifascista.html>; Mao Punk, *Suicídio inconsciente: propostas e reflexões sobre o movimento punk*, Jul. 2010, updated Dec. 2015, <http://suicidioinconscientepunk.blogspot.com>; for historical information about Discharge, see: Chris A. Smith, “Rules of the Tribe: Hardcore Punks and Hair Metal in the 1980s,” *Appendix*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Jul. 2013), <http://theappendix.net/issues/2013/7/rules-of-the-tribe-hardcore-punks-and-hair-metal-in-the-1980s>; the band Discharge is also characterized by an anti-war discourse (Bestley, “Big A Little A,” 63).

117 Walisson Pereira Fernandes, in correspondence with the author, May 2019; Suburbanos, *Demo (1982)*, recorded 1982, audio streaming, https://youtu.be_wmLlj38mnY; Suburbanos, “Éra Suburbanos,” track B3 on the various artists’ compilation, *O começo do fim do mundo*, recorded live at SESC Pompéia, São Paulo, Nov. 27–28, 1982 (São Paulo: Nada Nada Discos, reissued 2017), box set, vinyl, cassette tape.

118 Pereira Fernandes, in correspondence with the author, May 2019.

119 MPL-Florianópolis, “Apresentação,” in *Tarifa Zero* (Florianópolis: MPL, 2011), 4, <https://mplfloripa.wordpress.com/2011/07/01/caderno-de-textos/>; fragment also reproduced at: MPL-Florianópolis, “O que é mobilidade urbana?” (Florianópolis: MPL, 2008), 1, <https://web.archive.org/web/20101124214037/http://saopaulo.mpl.org.br/files/cartilha-mobilidade-urbana-versao-4p.pdf>; the date of the text “O que é mobilidade urbana?” was established by: Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 177.

120 MPL-Florianópolis cited in Gama, *Por uma vida sem catracas*, 175–176.

121 CPL, “A recente história da campanha pelo passe-livre em Fpolis,” 28 (my emphasis).

122 Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 62 (my emphasis).

123 Douglas, “[São Paulo] fotos do ato do dia 27/10 pelo passe livre – parte 2,” *CMI Brasil*, Oct. 29, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150509035811/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2005/10/334563.shtml> (copyleft <http://www.midiaindependente.org>: reproduction for non-commercial use is free as long as the author and the source are cited and this note is included).

Epilog

*Annihilate, annihilate! Or they annihilate you!
Deaths, segregated soldiers, the evil is rooted in the heart.
Bad is what I am. I am bad, a victim of discrimination.
I am bony, yellowish—you know? Living on the backward side.
So, because of that, one kills them. After all, which side is yours?
The Coca-Cola folks' or the revolutionary generation's?
Revolutionary generation, come on!
Revolutionary generation, go on!*

Dígito 4, “Geração revolucionária”
 (“Revolutionary Generation”), 2001.¹

The importance of music for Brazilian culture is well known and indisputable. Music is a crucial means of expression that emanates from several sectors of society: the youth, the poor, the workers, the petite bourgeoisie, the avant-garde, and outsiders. Scarcity of economic resources, manifestations of hardship, criticism of the status quo, praising of African and indigenous heritage, and hope for a better future are often present, even though there are more mundane themes as well. With the dominance of *samba* and MPB, *bossa nova* and *Tropicália*, sometimes more obscure phenomena are left aside. The purpose of this book has been to uncover subjectivities sunken under much more dominant manifestations. Underground hardcore and punk music in Brazil in the 1990s and the 2000s represented not only a *musical movement* restricted to artistic realms, a simple aesthetic rupture with those genres of Brazilian music listed above; it also developed strong political connotations beyond lyrics and the distorted sound of guitars. Much of hardcore and punk's power resided in actual alliances or in the personal developments of people who once participated in the music scene. Members of hardcore and punk endeavors embraced a new *social movement* even if they had to leave aside punk itself and become *former members* of the scene: in the streets, in protests, on the Internet, they struggled or became full militants for free

public transportation. Punk music functioned as a *path* for revolt: the initiator, the conductor, the basis, a point of orientation even if it was no longer the main field of action. Daniel Guimarães delineated this path in an interview, showing the interconnectivity between an earlier punk experience and the emergence of social movements in the Brazil of that time:

In the beginning of the 2000s, we made a very strong turn . . . toward this issue of activism, which, at the same time, weakened, in a certain way, the purest punk thing, so to speak. We stopped creating bands, putting on shows, and started to concentrate more on militancy. . . . My generation did something like that, which was the passage from the Independent Media Center to the creation of the Free Fare Movement, you know, which began there, in our generation . . . I think it has a lot of influence from punk, let's say so. The Independent Media Center, obviously, you know, has a lot of influence from American and European counterculture, which has a lot to do with hardcore and punk, a lot indeed, and this went inside the Free Fare Movement as well. When we were creating the Free Fare Movement there, those things are completely mixed, let's say so; it's very hard to say where something starts and ends. . . . [In] 2004, there is the Turnstile Revolt . . . which was more or less the trigger for the national existence of the Free Fare Movement. In 2007, I came to live in São Paulo. From [19]98 to 2006, there was this very concentrated, very simultaneous thing between punk and activism, counterculture [and] political militancy.²

One should observe that the Brazilian punks of the 1990s and 2000s, at least concerning the bands studies here, did not aim to scandalize society in the same way that their 1980s counterparts did. As Helena Wendel Abramo writes, early “punks took, as symbols of identity, signs as repugnant as the swastika and trash in an attempt to escape being incorporated by the market.”³ In the 1990s and 2000s, the attempt to escape market forces resided actually in their political engagement and in the adoption of a do-it-yourself ethos that consciously wanted to be at the margins of capitalism. One may argue that the do-it-yourself ethos was already present in the early punks of Brazil, but perhaps the same cannot be said of their level of political consciousness when one compares these first punks with bands such as Florianópolis’ 1990s *Guerra de Classes* (of which Guimarães was a member): every song, every sentence, every single word from that band belongs to a political discourse that intends to denounce oppression in society and awaken the spirit of revolution in the listener. Younger punks more than ever refused to be “a generation without a future, . . . the ‘Coca-Cola Generation.’”⁴

In a certain way, punk (and its subgenres) embodied a more general characteristic of agitation and dissatisfaction latent in Brazilian society. Musicians, visual artists, street artists, intellectuals, and cultural agents demonstrated a high level of public consciousness, focusing on changing the present and the time to come. They rejected absolute individualism but respected singularity,

stood against bourgeois tastes and customs to the extent possible, and looked for collective answers through their own personal experiences: they turned protests into a carnival and carnival into a protest. In the words of Igor Thiago Moreira Oliveira, the main characteristics of these generations at the turn of the century were as follows:

Horizontal and network-like forms of organization, shaping of solidarity networks, predominance of direct action, carnivalization of protests and intense use of symbolic resources, emergence of individualities and/or individual subjectivities within the movements and their making, intense use of new technologies of communication and information, distancing from traditional organizations and modes of protesting, mobilization and participation, distancing from institutionality, heterogenous internal composition, symbiosis between dimensions of affect, desire, reason, and need.⁵

The way of doing politics went through a process of rethinking. Utopia should already emerge in the very practical endeavors of everyday politics and should not be conceived as a distant future while the relationships among people (and between the people and the environment) would continue to be marked by oppressions of several kinds. That was their intention, even if the applicability of it in the real world, in the day-to-day practice of social mobilization and art, did not reach absolute perfection. Pablo Ortellado calls this new way of doing politics, which these generations applied to the Brazilian context, prefigurative politics, which is a politics “based on participation, equality, and respect for difference.”⁶ Both the political and the musical realms should be prefigurative.

Not by pure imitation, Brazilians constructed one of the main spaces in the world in which punk and politics reached surprising confluences. Negating the superficial way in which punk is often portrayed in the mass media, even as a form of youth alienation or just as a kind of extreme pessimism coupled with a lack of self-respect, those two different concepts (punk and politics) sometimes became harmoniously unified in the minds of activists and participants in the music scene. The cathartic excitement of a demonstration and the liberating passion displayed in a show would be felt in similar terms. Screaming the lyrics of your favorite band would be equal to shouting watchwords in the streets. The sentiment of belonging to a group because of similar cultural interests would be analogous to the emotion of having gathered together with a vast number of bodies to demand a new organization of the city. Yuri Gama reflected on this aspect of punk and protests:

You create a very strong tie with the bands, with the music, with the lyrics. . . . It's an emotional and historical issue. . . . And this conception—that the same music that touches you also touches other people—is something [through] which you get in synchronization with the collective,

you know? When you are there in the pogo of punk and you are in that demonstration against the hike in the fare, . . . you are walking in the front line and you look back and see . . . five thousand, seven thousand, 20 thousand people together with you, fighting for the same thing, . . . this sense of collectivity is extremely empowering. . . . It empowers the spirit . . . [and] makes you younger. . . . You feel more powerful and powerful within the collective. . . . I was able to see that parallel.⁷

The mosh pit appears minuscule compared to the mass spectacle of popular music in stadiums. Venues for punk can even carry in their names this awareness of being the opposite of grandeur and opulence. The mass of a revolt is many times smaller than the human waves of revolutions. Militants often take to the streets knowing that they will not seize power immediately or perhaps even in the long term. Public transportation has the downside of appearing at first glance less important than other social and economic topics. None of that stopped people from rewriting Brazilian history. Despite being minority groups both in musical and political terms, several types of punks and a diverse range of urban activists impacted the course of the nation (continuously maintaining their diffuse ideology, held together by an anti-bourgeois stance reflected in their sounds, visuals, and activities). This book has aimed to excavate the debris of such an impact, submerged in the more recent period of conservative chaos in Brazil: the second half of the 2010s and the early 2020s. Who would have imagined at the time that later they could be facing outright fascism? As a result of digging into the past, this work is thus fragmentary, constellational, and composed as a collage. It is intended to work as a magnifying glass for passages that could have remained undetected by others. For example, in an interview, Frederico Freitas recently drew attention to the link between hardcore and the protests linked to public transportation in Florianópolis and Salvador.⁸ Additionally, the present monograph could even be read as an expansion of an endnote abandoned in the piles of history. In a work published in 2007, Pablo Ornelas Rosa wrote in endnote 25 of Chapter 10 of his *Rock Underground*:

It is extremely important to highlight that many of these social movements led by the youth have or had great support from the tribes and bands cited in this work. Examples of such are the shows that happened together with the Free Fare Movement, in which many different bands from the Florianópolis' underground rock scene played in support of the project (Os Cafonas, The Dolls, B-Driver, Euthanasia, Sadhana, among others).⁹

An endnote becoming another book: the rock festivals organized by the Free Fare Movement were not restricted only to Florianópolis. In the city of Joinville, the local branch of the Free Fare Movement staged in 2006 a punk and hardcore show called Mosh Mosh Revolution, which featured the bands Habroma, Produto Orgânico (Organic Product), Eu Contra o Mundo (Me

Against the World), and an anonymous group that played under the collective pseudonym Luther Blisset.¹⁰ As explained by Oriel Frigo, “Luther Blisset played punk/hardcore, with very politicized lyrics and had members from the Free Fare Movement. Unfortunately, it had a short duration, and I believe they did not leave any recordings: at that time, many bands were formed, performed in a few shows, and disbanded.”¹¹ The purpose of the festival was to generate revenue for the Free Fare Movement, and one can presume that the intention was also to provide a space for the bands to show their original works. During the event, material from both the political movement and the underground punk rock ensembles were sold to the public.¹² The attendees would then be exposed to the lyrics and to the propaganda coming from the musicians and the militants (Fig. 6.1). Even though one might at first think that some of them belonged to two different worlds, one aesthetic and the other political, both sides could coincide in their criticism of the conditions of capitalist society, and there was even an overlap between the Free Fare Movement and the bands. As stated once again by Frigo (a member of the band Eu Contra o Mundo):

[Mosh Mosh Revolution] was organized by our acquaintances from the Free Fare Movement who invited us to play. I don’t remember us hesitating to accept the invitation because it was an event by the Free Fare Movement. We were open and happy to play in events where the proceeds went to social movements, even though not all in the band had exactly the same engagement and political stance. . . . I personally participated for some time in Joinville’s Free Fare Movement during the beginning of the movement, but I was more active in the Independent Media Center (CMI-Joinville), publishing articles, photos, videos of demonstrations, and later, I also participated in Joinville’s Critical Mass cycling events [Bicicletada]. I believe all members of Eu Contra o Mundo have most likely participated in some of the many demonstrations that happened against the hikes in the public transportation fare.¹³

In the lyrics of the song “Contraste” (“Contrast”) by the band Eu Contra o Mundo, which is listed as one of the performing groups of the Mosh Mosh Revolution show, there is an opposition that is constructed between a subject who is dominated by consumerism—a person who only exists to work and buy commodities—and the liberating power that emanates from the city. The last sentence of the song can be understood as a call to occupy public urban space, to use it to its fullest potential, which is a formulation that could be seen as being in very close proximity to the attitude that the Free Fare Movement had toward cities:

<i>Sendo você, tal cidadão pacato preso, fraco, vencido, subjugado tão devoto de sua vidinha mediocre garoto certo, andarilho da estrada da submissão</i>	<i>You being such a peaceful citizen stuck, weak, defeated, subjugated so devoted to your mediocre little life good guy, a walker on the road of submission</i>
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[refrão 4X]

Me ensinaram a comprar, eu aprendi a roubar! *I was told how to buy, I learned how to steal!*

*Acha-se autossuficiente, mas
não passa de um dependente
viciado no mundo moderno*

*O sol nasceu, pronto, um dia novo e feliz
comprar, usar, gastar, morrer
para poder consumir*

[chorus 4X]

*You think you're self-sufficient, but
you're nothing but a dependent
addicted to the modern world*

*The sun rose, that's it, a new and happy day
buying, using, spending, dying
in order to consume*

[refrão 4X]

Me ensinaram a comprar, eu aprendi a roubar! *I was told how to buy, I learned how to steal!*

[4X]

*As ruas estão tomadas
por uma intensa vontade de viver!"*

[4X]

*The streets are taken
by an immense will to live!¹⁴*

The struggle for free public transportation in Joinville was on the far left of the political spectrum without losing all connections with the punk music scene. In fact, from the work Carlos André dos Santos, one can understand that a significant number of the people involved with the protests against fare hikes and the creation of the Independent Media Center in that city came from the “hardcore-punk” scene.¹⁵ Maikon Duarte once stated in an interview that in such city aesthetics and politics, punk and social movements were somehow united: “Much of the aesthetic language—if you look at the pamphlets, the posters by the Free Fare Movement of Joinville—is very immersed in punk culture, you know, in hardcore.”¹⁶ Duarte, a participant of the hardcore/punk scene, creator of zines, and a militant for free public transportation, linked the state of the transportation system in that urban area to the problems generated by capitalism.¹⁷ Before becoming engaged in the struggle for the free fare, Duarte actively participated in a 2002 radical, wild strike at a plastics factory named CIPLA in Joinville. The workers not only ceased the production of goods at the start of the strike, but they also took over command of the factory from the hands of the capitalists and later installed a collective form of administration of the business itself. Direct democracy was implemented to decide the course of action.¹⁸ Remarkably, it was during this profound workers’ action that Duarte began to recognize the limitations of the punk movement. He wondered up to what point punk could be revolutionary if it remained isolated in itself without partaking in day-to-day mobilizations. This led him to join other sectors of social activism as a way to move forward from the more restricted circle of the music scene. In a sense, this does not seem to have represented a total rupture with punk, but a political development of a person, something that inevitably brings with it the learnings from past experiences:

[With] the events [from the strike] at CIPLA, I realized something, . . . it is innocuous to try to do radical politics . . . through punk/hardcore because what is going to predominate is always music. . . . [I thought,] I need to get politically involved where the struggles are concrete. . . . Then, I got involved with the Center for Human Rights, . . . with the Independent Media Center as well, and then, afterward, I would get involved with the Free Fare Movement.¹⁹

In April 2006, the same year as Joinville's Mosh Mosh Revolution show organized by the Free Fare Movement, in the city of Porto Alegre, the southernmost state capital of the country, a chapter of the same organization planned a weekend of shows, film screenings, street art, and debate. In such a multiday gathering of mobilization efforts, there were of course performances by hardcore bands: RootsNR and Burning Brain. However, in a larger number than hardcore bands, there was the presence of three hip-hop groups: W Negro (W Black), Alvo do Sistema (System's Target), and Consciência Suburbana (Peripheral Consciousness).²⁰ The relationship between hip-hop music and the Free Fare Movement as a whole and across its history needs to be further studied by means of other scholarly endeavors. This scholarship would have to examine more than the shows organized by the militants. (Two examples: still in 2006, the Free Fare Movement of São Paulo planned an event in which the rap group Central Brasileira de Flow performed; and according to Flora Lorena Müller, the Free Fare Movement of Florianópolis also organized a performance of hip-hop groups, most likely in the 2000s).²¹ One would also need to consider the use of hip-hop songs as a form of denunciation of the conditions of public transportation in particular and the Brazilian social, economic, and political situation in general. The Free Fare Movement of São Paulo lists as recommendations the following rap songs: "O Trem" ("The Train") by RZO, "Rap do Ônibus" ("Bus Rap") by Projota (the lyrics of which refer to a bus fare hike), "Transporte Públíco" ("Public Transportation") by Rincon Sapiência (the music video of which incorporates very short images of graffiti and stickers protesting the price of the transportation fare), and "Mil faces de um homem leal" ("A Thousand Faces of a Loyal Man") by Racionais MC's (the music video of which has "scenes of several demonstrations against the bus fare hike organized by São Paulo's Free Fare Movement in 2011").²² Some of these references also indicate how the Free Fare Movement had already started to enter popular culture even before the 2013 protests that represented the height of its mainstream media exposure.

There is also a link between Belo Horizonte's Carnaval Revolução (Revolution Carnival) and hip-hop. Carnaval Revolução, the underground and alternative space of hardcore-punk music and political mobilization in the state capital of Minas Gerais, hosted three hip-hop acts in 2003: Julgamento (Judgment), Realistas MC's (Realist MCs), and Negros da Unidade Consciente (Blacks from the Conscious Unity, or NUC).²³



Fig. 6.1: Leonel Camasão, *Mosh Mosh Revolution*, Joinville, 2006.²⁴

In 2004, once again hip-hop culture established its presence with the groups NegritudeAtiva (Active Blackness), Clandestino (The Clandestine; a duo formed by JazzRell and Diamonddog), and Are.zona.²⁵ With hip-hop, a genre in the 2000s much more linked with the outskirts of cities and, consequently, with Black and low-income populations, criticism of racism in Brazil became traceable within the history of the collective endeavors with which the Free Fare Movement would in some way collaborate.

Even though the Free Fare Movement is primarily concerned with an economic aspect of the youth and, consequently, can be primarily understood in terms of class, it can prepare young people to face other important issues (with specificities varying from city to city). Thus, in future scholarly endeavors, one could ask the following questions: Did the Free Fare Movement serve as a spark or proving ground for future mobilizations in the way its members organized themselves and in how they constructed a communication network? Did the Free Fare Movement (and the anti-globalization protests of the turn of the twenty-first century for that matter) establish a prototype for more racial- and gender-conscious movements, such as a new wave of opposition to racism and struggles for LGBT rights in Brazil? There seems to be a mechanism of political engagement occurring in the protests related to public transportation that eventually leads people to embrace other causes beyond the initial economic issues. After acquiring political

awareness through the Free Fare Movement, one can become solidary to other movements (such as veganism and gender and LGBT issues). In the 2000s, the Free Fare Movement and the punk scene even participated in activities to bring awareness to the challenges faced by communities because of their non-normative sexuality. By taking this approach, one should realize even further the importance of the studies conducted into these “prehistoric” movements—“prehistoric” in comparison with what is going on in Brazil during more recent years (after 2013).

In any case, the connection between rap music with a denunciatory discourse regarding racism and venues that hosted events for the Free Fare Movement is strong. Even the association between the Free Fare Movement itself and politicized hip-hop is eye-catching. In one of the rap songs by NegritudeAtiva recorded in 1999, a group that performed in Carnaval Revolução in 2004, one can hear the following: “Violent and violated / Black, poor, and revolutionary.”²⁶ These lines can function as a historical prelude for the lyrics in the epigraph of this epilog, which were composed by the hip-hop group Dígito 4. This last group, in their turn, performed in a Verdurada event in São Paulo in 2002.²⁷ Verdurada became an important place linking vegetarianism, hardcore-punk music, and social struggles such as the one for the free fare for students. Hip-hop appearances did not stop with the previous examples, though. In the 2005 Carnaval Revolução, rap music groups were once again performing: APR, Dejavu, Apologia X (Apology X), Fazito, D'Lui, and Diamonddog.²⁸ In a different region, the Free Fare Movement of Brasília was proud of the support received from the rappers BNegão and GOG and used their statements as a form of endorsement of its own political activities.²⁹ On another occasion in the city of Joinville, a 2009 multiday event organized by the Free Fare Movement, the hip-hop group V.O. (Original Version) also took the stage together with rock ensembles Cultura Monstro (Monster Culture) and Seus Alternadores (Your Alternators).³⁰

According to Roberto Camargos de Oliveira, both hardcore and rap music share the common fact of being expressions in opposition to the neoliberalization of the nation that took place in the last decade of the twentieth century.³¹ This process of neoliberalization of the economy extended its effects well into the 2000s. The 2003 Bus Revolt of Salvador took place perhaps at a high point of the neoliberal trajectory in Brazil. Manoel Nascimento, when talking specifically about the situation in Salvador, sees a kind of transition from punk to hip-hop among the transgressive spheres of the city’s inhabitants: “Here in Salvador, punk took up a space that today is the space of hip-hop. In fact, many people that came from the punk, anarcho-punk movement, here in Salvador, and in Bahia more broadly, changed from punk to hip-hop. It’s a protest movement by the marginalized youth. . . . Punk, very strong; anarcho-punk, very strong in the 1980s, 1990s, and beginning of the 2000s.”³² Perhaps that is the reason why one can see this link between punk and hip-hop both in the Free Fare Movement and Carnaval Revolução already happening in the 2000s, a kind

of hybridism of, or partnership between, both music genres: the end of the 1990s and the early 2000s were the moment of transition. Shane Greene, discussing the issue more globally, also identifies this passage from punk to hip-hop among nonconforming youth.³³ It is also a possibility that, after the 2010s, the force of hardcore and punk cultures became less strong in the protests surrounding the issues of public transportation. According to Duarte: “[From] 2005 to 2010, there was a predominance of the folks who, regarding artistic and cultural stances, were more linked . . . [to] punk and hardcore. After 2010, what began to happen was a dilution of that group of people who culturally were more linked to punk/hardcore inside the Free Fare Movement.”³⁴

It is a rap song that perhaps most exemplifies the beauty of the free fare if it were finally implemented. In a 2002 piece by Da Guedes, a hip-hop group from Porto Alegre, the musicians celebrate the fact that the population achieved the right to ride buses once-a-month without needing to pay. It appears to be a marginal gain, but through the verses the listener can catch the happiness and the liveness caused by such a day of freedom to explore the city. Of course, the song by Da Guedes has its share of ambiguity too. At the same time that it is a celebration of the Free Fare Day, during which people from the poor neighborhoods of Porto Alegre can use the buses without restriction, it represents also a protest against the precarious conditions of the transportation system in general. The turnstile is innocuous; the bus becomes a space of festivities and parties, but the vehicle is crowded and uncomfortable. The song, titled “Passe livre” (“Free Fare”), envisages a utopian dream. However, it points out what needs to be improved as well:

*Último domingo do mês, ou não
Sei que pelo menos uma vez, vejam vocês:
Aqui o banzo é de graça
Pelo menos uma vez por mês – é bom
Um direito adquirido pelo cidadão comum, sangue...
Um dia de visita, de encontrar meus irmão
Negro X já vai colar nesse busão que sai
[aqui do Partenon
O destino é bairro centro, aí ladrão é só colar
Trocá uma ideia e matar...
A saudade dos chegado só pra começar...
Coletivos lotados sempre pra todos os lados
Quem depende deles e quem pega
[tá ligado
Que aqui não tem frescura. É 1,2...
Já foi dada a cara dura
É hoje que os mano tão tudo na loucura
O cobrador tirou uma folga,
[hoje a roleta é toda tua*

*The last Sunday of the month, maybe not
I know that at least once, please pay attention:
Here the bus is free
At least once a month—it's good
A right won by the common citizen, dude...
A day of visits, seeing my bros
Negro X will jump on this bus that leaves
from this neighborhood: Partenon
The route is outskirts-downtown, then just jump on
Let's chat and enjoy...
I miss my buddies but we're just starting...
Crowded buses always going in all directions
Those who rely on them and those who take them
know what I mean
There is no fuss here. It's fast and easy...
People are shameless
Today the bros are crazy and wild
The ticket taker took the day off,
today the turnstile is yours*

*Nesse dia, rola cada figura
Volto no nascer da lua – pode crê*

[refrão 2X]
*Muito aperto
Só os muito louco
Banzo de graça, ó!
Que sufoco!*
*Sei que é nós na fita, o coletivo
[hoje é do povo
Lá de cima desce o morro
Vem lotado, é bicho solto...*

[...]

*In such a day, there are a bunch of strange people
I'll be back after the moonrise—you bet*

[chorus 2X]
*It's packed
For madmen only
Free bus, oh?
It's hard!*
*I know we're the ones, today the bus
belongs to the people
From high above, it comes down, from the slum
It's crowded, a loose beast...*

. . .³⁵

The occurrence of three important revolts propelled by students in successive years (2003, 2004, and 2005) led to the spreading of the Free Fare Movement throughout the nation. The documentary by Carlos Pronzato about Salvador's Bus Revolt started to be exhibited in many Brazilian cities.³⁶ The influence that such a youth uprising exerted throughout the country was immense. In the words of Daniel Caribé: "I believe an entire generation was influenced by the Bus Revolt and not only in Salvador."³⁷ In the same vein, the spirit of the Turnstile Revolt of Florianópolis would infiltrate other cities. Videos about it were produced and later exhibited in different urban areas (such as Joinville and Rio de Janeiro) with the intention of expanding the movement.³⁸ Porto Alegre—the city where Da Guedes wrote the rap song partly reproduced above, a song that predates and in certain aspects anticipates the Free Fare Movement—would be just another point in a complex web. Instead of vertical structures, the groups studied here organized themselves in "networks," which brought many advantages as the latter are, according to Ortellado, "flexible, fluid, plural, and decentralized."³⁹ If this book tried to cover all nodes, it would be interminable. Was this network of activists and musicians imitating the Internet or was the Internet copying them? The activists and musicians were at least searching for alternative (cyber)spaces. They were not only using the Internet as a substitute for the Big Media, but also in opposition to the commercial aspect of the mainstream channels of communication. In addition, they were creating their own marginal apparatuses: "They use open-source software and alternative e-mail servers, they prefer tools of collaboration and solidarity, [and] they pirate cultural artifacts"—as Moreira Oliveira explains.⁴⁰ At the same time, this hybrid network of activists and members of the punk scene was not based on representation but on directness. The Independent Media Center is perhaps the main example of this directness: a network in which news from the social movements would go straight from those movements to the

public: the “mediation role of the journalist,” with its inevitable creation of misrepresentations (especially the ones carried out by the Big Media), was no longer necessary.⁴¹

We come to an end that is actually not an end. There are still thousands of digital files to be studied: non-mediated files generated and distributed by the historical actors themselves. There are more websites to be excavated: non-mediated virtual objects that defied the control of information by a few. There are other revolts in different cities to be reconstructed: non-mediated revolts that emerged without the structural support of traditional organizations and established political parties. There are more people to talk to: non-mediated actors who took to the streets to express their desires and convictions. There are other works of art and musical pieces to be seen and listened to: non-mediated productions based on the freedom of a do-it-yourself ethos. Here, one has a story of the rise of the protests for free public transportation and against fare hikes. It is an account immersed in hope. One could see a radically different future emerging: perhaps a punk future. There was a good number of victories. Even the defeats did seem like victories. This was not premeditated: it appears to have been a unique moment in the country’s history. One must, in the future, tell a version of the complicated account of the pinnacle of these struggles that happened in June 2013 through their artistic, literary, as well as musical productions. Additionally, there shall be a third episode afterward: the turn to the right that demonstrations took already in and after 2013. The invasion of the streets by the masses of right-wing reactionaries: a story so different to the one presented in this book. What happened to Brazil?

Notes

1 “Aniquele, aniquele! Ou aniquilam vocês! Mortes, soldados segregados, o mal no peito enraizado. Malvado eu sou. Eu sou malvado, discriminado. Magro, amarelado – cê tá ligado? De lado atrasado. Então, por isso, matá-los. Afinal, de que lado você está? Na tombada lá da Coca-Cola ou da geração revolucionária? Geração revolucionária, venham! Geração revolucionária, vamos!” (Dígito 4, “Geração revolucionária,” track 5 on *Introduzindo o terror* [São Paulo: 4º D.P., 2001], CD); the release year of the album *Introduzindo o terror* comes from: Carin Carrer Gomes, *O uso do território paulistano pelo hip hop* (MA Thesis, USP, 2008), 136, <http://doi.org/10.11606/D.8.2008.tde-01062012-154048>.

2 Guimarães, “Do It Yourcast #20.”

3 Abramo, *Cenas juvenis*, 90 (Abramo is paraphrasing Janice Caiafa in this sentence); see also the discussion at: Lopes de Sousa, *Punk*, 44–48, 89–90, and 96–97; and: Duncombe and Tremblay, “White Riot?,” 5.

4 This quotation comes from: Abramo, *Cenas juvenis*, 157.

5 Moreira Oliveira, *Uma “Praia” nas Alterosas*, 195.

6 Ortellado, “Sobre a passagem de um grupo de pessoas por um breve período da história,” 29.

7 Gama, “Do It Yourcast #29.”

8 Freitas, “Como um sintoma do mundo.”

9 Ornelas Rosa, *Rock Underground*, 151.

10 “MPL organiza festival de punk rock,” *MPL Joinville*, Sep. 10, 2007, <http://mpljoinville.blogspot.com/2007/09/mpl-organiza-festival-de-punk-rock.html>.

11 Oriel Frigo, replying to questions by the author, July 2020.

12 *MPL Joinville*, “MPL organiza festival de punk rock.”

13 Frigo, replying to questions by the author, July 2020 (the denomination “CMI-Joinville” was standardized).

14 Eu Contra o Mundo, “Contraste,” track 7 on *Demo 2005*, recorded 2005, mp3, <https://eucontraomundo.bandcamp.com/releases> (lyrics changed according to the recording and for capitalization and punctuation).

15 Santos, *A rebeldia por trás das lentes*, 160.

16 Maikon Duarte, in conversation with the author, July 2020.

17 According to Duarte: “The right to freedom of movement is conditioned to the logic of capital. Public *unpolitics* is at the service of companies” (Maikon Duarte, “Na busca dos zarcões* sobre o controle público e na faixa: Entrevista com Maikon Duarte, da Frente de Luta pelo Transporte Público,” Interview conducted by Camarada D., *Tarifa Zero*, May 5, 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150523182107/http://tarifazero.org/2010/05/05/na-busca-dos-zarcoes-sobre-o-controle-publico-e-na-faixa-entrevista-com-maikon-duarte-do-mpl-joinville/>; emphasis in original); see also: Maikon K. [Duarte], “Um dezembro,” *Vivo na Cidade*, Dec. 3, 2008, <http://vivonacidade.blogspot.com/2008/12/um-dezembro.html>; Maikon K. [Duarte], “Zine de papel,” *Vivo na Cidade*, Jan. 30, 2009, <http://vivonacidade.blogspot.com/2009/01/zine-de-papel.html>; and: Maikon K. [Duarte], “Maikon K.,” *Vivo na Cidade*, Mar. 20, 2009, <http://vivonacidade.blogspot.com/2009/03/documentar-e-preciso.html>.

18 Maikon J. Duarte, “Cipla/Interfibra: histórico e rumos,” Interview conducted by Camarada D., *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 29, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150427185033/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2004/04/279143.shtml>.

19 Maikon Duarte, in conversation with the author, July 2020; Maikon Duarte also participated in student activism at the University of the Region of Joinville, or UNIVILLE (Maikon Jean Duarte, “Universidade de Joinville processa anarquista,” Interview conducted by Agência de Notícias Anarquistas, *CMI Brasil*, Jun. 3, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150509000219/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2004/06/282055.shtml>).

20 MPL-POA, “Fim de semana Passe Livre,” *CMI Brasil*, Apr. 4, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140901135959/midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2006/04/351852.shtml>; the name of the band Burning Brain was standardized according to: Fernanda Poletto [?], “A história da Burning Brain,” *Sons da Universidade*, Nov. 1, 2007, <https://sonsdauniversidade.wordpress.com/2007/11/01/35/>.

21 MPL-SP, “[mpl sp] Impressos e agenda da Semana Nacional de Luta pelo Passe Livre!”, Flora Lorena Müller, in conversation with the author, January 2022.

22 “Áudio e músicas,” MPL-SP, accessed Jan. 16, 2022, <https://saopaulo.mpl.org.br/material/audio-e-musicas/>; *Mil Faces de um Homem Leal (Marighella)*, dir. Daniel Grinspum, perform. Racionais MC’s (São Paulo: Preta Portê Filmes, 2012), video, <https://youtu.be/5Os1zQALz8>; *Transporte Público*, performed by Rincon Sapiência (São Paulo: Porqueeu Filmes, 2013), video, <https://youtu.be/giWImxdOXAU>; Projota, “Rap do Ônibus,” recorded 2011, audio streaming, https://youtu.be/6Tl2V_SLHvI; *O trem*, performed by RZO (c.2003), video, https://youtu.be/OKim_CH8DoY.

23 Carnaval Revolução, “Shows”; Ortellado and Ryoki, *Estamos vencendo!*, 169.

24 Leonel Camasão, “Mosh Mosh Revolution – outubro de 2006 (3),” Flickr, Oct. 7, 2006, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/leonelcamasao/4087763044/>.

25 *A-Infos*, “(pt) Belo Horizonte.”

26 “Violentos e violentados / Pretos, pobres e revolucionários” (NegritudeAtiva, “Pretos, pobres e revolucionários,” track 9 on *Pretos, pobres e revolucionários* [Vila Velha: N.A., 1999], CD).

27 See: Chapter 5.

28 “Carnaval Revolução: B-boys e hiphop attitude,” *CMI Brasil*, Feb. 9, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141001222442/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2005/02/306912.shtml>; [Carnaval Revolução] CR2005, “Carnaval Revolução (programa Shows),” *CMI Brasil*, Feb. 1, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150504204646/https://midia independente.org/pt/blue/2005/02/306134.shtml>; “Programação” [a], Carnaval Revolução, archived Mar. 6, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20050306043827/https://carnaval.linefeed.org/2005/programacao.php>.

29 Free Fare Movement of Brasília reproduced the following statement by BNegão: “Students do not generate income and they need to get around. It’s like this in any city of the country (much more in places like Brasília or Florianópolis, for example). In those cities, specifically, we have the impression that the pedestrian is almost an intruder. . . . Because of that, I support the Free Fare Movement” (MPL-DF, “BNegão, Músico,” *Por uma vida sem catracas*, sidebar, accessed Aug. 8, 2020, <http://vidasemcatracas.blogspot.com>); they also replicated a discourse by GOG: “I see Brasília as a city that was created with the intention of having no social tensions. It’s then when I see that the Free Fare Movement is very important, with these discussions. . . . ‘Look, let’s have something that the population has the right to without paying. Free transportation, 100% free’” (MPL-DF, “GOG, Músico,” *Por uma vida sem catracas*, sidebar, accessed Aug. 8, 2020, <http://vidasemcatracas.blogspot.com>).

30 “Festa do Passe Livre,” *MPL Joinville*, Oct. 16, 2009, http://mpljoinville.blogspot.com/2009/10/festa-do-passe-livre_16.html; for information about the genre of the music groups, see: V.O. – Versão Original, “VersaoOriginal,” Soundcloud, accessed Jul. 1, 2020, <https://soundcloud.com/versaooriginal>; “Bandas de rock comemoram o bom momento do gênero em Joinville,” NSC, May 28, 2009, <https://www.nsctotal.com.br/noticias/bandas-de-rock-comemoram-o-bom-momento-do-genero-em-joinville>; Eduardo de Britto, “Rock de Joinville – o melhor do rock nacional com a ‘Seus Alternadores,’” *Rota 70*, Jan. 27, 2010, <http://rota70.blogspot.com/2010/01/rock-de-joinville-o-melhor-do-rock.html>; the poster of Joinville’s Free Fare Movement names one of the bands only as Alternadores—it is most likely referring to Seus Alternadores; the poster also lists another band that performed in the same event, Alquimia (Alchemy), but no information was found about it elsewhere.

31 See: Roberto Camargos de Oliveira, “Cultura e vida social: um olhar sobre a produção musical rap e hardcore no Brasil contemporâneo,” *Revista Urutáguia*, no. 18 (2009): 73–87, <http://www.periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/Urutaguia/article/view/3571>; about rap being the substitute escape valve of poor young people in the cities (in the place of punk), see additionally: Pablo Ortellado, “Quatro reflexões sobre a história e o significado do punk (2004).”

32 Nascimento, in conversation with the author, August 2020.

33 Greene, *Punk and revolution*, 149.

34 Maikon Duarte, in conversation with the author, July 2020.

35 Da Guedes, “Passe livre,” track 4 on *Morro seco mas não me entrego* (Porto Alegre: Orbeat Music, 2002), CD; Da Guedes, “Passe Livre,” Letras, accessed Aug. 18,

2022, <https://www.letras.mus.br/da-guedes/65079/> (lyrics changed for punctuation and spelling).

- 36 Regarding the screening of Pronzato's documentary in different places, Nascimento declared: "Because of this political capital that Salvador gained owing to the Bus Revolt, . . . together with the fact that through the Independent Media Center we knew people from the entire country, . . . from Salvador, a good number of people would go on to tour the . . . country to comment on Pronzato's video (specifically: São Paulo, Brasília, Aracaju, Natal, Maceió, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Vitória da Conquista, Recife, Itabuna, Ilhéus)" (Nascimento, in conversation with the author, August 2020); see also: Ikuhara Santos, *As bases e fontes de poder no Movimento Passe Livre de Florianópolis*, 54.
- 37 Daniel Caribé, replying to questions by the author, February 2020.
- 38 Maikon K. [Duarte], "CALHEV promove evento," *Vivo na Cidade*, Aug. 26, 2009, <http://vivonacidade.blogspot.com/2009/08/calhev-promove-evento.html>; Maikon K. [Duarte], "Outubro nas ruas," *Vivo na Cidade*, Oct. 19, 2009, <http://vivonacidade.blogspot.com/2009/10/outubro-nas-ruas.html>; "Roteiro," *Jornal do Brasil*, Feb. 14, 2006, B7, http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/030015_12/151766.
- 39 Ortellado, "Sobre a passagem de um grupo de pessoas por um breve período da história," 17.
- 40 Moreira Oliveira, *Uma "Praia" nas Alterosas*, 70.
- 41 Ortellado, "Sobre a passagem de um grupo de pessoas por um breve período da história," 29; see also: Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion*, 16, 40–41, 69–70, 78, 83–85, 89, 107–108 and 166–167.

List of the Interviewed and the Consulted

The names of band members in the list below are names of those who responded to the author's questions and not necessarily all who played in the bands during their existences. The affiliations and activities described in parenthesis are historical; they occurred at some point in time and are not necessarily current. The list is in alphabetical order by the name of the band or group or the surname of the person. I also made use of previous interviews published by third parties: these are listed in the "Works and Documents Cited" section.

Thales de Astrogildo e Tréz (member of Florianópolis' band Guerra de Classes). Autônomos & Autônomas FC (soccer team with punk origins from São Paulo)—its current members answered the questions in writing as a collective. Black Tainhas (punk rock band from Florianópolis)—Thiago “Garganta” Umberto Pereira, Thiago Panchiniak, and André “Tequilla” Ramos. Daniel Caribé (activist, scholar, and supporter of Salvador’s Bus Revolt). Maikon Duarte (activist in the Free Fare Movement and participant in the hardcore scene of Joinville). Frederico Freitas, or simply Fred (member of the Verdurada Collective, vocalist of the band Point of No Return, activist, and scholar). Oriel Frigo (member of Joinville’s band Eu Contra o Mundo and a participant in the Independent Media Center and, on a lesser scale, in the Free Fare Movement of that city). Yuri Gama (scholar, activist, and member of Florianópolis’ hardcore/punk scene). Felipe Madureira (member of São Paulo’s Verdurada Collective). Rafael Medeiros Popini Vaz (member of Florianópolis’ band Insurreição [now renamed Furial], scholar, and former activist for the Free Fare Movement). Flora Lorena Müller (activist for the Free Fare Movement in Florianópolis). Clemente Tadeu Nascimento (member of São Paulo’s band Inocentes)—who summarized his view about the lyrics of Inocentes’ song “Sob controle.” Manoel “Manolo” Nascimento (activist from Salvador, participant in the city’s Bus Revolt and later the Free Fare Movement, and scholar). Lucas Oliveira, also known as Legume (activist of São Paulo’s Free Fare Movement). Pablo Ortellado (scholar, activist, and member of the punk scene).

Xando Passold (member of Florianópolis' band The Dolls)—who contributed with information about the band's albums.

Gabriel Peixer (participant in the underground rock music scene of Florianópolis and currently a DJ and music producer).

Walisson Pereira Fernandes (scholar specialist in the hardcore/punk scene of São Paulo)—who solved the mystery of the term “*Êra Punk*.”

Evandro Piza (scholar specialist in law and race in Brazil)—who gave his perspective on the racial composition of the protests.

Republicaos (punk band from Florianópolis)—contact with the band was established in writing through Wander Pacheco.

S288 (hardcore band from Florianópolis)—Uriel Oliveira, Fabrício “Zum” Cardoso, Marcos Hoffmann, and Rodrigo Brasil.

Marcelo Serafim (composer of the carnival songs of Florianópolis' Bloco Caixa Preta).

Róbson Véio (member of Salvador's hardcore band Lumpen and participant in the city's Bus Revolt).

Leo Vinicius (member of the band Guerra de Classes, activist in the Free Fare Movement, and scholar from Florianópolis).

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