The impact and influence of the Ramones have, over time, come to inspire various researchers. However, most of these studies focus on the Anglo-Saxon outlook about the band and about punk. We believe, therefore, that it is important to understand the cultural and economic impact of the Ramones globally, in order to show the influence of Anglo-Saxon culture in other countries, starting from music. So in this chapter, we aim to understand the representations of the Ramones in Portugal; assessing the legacy of the band in the Portuguese society and the punk scene, particularly in terms of its influence in the formation of bands; define the role of Ramones in the dissemination of ethics Do It Yourself (DIY) in the punk community in Portugal; and explore the importance of Ramones in the construction of what is mainstream and underground music.

In 1974 they were already playing at CBGB (Country Bluegrass and Blues) about Manhattan songs like Judy Is a Punk. And it was through these first concerts the band a musical and visual attitude that would become known as punk rock (Mcneil & Mccain, 2006). Originally, the band had Joey Ramone on drums, Dee Dee Ramone on bass, Johnny Ramone on guitar and Tommy Ramone as manager. They quickly took the formation that we remember today, with Joey in voice and Tommy on drums. They have been together 21 years, until August 6, 1995, when they gave their last concert, 2263° of their career. Later, they came to occasionally meet for some benefit concerts, but never resumed tours.
Let’s take the Ramones! Preliminary data about the impact and influence of the Ramones in Portugal

Figure 1: Poster of the Ramones’ first concert in Portugal, 1980

They won their first fans in concerts at CBGB, having managed to sign by Sire Records and record their first album, *Ramones*, in 1976. For some, this is considered the album that opens up punk rock, influencing the emergence of the punk movement in England with bands like Sex Pistols, the Clash and the Damned. Only in 1990 the Ramones were to abandon Sire Records, signing the Radiactive Records, where they recorded their last album,
On the road to the American Underground


For some, the Ramones are also considered pioneers of Do It Yourself (DIY). After all, when they started, they could barely play but still managed to record an album, which would surely have encouraged many young people to start a musical career. Incidentally, in the book *Punk. Hors limits* (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002), Joe Strummer, lead singer of The Clash, reveals that Sid Vicious (Sex Pistols) and Paul Simonon (The Clash) learned to play with the first album of Ramones.

The data presented here is based on the analysis of 100 semi-directive interviews with key players of the Portuguese punk scene. Of the total interviews, we consider only 38 individuals throughout the interview spoken about the Ramones. It should be noted that this sample consists of respondents from different social classes, geographical origins, professions, ages and gender, and that includes many polysemous speeches of various players, selected based on their involvement in punk over time or in their presence during the appearance of it. As it is classic in punk analyses, most of the individuals surveyed are male (about 85%), aged 19 to 56 years, covering various stages of punk in Portugal and ensuring the representativeness of transitions experienced in this regard. Half the people living in Lisbon, and the remaining

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1 This study was made possible with funding by FEDER through the COMPETE Operational Program from the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), led by the Institute of Sociology of the University of Porto (IS-UP), and developed in partnership with the Griffith Center for Cultural Research (GCCR) and Lleida University (UdL). The following institutions also participated: Faculty of Economics of the University of Porto (FEP), Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Porto (FPCEUP), Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (FEUC), Center for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra (CES), and the Lisbon Municipal Libraries (BLX). In addition to the author of this article, belong to the project team: Ana Raposo, Andy Bennett, Augusto Santos Silva, Carles Feixa, Hugo Ferro, João Queirós, Luís Fernandes, Manuel Loff, Paula Abreu, Paula Guerra (coord.), Pedro Quintela, Rui Telmo Gomes and Tânia Moreira. For more information, see: www.punk.pt/en/
divided unevenly between Porto, other regions of Portugal, and foreign countries. This mirrors the centralization trends that are apparent in the socio-economic constitution of the country, with a surrounding capital centralism as well as a spread of punk throughout the country, with over 20% of individuals living in areas such as Coimbra, Viana do Castelo, or Setúbal, small nuclei formation punk. Their academic background is diverse, with a notable percentage of subjects with at least secondary education, and almost 40% have at least one degree. In socio-professional terms, the majority holds semi-qualified or qualified salaried positions.

Table 1: Sociographic characterization of respondents’ data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15,79</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>84,21</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Age</th>
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<tr>
<td>17-22</td>
<td>10,53</td>
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<tr>
<td>23-28</td>
<td>5,26</td>
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<td>29-34</td>
<td>13,16</td>
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<tr>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>23,68</td>
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<td>41-46</td>
<td>21,05</td>
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<tr>
<td>47-52</td>
<td>23,68</td>
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<tr>
<td>53-58</td>
<td>2,63</td>
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<th>Academic Degree</th>
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<tr>
<td>3rd cycle of basic education</td>
<td>15,8</td>
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<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>31,6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incomplete Bachelor</td>
<td>13,2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>28,9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Master's Degree or Higher</td>
<td>10,5</td>
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<th>Residence</th>
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<tr>
<td>Big Lisbon</td>
<td>50,00</td>
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<td>Big Porto</td>
<td>18,42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other localization in Portugal</td>
<td>21,05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other localizations outside Portugal</td>
<td>10,53</td>
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In the Portuguese context, it is clear that the Ramones decisively marked punk reality, both in the impact it had on own understanding of social actors about what is punk, as in its decisive and lasting influence on their paths within this subculture. This influence can be noticed in their reading as "Punk creators" often placed side by side with Sex Pistols, in this aspect related to the foundation of this movement. Similarly, they are identified as one of the bands that in many cases served as a gateway for individuals to punk scene. Indeed, for many of these actors, the contact with the records and the band concerts served as a time not only of Punk exploitation but also of creating its privileged relationship with the music².

Ramones is one thing, is the basis of bases, they’re the parents of punk to me. And I don’t even care for American punk, the one I care for most is the British. But Ramones and Dead Kennedys are, for me, really unavoidable references. Alice, 33 years old, Degree, Tax Inspector, Coimbra.

My first identification with punk and my first passion came up with the Ramones concert here in Portugal in Cascais in 1980, it was from then on. Daniel, 43 years old, High School, inventory control, Lisbon.

They are a band that should be mentioned more than [Sexi] Pistols .... ... and few argue ... unlike ... but the Ramones the is that they are, more or less, the precursors [punk]. Valentino, 45 years old, 3rd cycle of basic education, translator, Brighton (England).

An equally deserving of attention factor is the way in which individuals had contact with the music of the Ramones. While we can identify in our sample a much more immediate contact, without doubt tributar by the presence of individuals in more recent times of punk in Portugal, is it also obvious that this band was subject to a cult figuration. It was common for those who had

² Throughout the chapter we shall use excerpts from the interviews as a means to illustrate certain points. All interviewees are designated under fictitious names, and the interview excerpts used here conform to the requirements of the Deontological Code of the Portuguese Sociology Association.
the opportunity to leave the country (the respondents themselves or their family members), bring the band records that passed from hand to hand, circulating as a metonym for the punk. Therefore, in Portugal, its metamorphosis into cult band accompanied the processes around the world, being transformed into a punk epithet, enjoyment and energy.

A colleague of mine had a cousin who brought the first two albums of the Ramones from the US. A guy begins to hear that, and by then I was rummaging António Sérgio's radio program. You start to figure things out, you begin to discover music. Telmo, 50 years old, High School, account manager in a bank, Porto.

The Ramones were fabulous, in two minutes it was always rising in greatness, it was total madness, the amount of energy that it transmitted! Humberto, 35 years old, Degree, Owner bike shop, Loures.

However and for analytical purposes, it will be interesting to distinguish two discursive aspects about the Ramones. On one hand, the perspectives of respondents on the Ramones as a band, that is, its connection with industry, the aesthetics that transmitted, and the punk message broadcasted as heralds of the young genre. On the other hand, the prospects that show a greater relevance of the band to the respondents, either in the constitution and affirmation of their punk ethics, both in its artistic / musical career in this genre, but also regarding their identification with the band.

Historically, and alongside many of the bands that gave the initial motto to punk internationally shortly after its formation, the Ramones signed a contract with a major label - that is, in the traditional punk vision, they 'were sold'. Associated with this process comes the issue of marketing that, in this particular case of the Ramones, who had a very particular aesthetic, led to commercialization of its aesthetics. Namely, the aspect of the band members was copied by the mainstream, they began to sell T-
shirts with their logos, and the commodifying or commercialize the symbolic artefacts associated with the band. All these issues are marked by some respondents, as is the case with "Nuno" (20 years, incomplete bachelor, warehouse helper in Porto), which gives us a detailed description of these processes that point very tenuous boundaries between underground and mainstream:

"I think today, a fashion of leather jackets with peaks, with patches ready, that look more punk that was once that was totally repressed by society is emerging, and I think it's a bit hypocrite of society to be going down a path that was considered completely heinous before and talking a little about the best known bands like Sex Pistols or Ramones or Exploited, all that, I think punk itself lost a lot of that underground image, of the DIY because all bands end up resorting to highly successful companies, resorting to the major publishers, the much larger merchandise distribution companies, rather than them doing things for themselves."

However, this issue of commercialization and the debate about a possible loss of authenticity of bands like the Ramones are put in different perspectives by our respondents. Thus, if for any, as is the case with Nuno, the marketing of Ramones is understood as a ‘betrayal’ of ethos DIY (Do-it-Yourself) and punk philosophy, in others’ view what happened was a process of natural evolution, which resulted in a normal and common need of musicians: in order to live music, they needed to join in the majors, and in the process, they became a profitable brand. However, it is curious that these disparate perspectives are easily reconcilable. Thus, the vision of the Ramones as punk "traitors" isn’t properly sealed on the band’s active role in this process, focusing rather on the role of editorial and phonographic market and its use of bands like these to maximize their profits. In this sense, the Ramones are taken almostly as targets of manipulation by the publishers, and their path towards marketing is seen as a natural and almost inevitable consequence:
Let's take the Ramones! Preliminary data about the impact and influence of the Ramones in Portugal

Figure 2: Review of the Ramones’ concert at Portugal

On the road to the American Underground

Figure 3: Interview to Johnny, member of the band Ramones

Tomem Ramones Em Vez de Valium 5!

Posso dizer que este é o nome mais fácil que alguma vez aparentou. A música é típica da banda, com o uso de violões e barritas. Os Ramones são conhecidos pelo seu som único, jeitoso e irônico. Ainda assim, o diferença que se destaca no palco é a energia que transmite.

M&S — Onde está o lugar do Ramones?
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The commercialization and trivialization of punk did not set out from these bands, but it was rather when publishers began to see the market grow. Angela, 47 years old, High School, grocery Chief, Bremen (Germany).

No one will call the Ramones sold for signing with a major publisher, at the time. Because it was a publisher, and they were musicians... John, 27 years old, 3rd cycle of basic education, music Publisher, Porto.

However, their connection with the marketing and a certain institutionalization of punk is not consensual or deterministic: we can find an enduring vision and resilience from the band, transmitted by respondents in their reports about Ramones’ musical route - noting how the “essence” of the band remained intact throughout its route. One respondent even welcomed the connection of the band with the industry, seeing it as the way of getting more people to contact with Ramones’ music:

In fact, if it wasn’t for the industry to pick up punk back then, we would never know now what punk had been. Gerard, 47 years old, Masters Degree, Technical Assistant, Lisbon.

The Ramones played for 20 or 30 years and, with more or less ownership industry, with more or less trivialization, they always managed to capture that energy and that spirit... Norberto, 45 years old, Degree, conservation and restoration, Porto.

As for aesthetics and marketing, the voices are very close. They all show the process that the Ramones were subjected to (note, again that in this process it’s considered that the band had a passive, not active, attitude) to have been a little crossed around the musical field and in particularly in punk. Again compared to bands like Sex Pistols or the Rolling Stones, the Ramones are seen as a band, as "Anselmo" defends (20 years old, University attendance, musician / computer engineering student, Lisbon.) To "become more commercial, more salable", and in the process, they also lost a lot of their subcultural charge. That is, the process
On the road to the American Underground

of systemic appropriation of Ramones made them a sign capitalisms itself, heavily used by the music industry, to the point that it no longer make sense in context or they lost the proper meaning for those who use or have artifacts in which they became. As “Alberto” tells us and in line with what ”Nuno” before told us:

The Ramones - do you think that many of the people who walk with t-shirts of the Ramones know who the Ramones are? They don’t know, but that’s fashion now. Alberto, 46 years old, High School, Programming Hard Club, Porto

However, it is also notable as the aesthetic of the band points out as being markedly “authentic”, especially when set in a historical context in which the progressive rock and glam were highly artificial. Indeed, the band’s visual is considered as one of the points of major attraction of the band:

In primary school I already listened to Sex Pistols and Ramones and the Clash. What attracted me to that? I don’t know, maybe the eye-catching visual. Belmiro, 37 years old, High School, Warehouse Manager, London (England).

You know that the Ramones were immediately appealing by their clothing - leather jacket, t-shirt, jeans and tennis. You clutched glam rock, or clutched progressive rock, and they walked around full of makeup, full of pompous suits, with scenarios, it was completely different... It was superficial, artificial, compared to the real thing. And so there is an immediate appeal: the songs are simple... Álvaro, 56 years old, Degree, musician and composer, Almada.

The issue of music simplicity that ”Álvaro” points out is another attraction factor that the band has. Marking the punk aesthetic with a ”formula so simple and so good” (Daniela, 34, Degree, Professor, Lisbon), the Ramones were quickly associated with fast and instinctive music played ”with three chords and let’s go hurry this up” and became a symbol of energy and subcultural power. However, respondents also noticed how making music derives from a mix of styles, which at its junction become much more
"authentic" even if, as we will soon present, they also focused in a nihilistic view on the message that the Ramones wanted to convey:

The Ramones are a recycle rock and roll, they have things that have to do with girls bands, even with the Beatles and even with the speed of the themes; one thing is the Ramones’ live record, It’s Alive, that have no breaks between songs, just 1, 2, 3, 4 and do it. And it’s fun. Geraldo, 47 years old, Masters Degree, Technical Assistant, Lisbon.

It was a spectacular innovation, a brutal creativity. The guys enjoyed more melodic stuff and all that, and suddenly began to hear a guitar with very simple riffs, a continuous beat, and just like that, it developed from there. Roberto, 19 years old, University attendance, Student, Castelo Branco.

I liked that all energy, the lyrics, the vocal nuances, the way they could make those vocal nuances, sometimes half jokingly, fully contesting. Violeta, 35 years old, Degree, Plastic Artist, Musician, Cascais.

We can thus notice a stark contrast in the speeches of our respondents. On one hand, this is a band that is considered strongly resistant to mainstream, in their sound. On the other hand, respondents are not unrelated to the use of Ramones for strictly commercial purposes, led by the mainstream sphere. About this relationship, the Ramones have been seen as a bridge between punk, considered by all respondents as being throughout their existence to the underground, and the mainstream that uses it and manipulates in the same logic of "fashion" and merchandise. Moreover, we can still notice a strong emphasis given by respondents to the notion that the mainstream tries to create the idea that punk as a musical genre, is inserted into the mainstream, when this does not comply to the truth:

People created the idea that punk was commercial and mainstream, but punk itself has always existed, only it was always
On the road to the American Underground

an underground thing. Gaspar, 32 years old, University attendance, musician and producer, Lisbon.

Regarding the message conveyed by the Ramones, respondents’ perspectives emerge strongly segmented and divided. Some consider that the band had a message that was missing and that was distorting, associating this process to marketing and capitalism that started integrating its subcultural experience.

Maybe the message was lost and the true the meaning of the band or the letters was lost. Anselmo, 20 years old, attended university, musician / computer engineering student, Lisbon.

The vast majority believes that due to the very fast sonority and due to it being strongly guided by nonsense, and strongly nihilistic lyrics, the band ran a negative message in the sense which called for the shutdown and nonchalance. Looking for greater detail on this issue, some of those interviewed believe that this negative message can be in itself a punk vehicle; others consider that it’s a punk immaterial product; and others even say that the message is empty of any content type. This debate, however, relates strongly to the same debate on the punk ethos - if there really is a cohesive message advocated by punk, or if this is more fragmented, distant, and individually appropriate.

All these bands [including the Ramones] are what might be called the first wave of punk, they’re rock and roll bands with a typical rock and roll message: there is no politics, there are no messages, there is no politicized message, there’s nothing. Belmiro, 37 years old, High School, Warehouse Manager, London (England).

The Sex Pistols, the Ramones, Exploited, bands that, at the time, I already listen to a bit, but then I started to realize that these bands were not really well that message that punk advocates. Nuno, 20 years old, University attendance, Warehouse Assistant, Porto.

We can talk about the Ramones, who had not exactly an intervention, had hardly a message of revolt, it is not exactly a message against anyone. Punk genre for me is the three chords and the battery always pumping - that’s the difference with the
normal rock. Vitorino, 31 years old, High School, Administrative at a hospital, Lisbon.

In what regards the relationship of individuals with band, it is revealed a plurality of perspectives and affinity trajectories with the band. So five respondents profess to actively dislike the Ramones - three of which, by not identifying themselves musically with the style of the band, and two because it is, in their opinion, a band that did not reflect the values that they consider associated with punk. What is immediately noticeable is the lack of a relationship between the most negative views about marketing and "institutionalization" of punk rock of the Ramones and individuals that also have a less positive view of the band - that is, the opinion on the band is, although being informed by punk values and beliefs, less associated with ethics than with aesthetics, something we can elucidate how even in punk, strongly marked by a sense of movement and values, musical enjoyment has a command function:

They showed me the Ramones and the Sex Pistols and did not like it. (...) As for the Ramones, just like the first albums, especially the first, to me it has a hell lot of charm. Miguel, 37 years old, High School, Music Editor, Lisbon.

The Ramones always maintained that line, but the Ramones was a bubblegum pop band, the guys from the records "Oh, it was punk," no, it was bubblegum pop, that was precisely like wop bands from the 1950s. Mário, 46 years old, High School, Surveyor/musician, Coimbra.

In contrast, the remaining 33 interviewees all show, with varying degrees of affiliation, their admiration and deep relationship with the Ramones. For many of these, the relation encompasses both the band and concerts, as well as a privileged relationship with artifacts that the band produces, so in other words, a deep relation with the record that, in many cases, introduced them to punk, marking their relationship with it.
For me, the punk band that has deeply marked me and that has made me wonder about things the most were the Ramones, no doubt. Eduardo, 19 years old, 3rd cycle of basic education, student, São João da Madeira.

Whoever listens to the Clash, the Damned, or Suicide for the first time or first moments of the Ramones or the Television, I mean ... I continues to touch the lives of people, continues to give them a certain adrenaline (...) In my particular case, there is a before and after seeing the Ramones in Vigo in 1990. It was kind of an education it’s alive. Eurico, 42 years old, Degree, Fashion Buyer, Researcher, Coimbra.

That Ramones’ record that never came back home, continues, and is the most important album of my life. Humberto, 35 years old, Degree, Owner bike shop, Loures.

I think... as I began to like it, I can’t remember, but when I was about 15 years old, maybe 14, I bought my first album, and it was the Road to Ruins of the Ramones, and it was from then on that I began to really like punk rock and it continued until today. Mateus, 23 years old, High School, Event organization, Amsterdam (Netherlands).

Another factor worth mentioning is how the sound of the band itself, on said simple formula, eventually shaped how individuals joined punk, strongly incorporating the DIY ethos, that is, implying that anyone could play and that the very process of making music had ceased to be a monopoly of a set of people with specific qualifications. This in turn is visible in the speech "anyone can do it" that transpires in reports such as the following:

I liked the Ramones because they were... in the beginning, I started to like they because it was one of the few bands, when I couldn’t play, it was of the few bands that I could do covers. It was funny and they had short songs, they were good. They were catchy. Izidoro, 38 years old, Degree, Administration in telecommunications, Loures.

We did covers of Ramones and... We went for what we could do. Camilo, 47 years old, secondary education, translator, Lisbon.

I liked them alone, and with a friend, I mentioned a moment ago, Nuno Bife, we were alone and did the like joked around saying things like “We’ll go to my house, play Ramones’s records and we will sing and write to see how it looks.” Helium, 49 years old, Degree, interior decorator, Coimbra.
The importance of the Ramones extends to the relation and the message of empowerment they conveyed, but as we first verified, it didn’t go any further given the lyrical limitations that it had - the songs were not marked by contestatory or revolutionary lyrics, but rather, as it is pointed by an interviewee, by "a series of any love songs without any policy" (Vitorino, 31, Secondary Education, Administrative a hospital, Lisbon). However, this precise factor makes them considerably dear to their listeners, being taken as a "light" band, which focuses on large enjoyment of music rather than the use of music as a vehicle for the transmission of ideologies. Incidentally, as Joey Ramone himself regards in Please Kill Me (Mcneil & Mccain, 2006), what the Ramones wanted was to 'save' rock’n'roll; They wanted to keep it fun and funny, that was their motto.

The songs are all fun, any of their records, the musicians are energetic, fun, talented. Mário, 46 years old, secondary education, Surveyor / musician, Coimbra.

The Ramones were fabulous, in two minutes it was always rising in greatness, it was total madness, the amount of energy that it transmitted! Higino, 52 years old, PhD, University professor, Almada.

Ramones is fun. Martim, 35 years old, secondary education, Transport Seller, Loures.