Street Rebels with a Cause:

Punks and Their Influence on Forms of Artistic Protest

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Abstract

The social movements and protest initiatives of the 1970s, especially the punk movement not only questioned and provoked aesthetic values but also has a major influence on the multitude styles of the street and urban art until the present. Since early punks gathered in the streets, squares or parks of London, and other cities in Europe or the U.S., they use their bodies as canvases to express creativity as well as a form of resistance and direct channel of communication. The aim of this article is to show that punks were participants in the rebel streets as individuals and collective counterparts of mainstream society not only because of their scepsis about the status quo of societal norms and aesthetical ideologies but also through maintaining influence on various forms of artistic protest in the urban space.

Keywords: body art/modification, punk, aesthetic protest, street art, zines

Introduction

One of the most rebellious social movements, which can be traced back to the early and mid-1970s in various urban spaces and still has an ongoing influence on different art styles, is the punk movement. This article will give insights into the beginning of the punk scene, the symbols and slogans punks used not only for tagging urban spaces, but also put temporarily or permanently on their skins and/or their clothes to confront mainstream society through their visual appearance. The participants within this countermovement were described in various media reports as depraved or vicious because of the societal negation of mainstream values that horrified most of the common people and the various radical forms of protest against the ideologies or aesthetics of previous subcultural movements (i.e the teddy boys, the mods, the zoot suiters or the hippies). (Baumann, 2007; Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Lentini, 2003; Reinecke, 2012; Roberts and Moore, 2009; Rubin et al., 1988; Wojcik, 1995).

The discussion of this essay concentrates on the amalgamation of the punk scene with art styles like music, fashion or literature. For example, the role of influential bands, boutique owners or zines for various ways of 10

resistance by so-called "second class citizens" against the values of the dominant society and their participation in political mobilization networks. This article also discusses how street artists such as Hugo Kaagman, Shepard Fairey, Banksy or Jilly Ballistic are influenced by the punk attitude and the DIY credo or how they use the characteristic aesthetics. One of the major initial points for the punk movement to fetch public awareness globally, was on November 6, 1975, when the British band *Sex Pistols* (fig. 1) played their first gig in the St. Martin's School of Art. Although this recital was broken off after a couple of songs due to the chaotic behavior of the musicians (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985).¹

^{1 -} In the same year and before the New York City music club CBGB was the hub for the punk movement in the U.S., where bands like the Dead Boys or the Ramones played their first shows (cf. Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Roberts and Moore, 2009). The so-called proto-punk bands MC5, Iggy & The Stooges or the New York Dolls started some years before in the U.S. and moved to London in 1972; together with Andy Warhol and the Situationist Art Network they had a major influence on the punk movement in Europe (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Lentini, 2003; Wojcik, 1995).



Fig. 1 - The original line-up of the *Sex Pistols*. Left to right: Johnny Rotten, Steve Jones, Glen Matlock and Paul Cook (https://findery.com/heather/notes/november-6-1975-sex-pistols-play-their-first-gig - accessed on August 18, 2020).

The last mentioned venue illustrates the connection between art and punk. It also exposes a concert poster that mentions the *Sex Pistols* as a support band (fig. 2), reveals the early punk aesthetics and could be seen all around London's public places—especially the boutique *SEX* (fig. 3) of the fashion designer Vivienne Westwood and the visual artist and manager of the Sex Pistols Malcolm McLaren.² Furthermore, *London SS*, *The Clash*, *The Damned* or *The Slits* were influential British punk bands from the early years (Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Wojcik, 1995).



Fig. 2 - The concert poster for *Bazooka Joe & his Rhythm Hot Shots* in St. Martin's Art School (1975), which mentions the *Sex Pistols* as a support band (https://gramho.com/explore-hashtag/theonlyfleamarketthatmatters - accessed on June 20, 2020).

The boutique at 430 King's Road was first opened in the back room of a store called Mr Freedom under the name Let It Rock in 1971, where teddy boy clothes designed by Westwood were sold. After a gradual shift-to customized biker jackets with studs and chains or black sleeveless T-shirts decorated with motorcycle slogans-the shop was renamed Too Fast to Live Too Young To Die two years later and still kept the chief aim to provoke mainstream society with oppressive designs. In 1974, McLaren reopened the shop as a fetish and bondage outlet. Not only its interior changed obviously and was partly covered with graffiti from the SCUM (= Society for Cutting Up Men) manifesto but also the name was altered to SEX and soon became a famous meeting place for many participants in the movement (Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008). Although McLaren stated that the punk clothing was created by Westwood and for him "it wasn't fashion as a commodity. This was fashion as an idea" (cited in Blake et al., 2006: 87). This boutique, which was renamed Seditionaries: Clothes For Heroes in 1976 and is since the late 1980s called World's End, was at the same time the starting point for the commercialization of punkish fashion (for example, clothes resp. body art).3

The accountant of another famous clothing store and popular gathering point for punks-called Acme Attractions at King's Road 135-was Andy Czezowski, who managed The Damned and launched one of the first punk venues at 201 Wardour Street in London's Soho, the Roxy. Its holders, John Krevine and Steph Raynor, opened the first highstreet punk shop, BOY, in 1976 and were also the managers of the punk band Chealsea. Many early punk bands like the Buzzcocks, The Clash or The Unwanted had a few gigs there before the Roxy was closed after 100 days on April 23, 1977. In the same year, The Votrex and the Marquee were other important locations in London where punks came together and influenced each other in various artistic and aesthetic ways. In front of the last mentioned venues and stores, it frequently happened that participants in the movement drew the public attention on themselves because of their obscene behavior and provocative appearance (Blake et al., 2006; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008).

^{2 -} McLaren described the origin of the name for the Sex Pistols as follows: "Taking their name partly from the shop, SEX, I then added the word Pistols" (cited in Blake et al., 2006: p. 280).

^{3 -} As Wojcik notes that once "the industry of haute couture commodified punk adornment for elite and mass consumption, the outward forms of punk aesthetic lost much of their potential to disturb and infuriate" (1995: 20).

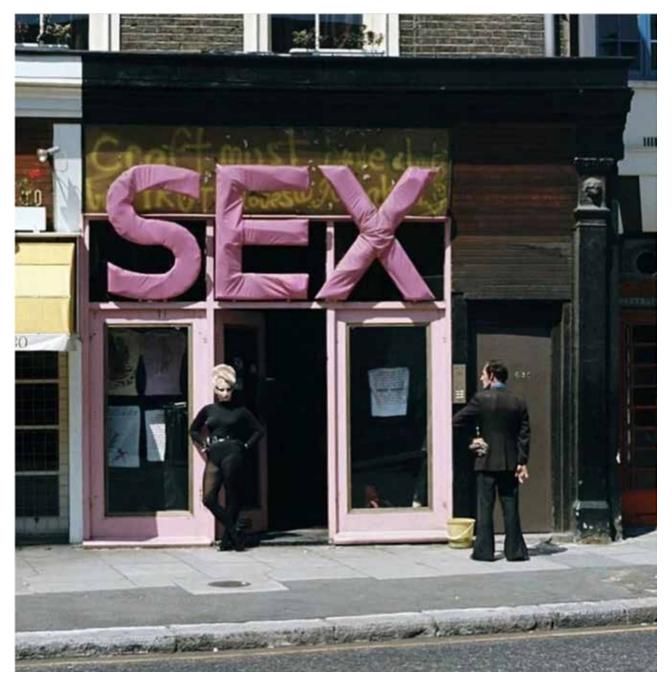


Fig. 3 - The boutique SEX at 430 King's Road, London. On the lintel behind the pink rubber letters was sprayed with Thomas Fuller's dictum: "Craft must have clothes but truth loves to go naked" (https://www.reddit.com/r/london/comments/de1x29/sex_kings_road_1976_vivienne_westwood_malcolm/ - accessed on November 9, 2020).



Fig. 4 - A punk sprayed the band name Sex Pistols with a stencil on his jacket (https://mopop.de/storys/rohe-punkrock-energie-zum-lesen-das-buch-hamburg-calling-von-alf-burchardt-und-bernd-jonkmanns-handelt-von-der-wilden-zeit-2531/-accessed on November 9, 2020).

The punk subculture of the 1970s was characterized by anti-commercialism as well as anti-capitalism and the participants within the movement created not only antifashion aesthetics but also an own way to show their individuality and rejection of common fashion ideas and the art industry itself.⁴ The characteristic adornment frequently violated political, religious and sexual taboos. As Wojcik points out that not only swastikas and inverted crosses or crossed-out crucifixes were common symbols to horrify rather than to indicate an actual interest but also "deviant connotations were especially evoked by punk use of the entire repertoire of bondage wear and sexual fetishism. [...] This flaunting of a sex shop and sadomasochistic accessories served primarily to shock, threaten, or expose culturally constructed ideas about 'deviancy' rather than to entice" (1995: 19). Although their critique of moral and aesthetic norms has often been reduced as naive or even "primitive," it constituted a critique resp. a refusal of the status quo. Because the concept of art is mainly associated with the traditional relation between patrons and artists, masters and pupils, punks not only threatened cultural boundaries, but also national morals, dominant ideologies. As a consequence, they challenged elitist concepts of what art should be and who could be entitled to create it (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985; Moore, 2010; Reinecke, 2012; Wojcik, 1995; Wroblewski and Ostermann, 1988).

At the beginning of the punk movement, the participants communicated primarily in face-to-face interactions and informal contexts. They cut and styled their own hair and, for example, put band names/logos or song lyrics, provocative iconography or safety pins on their garments (fig. 4) as well as on/in their skin in form of body art/modification (like tattoos or piercings, which was characteristical for the DIY (do-it-yourself) credo.⁵ Punks borrowed traditional 5 - Wojcik points out that "many punks tattooed themselves or

⁴⁻Wojcik describes anti-fashion as follows: "A hodgepodge of materials–plastic, plaid, tartan, lurex, nylon mesh, mock zebra, tiger, leopard skin, and even trash bags–was adopted, modified, and paraded on the streets. [...] Any style abandoned by the fashion industry as gaudy, cheap, or passé was embraced and exhibited" (1995: 15).

European and American tattoo motifs but they created also their own unique designs that expressed the characteristic aesthetics. Their tattooing style included not only political symbols (for instance the word anarchy resp. the letter A within a circle, hammer and sickle) but also bats, spiders or spider webs. As Roberts and Moore note, the "DIY ethic states that punks should not be content with being consumers and spectators but instead should become active participants in creating culture by starting their own fan magazines (commonly known as 'zines'), creating their own record labels, starting their own bands, and creating a network of venues for live performance" (2009: 22). The punk style and its attitude flooded throughout the countries because it gave expression to many of the frustrations and concerns of urban youth, for instance the high unemployment rate and a pervasive disposition of desperation and meaninglessness. The punk slogan No future, which expresses the sense of hopelessness for the early punk ethos, comes from the Sex Pistols' song God Save the Queen (1977) and became a global anthem within the scene (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Hahn et al., 1983; Lentini, 2003; Schadner, 2010; Wojcik, 1995).

All over the U.S. and in European urban places various concert posters, tags and graffiti could be seen as well as participants in the movement. Wroblewski and Ostermann have shown that the Sic Boys Federation used new forms of the visual arts, for example, performances, and gathered together "at special places -like parks, beaches, cemeteries or garbage dumping grounds—to hold excessive happenings stimulated by drugs and alcohol, events frequently stopped by the police" (1988: n.p.). Brake points out that the punk aesthetics were and still are a form of "what Walter Benjamin called 'shock effect'" (1985: 79) to protest against mainstream society and threaten the social order through provocative slogans (like No Future, No gods or No masters) and nihilistic symbols (for instance pentagrams or skulls) of deviance. Although punk ethos has been characterized as anarchistic and nihilistic, the emphasis on doom and destruction reveals the apocalyptic themes within the movement, which are manifested in band names and lyrics. Since the ethos of destruction and apocalyptic themes were combined with the DIY credo, it started the engine of

were tattooed by friends, the result being somewhat crude designs that reflected the punk do-it-yourself ethos and its emphasis on an amateur, unpolished aesthetic" (1995: 17-8).

creativity, boosting the evolvement of new styles of music, writing, and art as general with endless possibilities. The apocalyptic legacy of punk can be traced back to artists, such as Patti Smith or *Iggy Pop* The latter screams in the song *Search and Destroy* (1973): "I'm the runaway son of the nuclear A-bomb –I am the world's forgotten boy –The one who searches and destroys ..." (Brake, 1985; Colegrave and Sullivan, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Schadner, 2010; Wojcik, 1995).



Fig. 5 - The cover of the zine *Search and Destroy* (No. 2) with articles concerning Patti Smith, *Iggy Pop* or *The Clash* (https://www.researchpubs.com/shop/search-destroy-2/ - accessed on June 22, 2020).

Since the mid-1970s zines are an important way to distribute the punk attitude and also a major source for the participants, which include music reviews, interviews, scene reports, and various forms of visual art (flyers or posters for concerts, album covers, etc.). Important examples are *Search and Destroy* (fig. 5) which was edited by Vale Hamanaka aka. V. Vale in 1977 and 1978, *Fallout* or *Sniffin' Glue*.

In 1988, V. Vale published together with Andrea Juno Modern Primitives: Tattoo, Piercing, Scarification. An Investigation of Contemporary Adornment & Ritual, wherein punks found new inspiration for various forms of body art/modification-like the early tattoos from Leo Zulueta, which were inspired by indigenous traditions-as provocative forms for their cultural and aesthetic protest.7 Another well-known zine was *Punk* (fig. 6), which was published between 1976 and 1979 by John Holmstrom, a graduate of the New York School of Visual Arts, the filmmaker Eddie aka. Legs McNeil, and Ged Dunn. As appears from the Figure 6 the author, singer-songwriter and poet Patti Smith, was an influential participant in the punk scene. Already during the early years of the movement, she performed in the New York City music club *CBGB* that

7 - Wojcik notes that, for example, tribal designs "appealed to some punks who valued the bold features, unique patterns, and exotic connotations of ancient tattoo imagery from Borneo, Polynesia, and Micronesia" (1995: 18).



Fig. 6 - The cover of the zine *Punk* (No. 2) which shows Patti Smith (https://www.jp-antiquarian-books.com/john-hol-mstrom-ed-punk-magazine.html - accessed on June 22, 2020).

was launched on December 10, 1973 by Hilly Kristal in Manhattan's East Village and soon opened the stage for bands like Television or Blondie. One storefront next to this club became the CBGB Record Canteen, a record store and café, which was converted in the late 1980s into an art gallery and second performance space, the CB's 313 Gallery (Blake et al., 2006; Brake, 1985; Knight, 2014; Lentini, 2003).8 Eichhorn points out that "at least in New York the punk scene was, from the outset, deeply entangled with the city's downtown art scene. Punk's visible presence there in the 1970s and early 1980s-the walls of posters and flyers for upcoming shows and events of all kinds that appeared as a result-was a sign of life, of a constantly shifting life force in New York's downtown landscape" (2016: 92). During the beginning and mid-1980s a politicized punk scene formed in San Diego (California, U.S.), where a collective of anarchist punks, students, and activists started to publish the zine

8 - https://www.cbgb.com/about, accessed on May 10, 2020

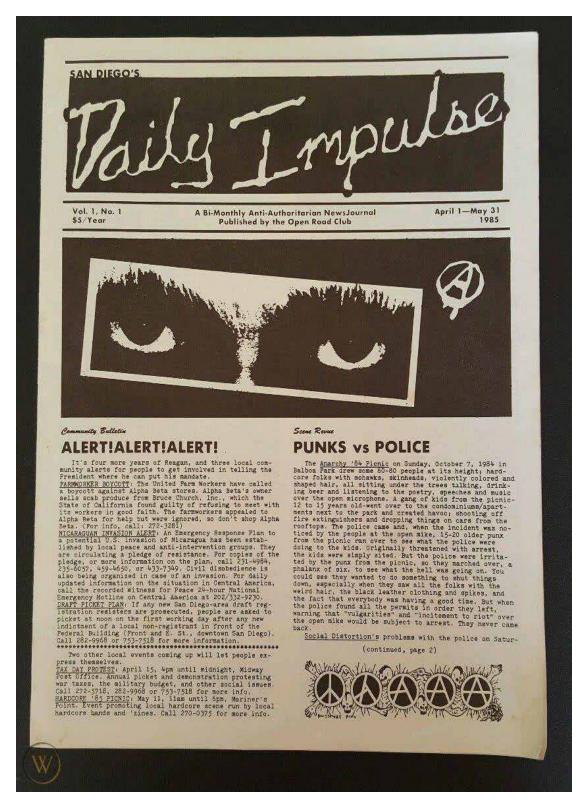


Fig.7 - The cover of the punk zine *San Diego's Daily Impulse*, No. 1 (https://www.worthpoint.com/worthope-dia/vintage-original-punk-zine-daily-1783028535 - accessed on June 24, 2020).

San Diego's Daily Impulse (fig. 7). They combined reviews of the latest punk concerts to reprints of essays written by the American anarchist Emma Goldman. This zine included not only a Community Bulletin, which announced upcoming demonstrations and boycotts, and provided contact information for activist groups, bands, and bookstores. It also featured a regular column called Dealing with Family Life written by social workers who advised young people about how to cope with various forms of abuse in their families (Moore, 2010; Roberts and Moore, 2009).

Moore outlines that "the political activism surrounding punk and hardcore shares many similarities with what have been called 'new social movements' mobilized around identity and lifestyle. These examples demonstrate that punk's mode of resistance have not been limited to cultural provocation, however, for punks have also periodically engaged in what social movement scholars call resource mobilization, which involves the strategic organization of dissent and political action" (2010: 70).9 During the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s public postering-with its strong links to art, activism, and the punk movement-was targeted as one of the things (such as other forms of street art) to be limited and finally eliminated by officials all over the world (Blanché, 2016; Eichhorn, 2016; Reinecke, 2012). The great impact of the punk movement and its DIY credo on early graffiti artists already started in the late 1970s, which can be recognized by the cut-out and photocopied letter collages from newspapers. A defining example is the artwork of the LP Stations of the Crass (1978) by the British punk band Crass, whereby its cover (fig. 8) shows illegal stencil graffiti "in the London Underground, which are regarded as an influential predecessor of Street Art stencils" (Blanché, 2016: 102). The graffiti art scene in Amsterdam started approximately one year earlier and was initiated primarily by Hugo Kaagman. Inspired by the British punk attitude and the DIY credo, he began spraying graffiti in order to display his own ideas and belonging to this subculture. Kaagman lived in a squat at the Sarphatistraat 62 during the Dutch commercial crisis and is seen as one of the pioneers of stencil graffiti (his murals are created with the aid of selfmade stencils) and precursor of the street art scene in

Europe. In this building various galleries were settled along its occupation and everyone with artistic aspirations could find a place to create and show their work. People were welcome to write or spray all sorts of provocative slogans on the walls. One gallery was named ANUS (fig. 9), which became the operating base for both graffiti artists and/or graffiti Vandals.

In contrast to other countries and due to Kaagman, graffiti and punk are closely associated in the Netherlands as well as street arts became an essential part of the punk movement in Amsterdam. Kaagman organized the Grand Prix du Graffiti in 1978, when Ivar Vičs aka. Dr. Rat won the first prize. Ssoon afterwards, this event became hugely popular. One year before Kaagman already started to print and publish the well-known zine KoeCrandt (e.g., Koekrand, Koekrant, KoeCrand) (fig. 10) when he and the second publisher, ex Rietveld Academy student Diana Ozon, operated under the monikers Amarillo and Gretchen Gestapo. Later Ludwig Wisch, Kristian Kanstadt and Dr. Rat joined the zine. It featured collages, poems by Gretchen Gestapo, comics by Amarillo, drawings by Dr. Rat, reviews of concerts, and disturbances caused by participants in the scene. As demonstrated (Blanché, 2016; Müller, 2017; Reinecke, 2012) one similarity between punks and street artists is their usage of zines, which were exchanged by participants or dispatched for small amounts. Early examples in the street art scene are Copy Spam or Dirty Soup (Skov, 2018).10

One of the popular street artists, who has his roots in the punk movement, is Shepard Fairey. As a teenager, he already listened to bands such as the Sex Pistols or The Clash and because it was difficult for him to purchase punk merchandise, he began in 1984 to create t-shirts and stickers by using stencil spraying and afterwards silk screen-printing. In 1988, Fairey started to study at the Rhode Island School of Design in Rhode Island. One year later, his street art campaign Obey Giant was initiated with the motif Andre the Giant has a posse, which was a parody of propaganda and as Fairey stated "the concept behind 'Obey' is to provoke people who typically complain about life's circumstances but follow the path of least resistance, to have to confront their own obedience. "Obey" is very

^{9 -} Roberts and Moore have shown that punk "can be considered both as a social movement in its own right, and as a movement that made links to other social movements, rather than merely an instrument used by an external movement like White Power" (2009: 24).

^{10 -} https://www.ox-fanzine.de/interview/punk-im-graffiti-1289, accessed on July 10, 2020

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Fig. 8 - The LP cover of *Stations of the Crass* by the British punk band *Crass* (1979) shows tags and stencil graffiti (https://crass.bandcamp.com/album/stations-of-thecrass - accessed on June 23, 2020).



Fig. 9 - The graffiti gallery *ANUS* was in a punk squat in Amsterdam, 1979 (http://www.kaagman.nl/index%20f. htm - accessed on October 26, 2020).



Fig. 10 - Various covers of the zine *KoeCrandt*, which featured comics by Hugo Kaagman (aka. *Amarillo*) poems by Diana Ozon (aka. *Gretchen Gestapo*), reviews of concerts or street art scene reports.https://www.lotsearch.de/images/auktion/zwiggelaarauctions.nl/20190530_144814/024488.jpg - accessed on October 24, 2020. Public domain.

sarcastic, a form of reverse psychology" (cited in Reinecke, 2012: 55). Between 1989 and 1996, Fairey produced over a million stickers in the DIY manner and the ones he did not use, were sent to skateboard magazines and punk zines which ordered them at cost price. Nowadays, various forms of Fairey's iconographic motif of *Andre the Giant* (stage name of the professional wrestler André René Roussimoff) can be seen all around the world not only in form of stickers, posters, and stencil graffiti in public locations, but also imprinted on skateboards, t-shirts or other products (Blanché, 2016; Müller, 2017; Reinecke, 2012).

The punk iconography and a critique-on the commercialization and the development of this movement is also a part of various works of the street and urban artist *Banksy*, which can be recognized by the large-scale stencil graffito *IKEA Punk* in the South London area Croydon. Blanché points out that the do-it-yourself attitude is in this case limited to the "use of self-assembly instructions –in

the same way that DIY is also typical for IKEA. Instead of spraying left-punk slogans like "Smash the system" on the street, this pseudo-punk buys a kit at IKEA" (2016: 102).

Jilly Ballistic is another street artist who gets inspired by the punk aesthetics (fig. 12) and anti-capitalism (fig. 13). She describes herself as New York City's most well-known unknown street and subway artist. Ballistic is also famous for terrorizing Hollywood's movie posters with charming wit and adding her infinite knowledge as Policy Advisories to the cannon of idioms, as well as celebrating the 100th Anniversary of Chemical Warfare and War Culture by pasting historical images to site specific locations. In the issue 17 of the journal 1985, she was interviewed by the director Nadia Szold, where she said that doing street art was extremely addictive. She also said that she just loved the process and that there was just so much reward; the reward of finding the right spot, the right materials, doing it at the right time. Ballistic points out that if you are a fan



Fig. 13 - Ballistic captions this piece as follows: "The many cases against McDonalds (at Greenpoint Ave. Queens bound G. https://jillyballistic.tumblr.com/page/3 - accessed on June 28, 2020. Public domain.

of street art, which is also part of the thrill, you go hunting for it. But you have to look for it, that is part of the reward to come across stuff that somebody, for some reason, did.¹¹

Conclusion

This article discussed that early participants in the punk movement were street rebels with a cause and used various forms of artistic expressions, such as music (provocative band names and song titles/lyrics) or body art/modification (clothes, tattoos with nihilistic and anarchistic symbols/ slogans, etc.) as a way to protest against mainstream values, commercialism, and capitalism. Using the example of visual arts (illustrated by, e.g., posters or zine and album covers), it was shown that street-and urban-artists like Hugo Kaagman, Shepard Fairey, Banksy, and Jilly Ballistic were and are still influenced by the punk attitude -the characteristic aesthetic and the DIY credo.

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^{11 -} http://www.1985artists.com/artist/jilly-ballistic, accessed on June 30, 2020; http://www.streetmuseumofart.org/jilly-ballistic, accessed on June 30, 2020

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