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The Hard Work of Screaming: Physical Exertion and Affective Labor Among Mexico City's Punk Vocalists

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Abstract. In this article, I consider the screaming and growling vocalizations performed by Mexico City's punk vocalists. Such extreme vocal productions not only result in harsh, distorted vocal timbres, but also in the display of vocalists' hard-working bodies. Through physical exertion, punk vocalists also perform affective labor, creating an environment in which fans may "take out the rage," producing solidarity through collective catharsis. I argue that through the hard work of screaming, participants in Mexico City's punk scene explore alternative notions of labor and value, attempting to enact their anarchist ideals in the context of the post-industrial, neoliberal metropolis.

El trabajo duro de gritar: esfuerzos físicos y mano de obra afectiva en los vocalistas punk de Ciudad de México

Resumen. *Este artículo analiza las vocalizaciones estridentes y guturales de los vocalistas punk de Ciudad de México. Estas intensas vocalizaciones resultan no solo en timbres vocales ásperos y distorsionados, sino también en la exhibición de los cuerpos trabajadores de los vocalistas. A través del esfuerzo físico los vocalistas punk realizan una mano de obra afectiva, creando un ambiente en el cual la audiencia puede "sacar la rabia," logrando un sentido de solidaridad mediante una catarsis colectiva. Por medio de este trabajo duro de gritar, los participantes de la escena punk de Ciudad de México experimentan con ideas alternativas de mano de obra y valor, mientras intentan promulgar sus convicciones anarquistas en el contexto de la metrópolis postindustrial y neoliberal.*

Screaming is hard work. Even speaking for extended periods taxes the body and especially the voice, a fact that has fostered the advancement of voice science and the creation of voice care centers globally in recent decades, as call-center employees, teachers, and radio personalities have sought treatment for the damage their instruments have incurred through overuse.[1] Yet despite the difficulty and potential injury of prolonged screaming vocalizations, many punk and metal vocalists in scenes around the world prefer the harsh, distorted timbres that they can produce through sustained screaming, along with similarly taxing vocal techniques often described as "growling."

At a performance in 2011, at the top of a crumbling squat not far from the Paseo de la Reforma—one of the large, palm-lined avenues that runs through the center of Mexico City, where several government and corporate offices are located—I observed one vocalist's exertions from an especially close vantage point. The band, a newly formed group called Rhuckuss, was playing at a benefit party, and in the tightly packed, enthusiastic crowd, the musicians simply cleared a space for themselves as the audience clustered around.

A small man, "el Salinas" appeared even more compact in performance, despite the power of his sound.[2] He often stooped forward slightly, back and abdominal muscles taut with exertion as he took a broad stance, legs planted firmly apart. His shiny, sweaty face contracted around his wide-open mouth, and he was almost motionless as he delivered his lines, his focus exclusively on his airflow. Being close to him, I could see him taking quick, deep breaths, his head merely bobbing a bit between lines. When a real pause came in the text, he burst briefly into motion, springing upright and glancing down at his guitar as he bounced on the balls of his temporarily liberated feet. As he moved around the tight circle of space that barely provided a barrier between the audience and the performers, he stirred the humid air, seeming to infuse it with a new source of heat. Swiping quickly at his face with his soaked t-shirt and flashing a wet midriff, he suddenly tensed up again, clenching his fist around the microphone as he crouched into his next verse.

In addition to the spectacle that punk musicians like the vocalist of Rhuckuss produce, emphasizing the seriousness of their endeavor through the display of physical exertion, the powerful energy and intense distortion of the band's sound contributes to its affective impact, which inspires audiences to "*sacar la rabia*" in the performance space. Participants in Mexico City's punk scene use that phrase, which translates as "to take out the rage," as a means of describing a sense of catharsis that they enjoy at punk shows, one that provides them with a chance to express personal and collective rage through specific practices, such as screaming along with vocalists or participating in the slam dance.[3]

Fascinated by the physical and affective exertion that punk musicians perform and render into sound at gigs, I also was compelled to examine the links

between punks' performed valorization of hard work with prominent and contentious debates about labor that were happening all around us, within the punk scene and beyond. During my fieldwork period in Mexico City, which spanned the summer of 2008 to the autumn of 2011, several high-profile events served to draw attention to labor issues across the country and especially in the Federal District.[4] These included continued action by the city government to contain the street vendors who crowd public space in Mexico City, as well as disputes with organized labor.

A few of my punk scene friends had a personal stake in the outcome of labor union demonstrations, as they worked in traditional working-class sectors like manufacturing, often encountering on-site dangers and job insecurity as they labored in factories large and small. A much larger portion of my acquaintances in the punk scene worked informally, however, many of them selling goods on the streets of Mexico City. In addition to participating in local debates about the role and relevance of labor organizations and the place of informal labor, my friends in the punk scene, who mostly self-identify as anarchists, also engaged in arguments among themselves about the desirability of actions like work refusal. In this, they were inspired by the example of friends in punk scenes in the global North who may spurn regular employment to protest a work-centered capitalist lifestyle.[5]

Writing about work refusal in North America, Kathi Weeks emphasizes that "the refusal of work is not a rejection of productive activity per se, but rather a refusal of central elements of the wage relation and those discourses that encourage our consent to the modes of work that it imposes" (2011:124). As a contrast to her examination of the deeply rooted moralization of work, she points to histories of work refusal undertaken by people "who failed to internalize the gospel of work—a history of 'bad subjects' who resist and may even escape interpellation," including members of groups that she terms "subcultures," such as hipsters, punks, and slackers (79).

Cultural studies scholar Alan O'Connor provides an interesting example of how punk musicians and fans directed their energies into mostly unwaged creative production, working hard to create global Do-It-Yourself networks of recording and exchange, beginning in the early 1980s, as the music industry stopped promoting punk. Because record companies abandoned their interests in marketing the noisy, increasingly frenetic music, punk musicians and fans themselves learned through trial and error how to develop their own means of recording and distribution (O'Connor 2008:4). Taking a slightly different perspective than Weeks, O'Connor's analysis of the emergence of D.I.Y. practices suggests that North American punk scene participants in the 1980s and 90s did not so much reject the work ethic that they had assimilated through the largely middle-class culture in which they were raised, but the ordinary channels through which they might have been expected to apply it.[6]

Mexico City's contemporary punk scene is also constituted through alternative, D.I.Y. networks similar to the ones that O'Connor describes, despite the fact that few come from middle-class backgrounds. Though only a handful of musicians can accumulate the resources to record much music, a number of punk scene participants work or live in collective organizations, play in bands, write and design fanzines, distribute cheap copies or "clones" of recordings,[7] participate in skill swapping, and sell books, music, and videos that fuel others' acquisition of knowledge—a key part of promoting *autogestión*, the autonomous self-development that forms one of the bedrock anarchist values of Mexico City's punk scene.[8]

While such unwaged work among their peers provides an important source of the training that they undertake in the process of *autogestión,* participants in Mexico City's punk scene nevertheless cannot afford to refuse other opportunities for waged or unwaged labor entirely.[9] Additionally, the debates about labor in which I heard punk scene participants engage often presented a dynamic, if uneasy, coexistence between an interest in the kinds of "post-work imaginaries" that Weeks illuminates with nostalgia for the Fordist economic system, centered on industrial mass production. Nostalgia for Fordism manifested itself particularly in regards to the idealized masculinity it entailed, promoting hard work not only for the security of the wage, but through it, social status and belonging.[10]

In her ethnography of amateur boxers in Gleason's Gym in post-industrial New York City, sociologist Lucia Trimbur notes a similar yearning for a treasured masculinity predicated on hard work through waged labor. Among young men of color who have difficulty securing formal work and who struggle against the persistent possibility of incarceration, Trimbur sees the physical exertions of boxing as a kind of replacement for waged work.

> [A]lthough amateur fighters are unpaid, they consider boxing to be their job. They approach training with the insistence and purpose of an occupation . . . and they use pugilism to implement discipline, create identities, and earn respect from others. By engaging in amateur athletics, young men are able to see themselves as a different kind of laborer, and produce a new kind of work—bodywork—and attendant forms of value (2013:18).

Examining the physical exertions of difficult punk vocalizations, I draw on Trimbur's formulation of bodywork to theorize the place of hard physical effort in punk scene participants' debates about labor, which happen through musical as well as extra-musical performances. In Mexico City's punk scene, where the balance also swings towards an under- or informally employed class of participants, I use the notion to understand how punks deal with the decline of traditional working-class jobs, the disappearance of the wage, and the devaluation of physical labor.[11]

I argue that through the physical exertions of extreme musical practices like screaming vocalizations, Mexico City's punks also perform a kind of bodywork, not through emphasis on an overt, disciplined training regimen, but on the affective impact of a hard-working body in the context of local punk performance. By linking hard physical work to the relational work that they also perform by promoting autogestión among their audiences, punk vocalists mediate their lingering investments in a Fordist-era understanding of labor, transforming their hard physical work into a tool that they also use to reach toward an anarchism-inspired belief in autonomy.[12] Through the dual physical and affective exertions of extreme musical performance, I contend that participants in Mexico City's punk scene explore alternative relationships to work and notions of value, instead of just getting by through the limited channels of marginalized labor in the neoliberal metropolis.

The Physical Exertions of Screaming

> [S]creaming in a band is very hard work. You have to dedicate to it a lot of time, years, a lot of energy, a lot of brain power, and really it's a great effort physically and mentally. Like any work, it's very exhausting but equally very satisfying" (email communication from el Psychopata, 14 October 2013, my translation).

As the quote above attests, Mexico City's punk vocalists highlight a range of hard work involved in their performance, stressing its physical as well as its mental and emotional exertions. The physical work of screaming in a musical context contributes significantly to a punk band's successful performance, but it also takes a toll on the performer's body. Punk vocalists are not infrequently hoarse after performance, for example. One musician friend confided that his head and back also hurt after extended bouts of vocalization. After his performances, I could hear his discomfort, his voice hoarse and breathy though his eyes sparkled with excitement. Out of curiosity, I acquired a teaching video by a singer called Susan Carr, who claimed to have created exercises for vocalists working in extreme styles, to help them avoid damage to their vocal folds as they perfected the "art of screaming."[13]

My punk vocalist friend asked me to loan the video to him. But over the course of the next several months, it became a running joke. Had he watched it? What did he think? No, nothing, came the reply again and again. He insisted he hadn't even cracked it open, heaping scorn on the very notion that it might actually do him good. As far as I know, he still has my video.

As this anecdote attests, despite the potential usefulness of vocal training, many punk musicians who might have access to it reject its value, due to the importance given to a sense of emotional immediacy that punk vocalists want

to convey. Because the timbres they prefer represent what they describe as the spontaneous expression of anger and energy, musicians and fans often believe that such vocalizations are simply natural, and therefore accessible to anybody.[14] The supposed naturalism of these vocal techniques is also appealing in a scene that prizes a D.I.Y. ethic, largely rejecting the idea of formal study, if not denying their sustained effort. While asserting his belief that all vocalists can scream if they want to, el Psychopata also emphasizes that he has been polishing his style over the course of many years of performance, while working with various bands (email communication, 14 October 2013).

Favoring stressed vocal sounds is also one way in which punk genres reveal their continuity with rock music and its stylistic antecedents, especially regarding their aesthetics and ideology of self-expression. Richard Middleton traced the development of rock vocal performance from its roots in the blues tradition, concluding that tightening the throat to convey emotion has developed over a long period of time among musicians who hope to achieve an immediacy of vocal expression:

> [T]here is a strand where emotional tension tightens the throat: Robert Johnson is the central figure, and the influence of his celebrated 1930s recordings permeates the post-War Chicago blues of Wolf, Muddy Waters, Elmore James and others. This strand can then be identified as the single most important source for the 'standard rock voice'—the straining, strutting macho lead—of the 1960s and 1970s (Middleton 2000:31).

While retaining an overall tendency toward melodic vocalization, rock vocalists increasingly incorporated some scream-like sounds to embellish lyrics and regularly employed tense, throaty timbres that Middleton describes as "lived-in" (ibid.:35). Suggesting through an apparently hard-used voice the toll that a hard-living rock-and-roll lifestyle might have on the body, the tight-throated, blues-derived rock vocalization conflates the singer's bodily experience and persona.

Though Middleton claims that punk rock vocalists like Johnny Rotten represented a break with this tradition, refusing "vocal soul-baring" (ibid.:34) by choosing a more declamatory, mannered diction, punk rock itself rapidly changed into a faster, more distorted music that would become known as hardcore punk.[15] Screamed lyrics became one of the music's characteristics, as hardcore punk vocalists talked of expressing their own sense of alienation through a seemingly unmediated vocalization of rage. In the documentary *American Hardcore* (2006), punk musicians Ian MacKaye of Minor Threat and Keith Morris of Black Flag and Circle Jerks, respectively, reminisce about the birth of the hardcore scene in the early 1980s: "We'll just say exactly what's on our minds and do it in thirty-two seconds" (interview, MacKaye, 2006). "We'd been made all these promises. You go to school, you do your homework, you go to college,

you get a great job, you make lots of money, you get married, you have a couple of kids, dog, cat, goldfish, two-car garage, and that's not the way it is. . . .I'm working Monday through Friday, here comes Friday night and I'm just going to go off" . . .[makes sound and gestures to suggest an explosion] (interview, Morris, 2006). And finally, Chris Doherty of Boston's Gang Green, reflecting on his experience in a very hoarse, broken voice says, "We don't sing, we weren't singing, we were just screaming, against authority, our parents, about everything that was pissing us off in our lives" (interview, Doherty, 2006).

While the shouted vocal timbres that many hardcore punk vocalists adopted in the 1980s recalled the "straining, strutting macho lead" voice of hard rock while carrying it to a timbral extreme, contemporary punk vocalists produce a variety of distorted sounds that require great effort to sustain. The diversity of timbral options available to punk vocalists in Mexico City today is also an aural reminder of the intertwined histories of rock, punk, and metal genres in Mexico, as well as the links between music scenes in Mexico and in other parts of the world. The history of rock music in Mexico is a turbulent one, the music, its practioners and fans having been subject to various forms of censorship and repression throughout the 1950s, 60s, and 70s.[16] Following the student massacre of 1968 and the rock music festival Avándaro in 1971, where fans' behavior scandalized Mexican society, rock music performance was increasingly marginalized, driven underground by negative press and police repression, achieving a difficult continuity through hastily organized shows in the *barrios*, staged in temporary and often precarious locations termed *hoyos fonquis* or "funky holes."[17]

It was also in the barrios that punk bands began to flourish in Mexico City, nurtured in part by the establishment in 1980 of the Tianguis Cultural del Chopo (Chopo Cultural Market) an open-air market dedicated to rock and popular music, held weekly in the heart of the city.[18] In addition to providing a meeting place for punk fans from across the metropolis, the tianguis also attracted visitors from nascent punk scenes in other parts of Mexico.[19] Close to the border with the United States and the burgeoning hardcore scene of Orange County, California, Tijuana's punk scene had a particular cachet, providing another destination for musical exchange among Mexico's punk musicians and fans in the 1980s.[20] As D.I.Y. distribution links began to connect punk fans across continents as well as nations, initially through the postal system, participants in Mexico City's punk scene began sharing music with fans in Europe and other Latin American countries as well. Consequently, Mexico City's punk scene today incorporates a good deal of stylistic diversity. While it's possible to encounter hardcore punk or even punk rock performances, there are also bands that include elements of thrash, crust punk, and other punk-metal crossover styles.[21] Not infrequently, bands that perform in different punk sub-genres play at the same events.[22]

So in addition to the pressed or belted rock vocal timbres and the screaming timbres of hardcore punk, many modern punk vocalists in Mexico City may also employ distorted vocal timbres inspired by extreme metal genres, incorporating vocalizations that sound more like growling or rasping than screaming.[23] While causing bodily signifiers of hard physical work, such as sweat and muscle tension, the screaming and growling sounds produced by Mexico City's punk vocalists also provide sonic evidence of intense effort as they contribute to the music's harsh, noisy aesthetics. The suggestion of hard physical work created by these vocalists is no accident, but a reflection of the enormous pressure they exert in order to turn their voices into artful producers of distortion.

The Art and Science of Screaming

Generally, distorted vocal timbres are created by compressions along the vocal tract that are not found in a periodic vocal production, a regular wave form that produces purer tones. As voice specialist Leda Scearce described it to me, compression at various points along the vocal tract ensures not only the jagged, non-periodic wave forms associated with "noisy" sound production, but also that the different parts of the vocalist's compressed anatomy contribute their own vibrations, layering the randomly spiking wave forms and increasing the distorted nature of the sound that is produced (interview, Duke Voice Care Center, Raleigh, North Carolina, 15 June 2012).[24]

The "death growl" produced by extreme metal vocalists, for example, arises when vocalists tighten the vocal tract and lower the larynx, forcing bursts of air through their vocal folds. This causes a dark, low-pitched rumbling sound often referred to in punk and metal scenes as the "Cookie Monster voice," for its resemblance to the growled timbre produced by Sesame Street puppeteer, Frank Oz. A screaming timbre may be produced when vocalists tighten and lift their larynges while engaging their ventricular folds, the tissue that surrounds the "true" vocal folds. The ventricular or "false" vocal cords are comprised of a denser, more muscular tissue, unlike the smooth, gelatinous true vocal folds, which move in a rippling, wavelike motion. The rougher vibration of the coarse tissue of the ventricular folds, with the brief engagement of the true vocal folds, creates distortion as well as the ability to achieve some pitched sound. A third technique also involves a high larynx and compressed vocal tract, with subglottal pressure used to make walls of the vocal tract, controlling airflow through its hardened surfaces. With this technique, vocalists can move more easily in and out of song. According to Melissa Cross, who created *The Zen of Screaming* (2005), a popular teaching video for vocalists working in extreme styles, most contemporary punk vocalists in Mexico City and elsewhere use some combination of these three difficult techniques (telephone interview, 24 June 2012).[25]

In addition to the tense muscles vocalists employ to create such distortions, the force of the vibrations as the vocal folds repeatedly open and close in the moment of sound production is often much greater than that caused by gentler forms of vocalization. Similar to the ways in which skin will blister and swell more easily with repeated, vigorous contact, the vocal folds are more susceptible to injury when vocalists use such force, which causes the vocal folds to crash together in a potentially harmful way. Though voice experts claim that it is possible to learn to produce extreme vocal timbres in ways that, used judiciously, will not necessarily damage the voice, symptoms such as hoarseness, breathiness, sore throat, and loss of voice may well plague those who try to produce such sounds at length and with frequency, particularly those who have had no vocal training.[26]

Punk and metal vocalists like my Mexico City friend may also suffer from headaches and back pain due to another aspect of untrained, extreme vocalization—a holding of the breath. Hardcore vocalists tend to impound air in their chests, closing the glottis to provide a fixed structure to push against. This "Valsalva maneuver" (named for the doctor who first investigated it) is what the body does to assist in achieving difficult physical tasks such as heavy lifting or the labor of childbirth. Instead of permitting the air in the lungs to escape continuously, the body momentarily stops its airflow, allowing for the bearing down of other muscle groups. Vocalists who perform the Valsalva maneuver repeatedly expend an enormous amount of energy and muscle tension in order to do so, rather than using the breath to support difficult vocalizations.

An additional obstacle to easy vocal production, punk lyrics are seldom catchy, seldom created through flowing meter and rhyme. Rather, the lyric content is often built from everyday prose on political and social themes, language that is all angles on the fast-working tongue. The vocalist must struggle to pronounce the difficult phrases without falling behind the often-relentless pace set by the instrumentalists. Punk vocalists may sound harassed, even despairing, anguished, or rushed as they work to articulate their cumbersome lines. The tension that they create, from the muscles surrounding the lungs through the vocal folds, may thus be found in the mouth as well, in the comparatively hard working of the tongue, palate, lips, and jaw.

Achieving a balance between vocal and instrumental sound in live performance is also a constant physical challenge for punk vocalists. Audiences value high volume and the impact of sound on the body as well as the ears. Waves of sound from high-energy drumming and overdriven guitars beat against the solar plexus. While the voice may be placed towards the front of the mix in the context of a recording, in which the distortion also may be mediated through signal processing, in live performance at gigs in Mexico City, the voice is less differentiated, often seemingly threatened by the band's power.

As Mexico City's punk vocalists strive to attain a difficult sonic balance, often with make-do audio equipment in small, over-packed, acoustically challenging spaces, microphones frequently falter. Despite a time-honored punk scene practice of passing the mike at gigs so that individual fans can briefly scream with the band, el Salinas once confessed that he dislikes sharing microphones because they always come back nasty and wet. Wanting to create their own overdrive, vocalists place them right up against their open mouths, where they frequently become waterlogged with saliva and sweat and may malfunction.[27] Vocalists rarely stop screaming when their equipment fails them, but often redouble the intensity of their efforts to be heard.

Being at the edge of what they may make their voices do, as well as at the borders of the possible in terms of amplification, punk vocalists perform their bodywork as straining, struggling bodies, bodies fighting against their physical limitations and the great volume of sound surging around them. In the performance of a song titled "Presos" ("Prisoners"), the vocalist of Rhuckuss uses the band's physical exertion to great effect, channeling their intense energy through his voice as he screams like a hardcore punk vocalist. Rhuckuss promotes itself as a metal-punk band, and their sound confirms that approach. The band plays with a big, resonant, sustained sound and a more intricate style clearly harkening to various types of metal from the iconic New Wave of British Heavy Metal band Motörhead to crossover sub-genres like thrash punk.

The bass player in the three-piece band actually hails directly from the world of metal as a performer with Transmetal, a well-known Mexican metal band established in the 1980s. His style of performance reflects a certain strain of metal practice as he moves flamboyantly, whipping his long hair. Indeed, in the liner notes to the band's eponymous 2011 recording, he is captured in a particularly dramatic moment of performance, bent closely over his instrument, displaying not his face, but his scalp. Ame, the band's drummer, has described herself to me as a "rocker," someone with broad tastes in rock genres, though she has said she feels more of an identification with metal than punk. Her performance style might be said to form a bridge between that of the two men. Head tilted back and eyes often closed in performance, she nevertheless plays in a tightly focused way, catching copious sweat with a bandana tied around her forehead. The vocalist el Salinas, however, is the most stoic performer of them all, as I described earlier. Though his effort is evident in the distortion of his sound and in his sweat and muscle tension, he mostly stands quite still in place as he screams his lines.

It is in fact the vocalist himself who provides the element of the band's music that is most punk, through his screamed delivery of lyrics that take on contentious subject matter. In "Presos," he screams about the ways in which he and his listeners are trapped, prisoners to a cruel reality, which includes everything from physical needs like hunger to intellectual entrapment in dogmatic thinking, to

the labor practices that shackle workers. (I have translated all lyrics to "Presos" from the liner notes of *Rhuckuss*.)

> Trapped behind bars, prisoners for thinking
> Trapped in a job
> Prisoner to the work day
>
> Prisoners between hunger, anguish, and thirst
> Prisoners since way before birth
> Prisoners of a cold and cruel reality
> Prisoners of a dogma, of a form of thinking
>
> In a country of interventions
> Prisoner of political deals
> You're a prisoner and you know it
> Prisoner without a way out . . . .

Unlike some punk vocalists, the vocalist of Rhuckuss does not vary between screaming and growling vocalizations. He may scream in a slightly higher or lower range in one song than in another, but his sound generally remains stable over the course of each song. To create the rage that punk scene participants talk about as a prized form of expression, in "Presos," the vocalist screams with a particularly high and tight larynx, resulting in constricted, distorted sounds that suggest an especially intense experience of rabia.

In contrast to the powerful sustain of the guitars and the deep thump of the kick drum, the vocalist's sound adds a different kind of noise, the hoarse distortion of his voice sounding like static against the force of the instrumental sound. Some of the percussive sounds also add to this thinner, higher-pitched layer of noisiness, as the drummer introduces the crash cymbal at various places, though rarely allowing its presence while the vocalist screams. In general, the instrumentalists and vocalist trade moments of emphasis, the instrumental sound surging forth in full power between verses and in the unusually long instrumental interludes that Rhuckuss frequently employs. With this trading of emphasis, as well as the difference in the performance styles of the three musicians, the effect is of asking for full attention on the vocalist as he screams his lines, with the intensity of focus that they demand.

Because the screaming voice remains fairly static in terms of its pitch and timbral variation, the instrumental sound nevertheless must shade the affect of the performance. In "Presos," the lyrics move from the diagnosis of social ills to prescriptions for their betterment, as the vocalist delivers the following lines at the end of the song:

> There isn't much option, only to resist, to organize
> The situation is bad, and will become much worse, to organize
> There are many in your situation, they are waiting for

Organization, equality, and mutual aid

There is nothing worse than to obey
We are fed up, just as you are

Organization, cooperation, mutual aid

At this point in the song, the tempo increases noticeably, but the instrumental parts also become more prominent, presenting more of a challenge to the voice as the musical texture becomes more frantic, denser and noisier, nearing its conclusion. This is especially evident through changes in the percussion line, as the vocalist enunciates, "organización, cooperación, apoyo mutuo" ("organization, cooperation, mutual aid). The drummer emphasizes this important vocal line by beating equally forcefully on all four beats in each measure with both kick drum and crash cymbal. Underscoring the vocalist's call to action, the enhanced drumming also challenges him to scream even more forcefully to match its volume and intensity. This is particularly true in the context of live performance, in which the sound is rarely as well balanced as it may be in the recording studio.[28]

The affective impact of the vocalist's rough screaming timbre is further enhanced by a somewhat rushed, anxious delivery, caused by the uneven meter and rhyme of the words he must pronounce. Seeming slightly breathless, as well as strained, his voice suggests an urgency that colors the rabia of his screamed tones. Additionally, the hoarseness of his voice implies that he is an embattled messenger, as we hear his body working to produce a sound that can vie with the power of the instrumental music. In fact, it is through the physical exertions of his extreme vocalization that he also performs the affective labor that ideally stimulates the circulation of intense energy and rage among the audience.

The Affective Labor of Punk Performance

In addition to the display of the hard-working body, another way in which a punk vocalist stimulates the circulation of valued affects is through the performance of song lyrics, which often refer to historical events or political issues.[29] Mexico City's punk fans overwhelmingly prefer Spanish-language bands, despite their friendships with punk scene participants in the United States, a preference that underscores the importance of lyric comprehension.[30] And yet, due to noisy vocal timbres, fast tempos, heavy instrumental distortion, challenging acoustic environments, and the technological difficulties that musicians and audiences often experience in live performance, lyric content is rarely intelligible at punk shows.

Musicians and fans alike laugh about the incomprehensibility of punk song lyrics in a live setting. While writing the lyrics to the songs that would form

Rhuckuss's first recording, el Salinas joked that it didn't matter what he wrote since no one would understand him, before shifting to a more serious tone, reflecting that he wanted to avoid what he considered to be overplayed tropes, such as invective against the police. Fanzines and the packaging of recordings may help fans to mitigate the difficulty of understanding performed song texts, as they provide opportunities to engage in inter-textual practices to learn lyrics. In fact, learning song texts forms part of the project of autogestión, as lyrics are recognized as sources of valued information and opinion from respected authors. Fans often have an impressive repertoire of song lyrics memorized, and may shout along with vocalists at shows.

Still, because clear diction is not expected at live gigs, the most valuable aspect of the performed song text remains the evidence of vocalists' exertion.[31] The significance of the words lies in their symbolic meaning, but more importantly, in their indexicality. Through the intensity of screaming and growling timbres, coupled with an undemonstrative but clearly difficult delivery, vocalists' performances index the energy and rage that punk fans valorize as part of their musical experience, creating an environment in which it becomes possible to "sacar la rabia." El Psychopata describes his band's performance as an attempt "not only to exhibit our ideals but also to spread our energy, moving emotions as an introduction to thoughts and feelings" (email communication, 14 October 2013, my translation).

Like Rhuckuss, el Psychopata's band, Kagada de Perro (Dog Shit), performs at shows in Mexico City's punk scene. Despite the fact that they may sometimes share the bill at gigs, the two bands are quite different in both their sound and their approach to stimulating an audience's affective response. Almost like an inverse of Rhuckuss, the sound of Kagada de Perro more closely approximates that of a hardcore punk band, but with the introduction of growling vocalizations that recall extreme metal sub-genres.

A four-piece band, Kagada de Perro is comprised of a drummer, a bass guitarist, and a lead guitarist, in addition to el Psychopata, who, unlike the vocalist of Rhuckuss, is not also an instrumentalist. He is free to move about, microphone in hand. The style of his performance is therefore a bit more playful. But while he paces with the microphone and may even dance a bit between his lines, he too becomes rooted to the spot while vocalizing, bending slightly at the waist and crouching into the mike, or else straightening up and throwing back his head as he propels the air from his lungs. In either case, he tends to cup his hands around the microphone, which he brings right up to his mouth, encouraging overdrive and visually drawing attention to the focus of his energy.

Performing in a style that involves the false cord vocalization of growling, which necessitates an enormous amount of support from the back and abdominal muscles to achieve, el Psychopata largely keeps his lines short and

his articulation rapid.[32] He also exploits vowel sounds embedded within the lines to draw out his vocalization, emphasizing the deep, rattling distortion of his growled timbre, sometimes uttering vocables that sound like pure growl. In fact, after a brief instrumental introduction to the song "Me Explota Mi Patrón" ("My Boss Exploits Me"), he first enters the texture of the performance not with words, but with an elongated growl that signals to the band to shift meters and up the tempo, from a 4/4 at around 140 beats per minute to a quick 2/4 that pushes towards 190 bpm. After the new meter and tempo have been established, the vocalist begins declaiming his lines, about forty-five seconds into the song:

> They violate my rights
> They think [only] to make money
> They deny me benefits and want to enslave me
> I don't want to enrich them
> They all try to exploit me
> They continue with low wages for the working day
> Your boss, my boss, your boss.
>
> Those slavedrivers would like
> for you to work day and night
> I only want to better myself and they want to exploit me
> I no longer want to support them
> to no longer be manipulable
> but I have to screw myself so as not to die of hunger
> Your boss, my boss, your boss.
>
> Death to the exploiter![33]

The elongation of vowel sounds is especially noticeable in certain key lines, such as the repeated "tu patrón, mi patrón, tu patrón" ("your boss, my boss, your boss"). Indicating the audience's implication in the exploitative system of labor to which the vocalist refers, he underscores it by syncopating the delivery of the line and emphasizing the vowel sounds that terminate the possessive adjectives "tu" and "mi." In the pared-down structure of the music, played squarely in duple time, the syncopation is jarring, inviting attention to the lingering growl on the words "your" and "my." Psycho's last contribution to the song is more of a punctuation to the lyrics than song text, as he exclaims, "Muerte al explotador!" ("Death to the exploiter!"), again drawing out the vowel sound in the ultimate "o" of "explotador" until it almost dissolves into a vocable.

After that final vocalization, the band once again slows down, adopting the 4/4 meter with which they began, repeating the music they played as an introduction. In addition to emphasizing the importance of the vocalist's contribution with this framing device, the band also prompts the crowd's affective reaction through what musicologist Glenn Pillsbury termed "cycles of energy" (2006:10). Instead of using key changes or dynamic shifts, Kagada de Perro uses abrupt

changes in tempo and meter to communicate differing degrees of intensity in their music. Here, the most exciting, attention-grabbing music happens in the middle, during the vocalist's performance. The vocalist himself also punctuates the key parts of the song through his use of vocables, roaring before the first verse, again before the second, and then to terminate his performance before the band concludes with a slower, calmer finish.

Confronting the Exertions of Life in "el DeFectuoso"

Mexico City residents have a variety of nicknames for their city that point to its often difficult quality of life, names like "Ciudad Monstruo" ("Monster City"), or "el DeFectuoso" ("The Defective"), a play on the abbreviation, "D.F.," which stands for the Distrito Federal. The name "el DeFectuoso" refers to the various ways in which the city can seem broken down, from its air pollution and overcrowding to the political corruption and crime that also shape life in the megalopolis. As I argue elsewhere, the practices through which punk scene participants in Mexico City express their rabia also condition them as tough subjects, enhancing the nerve they need to confront the various difficulties and forms of violence they encounter in their lives (Tatro 2013). This includes the structural violence of poverty and marginality, in addition to more explicit forms of violence, from the everyday violence of an under-resourced, overcrowded city to the highly publicized disappearances and deaths of Mexico's "drug war."

One effect of the structural violence of life in contemporary Mexico is that young people from the barrios have little expectation of encountering regular, remunerative, and meaningful employment.[34] My own friends in the punk scene were largely caught between the difficulties of finding traditional, formal work and the precariousness and low status of informal labor.[35] In the early part of my stay, for example, masses of street vendors were still acclimating to their relocation from the historic district as the city sought to "clean up" the area for downtown revitalization, in advance of highly anticipated Bicentennial celebrations in 2010.[36] That specific action to remove street vendors from the heart of Mexico City formed part of tense, on-going negotiations between the state and the burgeoning informal sector.[37]

Economist and urban planning scholar Carlos Bustamante Lemus writes about the ambivalence that the Mexican state has demonstrated towards informal work since the middle of the twentieth century, at times turning a blind eye to or actively encouraging its development, while at other times repressing informal workers, especially street vendors (Bustamante 2012). He details the complaints that city officials and some residents level at street vendors, citing concerns that include allegations of street vendors' poor hygiene, their avoidance

of taxation, and their competition with "legitimate" business. Notably, many also cite dissatisfaction with a negative image that they believe the city's vendor-filled streets convey, interfering with aspirations to promote the metropolis as one of the world's premier global capitals.[38]

In addition to struggles over the ubiquity of informal labor in Mexico City, conflict was also brewing throughout 2009 between the federal government and el Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas (SME), a national electricians' union. In 2010, when the government moved to take over the Compañía de Luz y Fuerza, the electric company that had long supplied most of Mexico City's power, SME organized a large and prolonged protest, eventually including a hunger strike staged in the Zócalo, the huge public plaza at the heart of the city. Punk scene participants joined with people in various resistance networks that supported SME, turning out for street protests and raising money for unemployed electricians. As the government tangles with both the informal sector and with the trades unions, participants in Mexico City's punk scene are among many Mexican workers who must not only strive to earn a living, but also to redefine their social position as waged labor becomes increasingly scarce.

As scholars have attempted to understand the pros and cons of these shifts from a Fordist model of industry to a post-Fordist informational economy in recent decades, the concept of affective labor has drawn a great deal of academic attention. While manufacturing and other blue-collar work declines and communications and service sectors grow, there is greater demand for "relational workers," workers whose labor consists not in the production of material goods, but in the "good feeling" of customer relations and other communications-based work (Muehlebach 2011:61). While some cautiously celebrate the shift towards an informational economy,[39] others emphasize its problems, such as the fact that currently, "caring work" is often low-waged or unwaged volunteer labor, relegated to the most marginalized workers. Additionally, with the emphasis increasingly on performing appropriate attitudes and affective states in various types of workplaces, some analysts also point out that, rather than an individual's specifically productive behavior, it is the total individual who now must be shaped by a post-industrial work ethic (Weeks 2011:71). Nevertheless, affective laborers may passionately defend their work, finding in it a path to the kind of social belonging that used to be guaranteed by full employment under the Fordist model.[40]

Affective labor is intensely moralized within Mexico City's punk scene, but there, it is scene participants themselves and not any direct state intervention that create the demand. Musicians and fans alike participate in the affective work to "sacar la rabia" in the context of a punk show, but vocalists play a special role in modeling that rage. They sing at the edge, from where they have been pushed by the exploitative forces of history and global capital, as they experience them in

contemporary Mexico, but their embattled voices inspire listeners to recognize their various limits and push back.

And push, they do. While some scholars caution that affects may be subtle, leaving hardly a trace, the affective exchange that occurs among members of Mexico City's punk scene is often intense, brusque, and even conflictive.[41] Punk scene participants are also known for engaging in abrupt or confrontational exchanges with people outside of the scene, from authority figures like police to the ticket personnel at musical events to people they see as *fresas*—a slang term for the privileged, the middle class, those who are unsympathetic to their ideas. In a setting like a punk show, which is about entertainment and pleasure, as well as about expressing intense feeling, punk scene participants enjoy a constant push and pull of strong affect as participants challenge one another, engaging in demonstrations of physical toughness or calling out others' behavior as unbefitting the true, conscientious punk. Sometimes, however, the feeling may run too high.

While anger and rage are highly valued affects among scene participants, there is not much consensus as to how to apply them once aroused. Groups of fans at shows erupt into brawls; sleepy hangouts become theaters for street fighting. Accordingly, vocalists who perform at shows in Mexico City's punk scene not only arouse the intense feeling of their audiences, but they also try to demonstrate its channeling in ways that they believe to be good and potentially useful. Through the bodywork of extreme vocalizations, they attempt to model an appropriate rage to their friends and listeners, encouraging them to work to better themselves through autogestión and to practice solidarity with one another, projecting their ire outwards, towards powerful, exploitative figures and institutions.[42] In local discourse about the function of music, musicians and fans talk about the ways in which a band's intense energy ideally prompts not only the catharsis of a punk show, but also its camaraderie. Referring to the slam dance, for example, fans variously call it a "dance of energy," a "dance of solidarity," and a "dance of friendship." The circulation of strong feeling is key to the enjoyment of any event in the punk scene, but in describing the best, most successful events, punk scene participants highlight the necessity of performing rabia to create a sense of community and solidarity among themselves.

By equating labor conditions with enslavement and imprisonment, and by doing so through the harsh timbres and bodily exertions of extreme vocal productions, the vocalists of Rhuckuss and Kagada de Perro valorize the hard physical work that has long been associated with traditional working-class labor, but they also indicate its potential as a conduit of affective power. Through their twinned physical and affective exertion, they perform the transfiguration of physical work through affective labor, harnessing the power of bodywork to the relational work that they perform at punk shows.

In the absence of secure, waged labor, punk shows create public opportunities for scene participants to engage in autogestión. Vocalists' performances in particular discourage punk scene participants from investing too much in the capitalist ideal of value through monetary exchange, instead encouraging a dynamic interpersonal exchange that aspires to create social wellbeing. By focusing on affective labor among themselves, punk scene participants also reach towards their goal of autonomy, experimenting with the sustainability of unwaged social and creative production among their social networks. Mexico City's punk scene thus indicates one route for the recalibration of affect and value as participants explore an alternative work ethic, one that still valorizes physical work while shifting its meaning, highlighting its role in circulating the affect that ideally creates solidarity and prompts imaginings of autonomy, rather than re-inscribing a sense of social belonging through the exchange of labor for a wage. In a difficult project that relies heavily on musical practices,[43] punk scene participants attempt not only to survive but also to thrive in the tough economic climate of modern Mexico City, imagining the best ways to invest the power of their bodies and minds in unwaged creative work that might stimulate as well as sustain them.

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Notes

1. Voice care professionals try to educate people about vocal health through public events such the World Voice Day Celebration. I attended a conference as part of that annual, international event in the North Carolina Museum of Natural Sciences in Raleigh, North Carolina, on April 24, 2012.

2. Members of Mexico City's punk bands usually refer to themselves, and are referred to by others, by their *apodos*, their scene-bestowed nicknames, rather than by their legal names. In this article, I will adhere to that practice as well. Additionally, I recognize that while some people proudly identify with the term "punk," others dislike being labeled by it, even if they do spend significant time participating in punk scene activities and events. As much as possible, I try to avoid labeling people as punks, emphasizing participation over a sense of identification by employing the phrase "punk scene participants."

3. The slam dance occurs when fans at punk shows begin to collide or slam into one another while moving to the music. The practice seems to have originated in the hardcore punk scene in

Orange County, California in the early 1980s but rapidly spread to other scenes around the world. It is not necessarily performed regularly in many punk scenes today but is still common at gigs in Mexico City.

4. The Distrito Federal is the home base of Mexico's federal government as well as the core of Mexico City, a sprawling metropolis comprised of several boroughs in the city as well as in the metropolitan zone, which stretches into the states of Mexico and Hidalgo. The combined population of residents in Mexico City, including the metropolitan zone, has been estimated to include well over 20,000,000 people, making it one of the most populous cities in the world.

5. It was rumored, for example, that a majority of participants in a prominent punk scene in the United States engaged in work refusal and that they also relied on the federal government's Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), or "food stamps." This type of social safety net, which would not be available to most people in Mexico City's punk scene, illustrates one of many contrasts in the conditions that shape different localities in a diverse global punk "scene."

6. O'Connor identifies those who created punk record labels during this time period as mainly "drop-outs from the middle class," people who employed their economic and cultural capital in other ways than the pursuit of a traditional middle-class lifestyle, in the chapter titled "Punk Record Labels and Social Class" (2008:47–66).

7. "Clon" is the preferred local term for pirated goods.

8. In an undated, self-published pamphlet titled "Autogestion [sic]: Un Proyecto de Practica Cotidiana," distributed by punk scene participants affiliated with an independent library of radical literature in Mexico City, the Biblioteca Social Reconstruir, autogestión is defined as follows: "We understand autogestión as all the options for social and community self-organization, in which the community itself . . . takes into its own hands the task of realizing its necessities." The authors go on to list the main principles of autogestión, including direct democracy, direct action, mutual aid, outreach, and training.

9. Though most must find some kind of employment beyond their activities in the punk scene, many participants do benefit economically from their participation in the informal exchange that permeates the scene, as they charge small fees for their products or trade goods and services among their friends.

10. Writing about the rise of state-sponsored volunteerism in Italy as part of its transformation to a post-Fordist economy, Andrea Muehlebach argues against those who see the adoption of neoliberal economic policies as a clean break with Fordism. She writes, "Fordism, in short, must be examined as both an era past and an era with an afterlife—as a ghostly presence, even as its absence is proclaimed" (2011:62).

11. For a concise history of the Mexican economy in recent decades, see Harvey 2005.

12. Autonomy is a key value for anarchists globally, referring to their desire for alternatives to representational political systems that grant unequal rights to citizens. Rather than petitioning and thus inherently validating the state for enhanced rights, anarchists attempt to create self-reliant, autonomous networks to assure their own needs, enacting a politics of autonomy instead of a politics of demand. For a discussion of autonomy, see Shantz 2011:30–40.

13. The full title of the video I refer to here is *The Art of Screaming: total training for vocalists on the edge*. Though the video offers good instruction on how to achieve breath support, the material is less useful for vocalists who would like to understand the mechanics of extreme vocalizations and how to achieve a healthier practice of them.

14. Despite promoting the idea that anyone can scream, some punk vocalists unwittingly demonstrated to me the range of skill and artfulness involved in producing screaming timbres in part through the practice of passing the microphone to audience members at shows. David Novak also recounts learning firsthand the difficulty of musical screaming when he forgot his gear before an improvised performance with Noise vocalist Hiroshige Junko, and so decided to try to scream with her. He writes, " . . . I tried my best to make some kind of noise: after all, I thought, how hard can it be to just scream? But I could hardly hear myself at all. My weak, undifferentiated sounds

underscored the intensity of [Junko's] volume; the pure harshness of her timbral focus; the mix of constancy and deliberation with the shocking sense of being overwhelmed and out of control." See Novak 2013:36.

15. Steve Waksman discusses hardcore punk as a kind of "purification" of punk aesthetics, in contrast to the virtuosity of hard rock and heavy metal (2009:264–268).

16. See Zolov 1999. In addition to the threat that rock music posed to the family values championed by church and state institutions, critics also rejected it as a new form of imperialism.

17. See Julia Palacios and Tere Estrada (2004:151) for a description of the hoyos fonquis.

18. In the 1980s, the Mexican government shifted its approach towards youth culture somewhat, attempting not solely to police it, but also to co-opt it. Castillo Berthier (2004) writes about this and rock music's subsequent re-appropriation by middle class youth over the course of the 1980s, a process that he believes was facilitated by the Tianguis Cultural del Chopo. The Chopo had its own problems dealing with the city government, however, as well as internal conflicts. For a history of the tianguis, see Ríos Manzano (1999). While rock music has garnered a broad popularity, punk has remained a more marginalized form of musical expression in Mexico City. This distinction between rock and punk takes on a visual, spatial manifestation at the Chopo market, where a space was created in the 1990s dedicated specifically to punk.

19. See Urteaga Castro-Pozo (1998:168–171).

20. This circulation along the border and then down to Mexico City paralleled an earlier movement of "British invasion" rock music between Mexico and the United States. Summarizing the shift in circulation patterns that occurred around 1964, Zolov writes, "If the British invaded North America via the Atlantic, in Mexico they came via the Rio Grande" (1999:93).

21. For an account of the ways that punk and metal musicians and fans influenced one another from the 1970s through the 1990s, see Waksman 2009.

22. While not operating under the extremely contingent circumstances that confronted rock musicians in 1970s Mexico City, punks still struggle to find locations for their performance and sociability. During my fieldwork period, punk scene participants made use of their broad social networks to secure occasional performances in various places, from the Auditorio Ché Guevara on the main campus of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, to a variety of bars and clubs, to a building in central Mexico City owned by Hare Krishnas. One venue that catered to punk fans operated almost continuously during my years in Mexico City, however: a club called el Clandestino, located in Ecatepec, where I also attended a number of events.

23. A few of Mexico's punk vocalists continue to favor the pressed timbres of hard rock, such as Mexico City's la Zappa Punk. Still performing, she is one of a number of vocalists who largely crafted their sound when they started out in the scene in the 1980s. During my fieldwork period, she was also the only female vocalist who regularly performed at gigs in Mexico City.

24. During our interview, Scearce also indicated that the production of distorted timbres makes it difficult to study them in the way voice experts study other types of vocal styles. The throat may be so constricted as to make the introduction of observational instruments impossible.

25. Cross did some listening with me during our telephone interview, during which she identified and defined these three different techniques. *The Zen of Screaming* contains comprehensive information on how to produce various types of extreme vocalizations in addition to its instruction on how to achieve breath support.

26. Cross explained that the damage that untrained vocalists may do to their voices may sometimes help them maintain their preferred sound. But all too often, it causes unreliable sound, which ultimately results in cancelled performances as well as disruption to their speaking voices.

27. It is important to note that despite their use of amplification, punk vocalists in Mexico and elsewhere largely spurn the distortion that might be achieved through other electronic mediation, such as routing their sound through effects pedals.

28. Rhuckuss made use of their connections with heavy metal musicians in order to create their recording in a studio devoted largely to metal, instead of collaborating exclusively within

their punk scene network. In addition to friendships with metal musicians, Rhuckuss is better hooked into the global punk scene, having several friendships with musicians in the United States and Europe. The richness of their network is distinctive compared to that of other musicians in the punk scene, and helps to account for the quantity and quality of Rhuckuss's recorded output, in terms not only of its audio but also its design elements. For more information on la Mazakuata Records, visit their website at http://lamazakuatarecords.com/.

29. Though for the purposes of my argument, I have chosen songs performed in the context of Mexico City's punk scene whose lyrics deal with labor, this topic is only one of a range that may be discussed in punk song texts. Other frequent topics for song lyrics are police repression, war, poverty, and imperialism, among a variety of social justice themes.

30. Alan O'Connor also notes the Spanish-language preference among Mexico City's punk scene (2002:231).

31. Even taking the extreme distortion of punk into account, the importance of the lyrics in performance may not be all that different for punk fans than for rock music fans, as Middleton writes: "Indeed, there is research to suggest that some listeners to rock pay little attention to verbal meaning. A more typical situation, perhaps, is where a vocal 'hook' works by bundling together the meaning, resonances and sound-shapes of the words together with the melodic, rhythmic, timbral and articulatory dimensions of their sung performance, encapsulating that particular semantic-affective field which will come to be associated with the song" (2000:29).

32. Cross explains that the difficulty of growling vocalizations often prevents vocalists from declaiming long phrases.

33. Recordings of "Me Explota Mi Patrón" may be found on YouTube, for example: *http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TQW2vgekbFg&feature=youtu.be* (accessed 4 August 2013). My thanks to el Psychopata for sending me the lyrics to the song, which I have translated.

34. In fact, various commentators have pointed out the links between poverty and narco-trafficking. See for example Gibler 2011.

35. News reports cite statistics on informal labor in Mexico, such as that 6 out of 10 Mexicans work in informal jobs. See for example González Amador 2012.

36. For an account of the entanglements of street vending with Mexico City's urban planning initiatives since the mid-twentieth century, see Davis 2009.

37. For an ethnographic account of the negotiations between one particular class of street vendors and the state, see John C. Cross 1998.

38. Bustamante claims that street vending makes Mexico City resemble vistas better associated with Africa and the Far East, contributing to the deterioration of its "urban image" (2012:91). See also Alarcón (2008:108–112).

39. See for example, Hardt 1999.

40. On voluntary affective labor in Italy, Andrea Muehlebach comments, "[State] interventions have created a regime in which unwaged labor is wedded to intense moralization, even sanctification. . . . Affective labor remedies not material poverty but collective relational crisis . . . It is the unwaged participation of citizens in affective voluntary action that is considered key to societal stability. And it is unwaged labor that has become an exemplary act of citizenship" (2011:59–82).

41. In their introduction to *The Affect Theory Reader*, Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg argue for the "incrementalism" of affect, writing, "Affect is in many ways synonymous with *force* or *forces of encounter*. The term 'force,' however, can be a bit of a misnomer since affect need not be especially forceful . . . In fact, it is quite likely that affect more often transpires within and across the subtlest of shuttling intensities: all the miniscule or molecular events of the unnoticed" (2010:2). Italics in original.

42. The role of band members, and especially vocalists, in securing a proper response from audiences can at times be explicit as well as implicit in the affective impact of their musical performances. On more than one occasion, I witnessed performers reprimanding audiences for overly restive behavior or advising them on how to behave with others. The most memorable occasion

on which I watched this type of interaction between performers and audiences happened during a performance by Apatía-No, a band visiting from Venezuela. For a description of that performance, see Tatro 2013:176.

43. Weeks notes that many social movements have achieved success in part by harnessing the power of the work ethic rather than working against it (2011:68). In addition to the difficulties of controlling the outcomes of intense affective exchange, participants in Mexico City's punk scene also must confront the difficulties of reconfiguring a work ethic that shows no sign of weakening in the post-Fordist context.

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