Documenting a Punk Music Scene in Edmonton, Alberta 1979-1985:
Place, Legitimacy, and Belonging Articulated Through Mainstream and Independent Media

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the emergence of a punk music scene in Edmonton, utilizing archival research, participant interviews and analysis of mainstream and independent media to determine how a genre that was arguably considered a British phenomenon came to have local characteristics and associations. I suggest that regardless of the size of Edmonton's punk scene, its consideration raises important questions about 'the local,' and in doing so provides some sense of what Edmonton values as culture and community, how these values change over time, and the role of the media in determining all this. After theorizing music scenes in the context of the local, I explore the development of the punk music scene during the years 1979-1985 as articulated through participants and the mainstream media. Aspects of the local include the history of the settler colonization of Edmonton, where economic booms and busts were part of the natural cycle; Edmonton's inclination to paradoxically draw upon the "frontier ethos" that emphasizes individualism, yet maintain a cultural dependency on external metropolitan centers such as London and New York; and class hierarchies and distinctions that were often communicated through discussion about music and cultural life. Strategies of scene building are explored including embodied notions of culture through global media messages, and fanzines as sites of youth initiated media. Finally, I examine local media discourses that conceal notions of civility, social responsibility, and social differences, in the process raising questions about the implicit moral authority of the media, moral panics and media stereotypes capable of shaping public perceptions about youth, and how all this impacted local musical activity.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Jennifer Messelink. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name " Punk Music in Edmonton" No. MS1_Pro00044349. Approved March 4, 2014.

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Introduction

"Punk: A Necessity In Britain, A Fad In Edmonton" declared *The Gateway* on November 22, 1979. According to journalist Barry Lee, "white middle-class Edmontonians" who frequent punk shows on the weekend, "are hardly the downtrodden of society… they are playing the role of punk that maybe fits in England, but doesn't here."[1] One year later the media was heralding the end of punk. "No need for punk in Alberta, punk is passé. Here in Edmonton, punks end is coming soon."[2] Discursively framed in media accounts of punk in Edmonton, then, was the question of local commitment, or lack thereof, to the punk philosophy. Several publications questioned local reasons for rebellion, which, according to the media, was simply not an authentic representation of what constituted punk. This begs the question, why would young people in Edmonton not only be drawn to punk, but embrace it and in the process create a thriving local music scene?

My interest in Edmonton's punk music scene began in 1984, when as a teenager I frequented punk shows at "Spartans," a dilapidated community hall on Edmonton's north side across the street from the historic Transit Hotel. The Spartan Men's Club of Edmonton, as it was officially known, was formed April 9, 1958 and affiliated with the North Edmonton Community League, a community hall attached to a hockey rink at 12649-66 Street.[3] However, my interest in Spartans as a community hall lies less in the athletic events, than in its role as a main center for punk activity during the 1980s. As an adolescent I was attracted to the grainy black and white posters plastered to dirty street posts around downtown Edmonton enticing us to come to a place often referred to as: Spartans Dude Ranch; Spartoons, Spartans Hell, Spartans Men's Room, Spartans Men's Toilet, Spartans Bowl-A-Rama, Smarty's Hall, Spartunes, Spartans Ball Room,

[1] The Gateway November 22, 1979, Page 8, Item Ar00800
[2] The Gateway April 1, 1980 Page 5, Item Ar00500.
[3] City of Edmonton Archives RG-11 series 7.1 File 67

Spartans House of Glass, Club de Spartans, and Spartans People's Hall.[4] As punk shows at Spartans became more frequent and attendance boomed, a discussion between the media and the punk community developed around notions of belonging through contested behavior and representation in the media.[5] As I delved deeper into my research, I realized that this discussion of "why punk in Edmonton" has been an ongoing topic in the media since the first rumblings of punk activity in 1979. In what way did this discussion play a part in the construction and development of Edmonton's punk scene? The purpose of this thesis is to document the emergence of Edmonton's punk scene during the years 1979-1985 while exploring the role of the mainstream media in its development. This includes theorizing music scenes in the context of the local to explore questions such as: what does it take to develop and keep a music scene sustainable, what is the connection between local music making processes and the everyday life of the Edmonton community, and what tensions are produced between the mainstream media and a youth-initiated music scene? I chose the years 1979 to 1985 for my study because I believe the period between the first mention of punk in 1979 and the closing of Spartans in 1985 represents a creative and dynamic time that firmly established the roots of an alternative music scene in Edmonton. Moreover, I suggest that the media was fundamental to the development of the local punk scene by providing an oppositional place to establish dialogue about primarily local issues related to punk activity in Edmonton.

The primary methodology for this study is a combination of archival research, participant interviews, and exploration of academic literature that theorizes ideas of music, place and genre.

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[4] Names taken from various gig posters from 1980-1985.

[5] There are differing accounts of how large Edmonton's punk scene was at its peak. Louis Pezzani (aka Schism) wrote, "Although there were many local alternative (some say punk) bands as far back as 1978, it wasn't until the infamous Thrash and Burn gig at Spartans Men's Hall in March of 1983 that the Edmonton scene showed its true possibilities. 300 people (near capacity) turned out the listen to SNFU, Down Syndrome (first public gig) and Bing Jesus. The show was a smashing success; some still consider it to be Edmonton's best show." In"Thrash and Burn: Edmonton's Hardcore Scene." *Airtight*, March 1985. 19.

Ryan Moore argues that "previous studies that have found 'resistance' in youth cultures, especially punk, have usually lacked an ethnographic methodology…. scholars have based their findings on their own meanings, treating the music as semiotic texts."[6] My intention in this study is to counter this tendency by exploring the development of local musical activity and local scene, as mediated through primary sources including participant and media dialogue, allowing these voices to be heard and documented.

Punk is an ideal place to approach local scene studies because of the various identifiers, including music, fashion, ideologies, and what Dave Laing calls *the artifacts* of punk: the fanzines, posters, and published writings that make up the material archive of punk rock. Laing argues that the term punk is used in a way that assumes we know specifically what it was and what it meant.[7] Defined as cultural and musical movement that lasted roughly from the early 1970s to the mid 1980s, punk was a product of experimental and artistic bands in New York City and working class movements in Britain.[8] While the argument can be –and has been—made that punk originated in New York City through bands such as the *New York Dolls*, the *Velvet Underground* and the *Ramones* directly influencing British punk, my research will look primarily at the British influences on Edmonton's scene.

Within popular music discourse many argue that punk was a youth trend; to others it was a formidable voice of opposition and a challenge to the musical establishment.[9] In terms of a concrete ideology of punk, Matthew Worley points out that "punk questioned, reported and rejected far more than it defined or directed. As a result, attempts to give punk a coherent

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[6] Ryan Moore. "Friends Don't Let Friends Listen to Corporate Rock: Punk as a Field of Cultural Production." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 36, no. 4 (2007): 442.
[7] Dave Laing, *One Chord Wonders: Power And Meaning In Punk Rock* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1985), ix.
[8] Brian Cogan, *The Encyclopedia of Punk* (New York : Sterling, 2008).
[9] Craig O'Hara, *The Philosophy of Punk: More Than Noise* (London: AK Press, 1999), 41.

ideological form, either from within or without, proved contentious."[10] Broadly, the punk explosion of the late 1970s offered a general resistance to corporate control over music and media. The do-it-yourself ethos was a direct opposition to the dominant powers of consumerism. Yet this definition fails to recognize the significance of place in relation to regional music making, and the fact that punk continues to assert a cultural presence today.[11] For example, the Russian punk band Pussy Riot, who in 2012 performed a 'Punk Prayer' in Moscow's Cathedral of Christ in opposition to Vladimir Putin, resulting in their arrest and incarceration for blasphemy, illustrates that punk is still very much an ongoing method of articulating discontent.[12]

Do we, echoing Laing, know specifically what punk was and what it meant? Because of the contradictory views even *within* the scene around what constituted the musical characteristics of punk, it is problematic as a genre. For example, how does "thrash metal" differ from "hardcore," and are they both part of a punk scene? Furthermore, does a musical style automatically necessitate a scene? This begs the question, how are these definitions delineated? Is punk a generic term used to represent an indeterminate musical and stylistic genre, or is it absorbed and transformed using what Michel de Certeau calls cultural "stuff"(music, food, city spaces, etc.) resulting in something profoundly local, both in music and meaning? [13] These questions highlight the complex relationship between scene and genre, and are intimately connected to place, primarily through the way participants, and media, collectively actualize a scene and give it a local identity based on community dialogue. By situating punk in a more

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[10] Matthew Worley. "Shot By Both Sides: Punk, Politics and the End of 'Consensus,'"*Contemporary British History,* 26:3, 344.
[11] Whiteley, Sheila, Andy Bennett, and Stan Hawkins. *Music, Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
[12] The Subcultures Network, *Fight Back: Punk, Politics and Resistance*. (Manchester, UK : Manchester University Press, 2015) 2.
[13] Michel de Certeau and Stephen Rendall, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 1.

general "local music scene" and considering its participants active agents in creating culture instead of passive receptors of it then we can begin to see the ways in which punk philosophy and musical styles influenced local musical activity.[14]

The term 'scene' has often been used interchangeably with both 'community' and 'subculture.'[15] Early subculture studies describe the emergent use of the term 'scene' as a metaphor and a "folk concept" forcing academics of the time re-examine the notion of subculture.[16] Most academic discussions of punk rock can be traced to early subculture studies including Dick Hebdige's 1978 seminal book, *Sub-Culture: The Meaning of Style*. Subculture is a key concept in the development of popular music studies and its association with punk is problematic because while 'subculture' refers to an inherently oppositional position, it also "presumes that a society has one commonly shared culture from which the subculture is deviant."[17] Academic theories on subcultures have evolved, taking into account the current views on the complexities of globalization, as explained by Keith Harris:

> Subculture connotes a tight-knit, rigidly bounded, implacably 'resistant', male dominated, geographically specific social space (if such formations ever did exist). The concept clashes with contemporary concerns about globalization, the ambiguities of resistance and the heterogeneity of identity. Scene, on the other hand, connotes a more flexible, loose kind of space within which music is produced: a kind of 'context' for musical practice.[18]

Further criticism – specifically of Hebdige in adopting the concept of subculture to explain punk – addresses the association of *consumption* with subcultures, excluding the discussion around the

[14] See: Ryan Moore, "Friends Don't Let Friends Listen to Corporate Rock Punk as a Field of Cultural Production." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 36, no. 4 (2007): 438–74.
[15] Ken Gelder, and Sarah Thornton, *The Subcultures Reader* (London: Routledge, 1997), 3.
[16] Gelder and Thornton, *The Subcultures Reader*, 66.
[17] Andy Bennett, and Richard A. Peterson, *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 3.
[18] Keith Harris, "'Roots'?: The Relationship between the Global and the Local within the Extreme Metal Scene," *Popular Music* 19, no 1(2000): 14.

active production of materials. Rather than being seen as passive consumers of culture, the ways in which youth create culture in punk scenes, by developing their own concrete means of cultural production, are explored by Kevin Mattson.[19] In response to how aging punk participants negotiate identity Joanna Davis argues that the term scene (instead of subculture) should be adopted in punk discourse, and may help in identifying factors that contribute to the continued presence of punk in popular music today.[20] Regardless of how punk is described, by most accounts it is understood as being an active oppositional force; oppositional to the music industry and the dominant social order through a do-it-yourself ideology, and oppositional within itself through contested notions of behavior and belonging.

Recent academic work on the dynamics of scene life include Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson's *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual,* which identifies three general types of scenes. They argue that music scenes develop through a process of local and international influences that are specific to that time and place, and how those scenes work have a lasting influence on the future musicians of each city. My focus is on the local manifestation of the processes, but the term 'local' is itself contested. Sara Cohen looks at the relationship between music and place arguing that music can play a key role in production of place as a setting for social relations, practices and interactions of everyday life.[21] In Barry Shank's punk and country music study he considers 'the local' as also identified as a space for multiple [musical] life, "characterized by a series of co-existing scenes."[22] In defining what local is to Edmonton I will look at the connection between musical activity and the everyday life of the Edmonton

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[19] Kevin Mattson, "Did Punk Matter?: Analyzing the Practices of a Youth Subculture During the 1980s," *American Studies*, 42 (2001): 72.
[20] Joanna R. Davis, "Growing Up Punk: Negotiating Aging Identity in a Local Music Scene," *Symbolic Interaction* 29 (2006): 1. 63–69.
[21] Sara, Cohen, "Bubbles, Tracks, Borders and Lines: Mapping Music and Urban Landscape," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 137, no. 1 (2012): 135.
[22] Barry Shank, *Dissonant Identities : The Rock'n'roll Scene in Austin, Texas* (Hanover, NH : University Press of New England, 1994), 7.

community while examining the history of the settler colonization of Edmonton where economic booms and busts were part of the recurrent cycle; Edmonton's inclination to paradoxically draw upon the "frontier ethos" that emphasizes individualism, yet maintain a cultural dependency on external metropolitan centers such as London and New York; and class hierarchies and distinctions that were often communicated through discussion about music and cultural life. I will also examine local media discourses that conceal notions of civility, social responsibility, and social differences, in the process raising questions about the implicit moral authority of the media, moral panics and media stereotypes capable of shaping public perceptions about youth, and how all this impacted local musical activity.

The primary documentary basis for this thesis is a detailed analysis of independent punk literature (fanzines) and mainstream media reports on punk activity in Edmonton during the years 1979-1985 in addition to collection and analysis of oral histories. Fanzines are a useful historical tool for research on punk; they can provide a record of the local music scene, but they were also active agents within those scenes. Sarah Cohen argues that, "fanzines are artifacts that can provide insights into the critical discourses of the musical community…provid[ing] a rich and detailed mapping of the performance venues within the city."[23] Fanzines produced in Edmonton during the years 1979-85 which are investigated here include *White Pages* (11 issues, 1981-82), *The Kid* (11 issues, 1983-84), *C.H.I.P.S* (8 issues, 1983-85), *Schizm* (8 issues, 1984-86), *Trash* (2 issues, 1984), *Inject* (1 issue, 1984), *Dire Doyle* (1 issue, 1986), *Up Your Shaft* (2 issues, 1988), *The O.K. Mag* (1 issue, 1988), *RAID* (1 issue, n.d.), *SHAME* (1 issue, n.d.), *Morbid Curiosity* (1 issue, n.d.), and *Marcy Buckets* (1 issue, n.d.). Mainstream media sources include the *Edmonton Journal*, *Edmonton Sun*, the University of Alberta's student newspaper

[23] Sara Cohen and Brett D. Lashua, "'A Fanzine of Record': Merseysound and Mapping Liverpool's Post-punk Popular Musicscapes," *Collected Work: Punk & Post-punk*. 1(2012): 89.

The Gateway, the University of Alberta radio station CJSR's publication of *Airtight*, and the Edmonton entertainment magazine *Bullet.* It is worth noting that although some of the writers for the fanzines also contributed to *Airtight*, *Bullet* and others, the only publications that I am designating fanzines are the ones that are "non-commercial, non professional, small circulation magazines, which the creators produce, publish and distribute by themselves."[24]

My interest in exploring the role of the mainstream media in the development of a music scene is expressed by Sara Thornton who notes that media can often "baptize scenes and generate the self consciousness required to maintain cultural distinctions."[25] The media were often the first to address criticisms relating to punk music such as ideological commitment and expression in the context of place. For example, Edmonton and the Canadian prairies were often compared to large metropolitan centers like New York and London. Issues of violence at punk shows, a significant and pervasive topic, were first raised in the media resulting in a response from the local community that over time helped to define identifying characteristics and qualities of the Edmonton punk scene.

Finally, oral histories from within the mainstream media and the punk community consisting of twelve interviews – short bios of each interviewee can be seen in the appendices – will supplement detailed analysis of media reports on punk activity.[26] There is a long tradition of using oral histories in the punk community to document and create a collective memory.[27] This

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[24] Stephen Duncombe, *Notes from Underground : Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* (New York: Verso, 1997), 6.

[25] Sara Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subculture Capital* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 151.

[26] Twelve interviews were conducted and include: Gabor Gubby Szvoboda, Paul Balanchuck, Rose Kapp, Evan C. Jones, Paul Yardley-Jones, Jerry Woods, Louis Pezzani, Cameron Noyes, Jen Patches, Mike McDonald, Brent Belke and Colin McLean.

[27] Some examples are: Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored History of Punk* (New York: Grove, 1996; 10th anniversary ed., 2006); Steven Blush, *American Hardcore: A Tribal History*, ed. George Petros (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2001; 2d ed., 2010); Brendan Mullen and Marc Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb: The Untold Story of L.A. Punk* (New York: Three Rivers, 2001); Jack Boulware and Silke Tudor, *Gimme Something Better: The Profound, Progressive, and Occasionally Pointless History of Bay Area Punk from Dead Kennedys to*

is in part due to its ephemeral nature, and in part to the do-it-yourself ethic. There is a feeling when reading early accounts of punk that it was never meant to last; it was a temporary movement, relegated to the "fad" and "trend" status in early Edmonton accounts. Lack of documentation has resulted in a reliance on memories from those involved in punk, including band members, producers, record store owners, and participants. Oral histories tend to make up the majority of academic and non-academic writings on punk, yet this can also be problematic. In his critique of oral history in constructing a collective memory of punk Joseph Turrini argues that although oral history functions to create a useable past for the creation of coherent individual and group identities, there is a sharp distinction between historical and autobiographical memory; the former is reached through written records, and the latter is the memory of events that are personally experienced.[28] In addressing this potentially problematic methodology I will supplement oral histories with visual and textual materials such as gig posters and fanzines in order to confirm exact dates or gaps that may occur as a result of memory lapses. Integrating these various sources into analysis may serve to illuminate the complexities of punk, and provides practical dialogic representation from both inside and outside the punk community. Radio interviews would be an ideal source of documentation in addition to oral histories, particularly by Louis Pezzani (aka Schizm) whose radio show "The Hardest Core" conducted many interviews during the 1980s, but these interviews (along with all CJSR material) were not archived, and if they were not published in *Airtight*, they are now lost.[29]

Green Day (New York: Penguin, 2009); John Robb, *Punk Rock: An Oral History*, ed. Oliver Craske (London: Ebury, 2006, 2012); Brian Peterson, *Burning Fight: The Nineties Hardcore Revolution in Ethics, Politics, Spirit, and Sound* (Huntington Beach, CA: Revelation Records, 2009); Tony Rettman, *Why Be Something That You're Not: Detroit Hardcore, 1979–1985* (Huntington Beach, CA: Revelation Records, 2010).

[28] Joseph M. Turrini, "Well I Don't Care About History: Oral History and the Making of Collective Memory in Punk Rock," *Notes,* 70 (2013):1, 70.

[29] Louis Pezzani was the editor of *Airtight* in 1985 who was also the founder of the fanzine "Schizm."

My main methodology, as stated before, is documentary and ethnographic research. Shank's study approaches research on scenes through the genre of critical cultural studies ethnography arguing that "the performance of rock and roll music in the clubs of Austin creates an environment conducive to the exploration of new identities … this performance of new, sometimes temporary, but nevertheless significant identities is the defining characteristic of scenes in general as well as their most important cultural function."[30] While my goal with the ethnographic approach is to examine notions of belonging and legitimacy while exploring how scenes develop rather than looking at the construction of identities, Shank's work highlights the subjectivity of ethnographic study, a perspective important to me due to personal experience with my topic of research. Subjective experience of local music scene studies also runs the risk of falling into a "master narrative." For example, Sarah Cohen's study, "A Fanzine of Record': Merseysound and Mapping Liverpool's Post-Punk Popular Musicscapes" analyzes fanzines as a counter discourse to the "master narrative" that she argues is "repeated across various texts (eg. tourist maps, museum exhibitions) that reifies landmark venues as totems of Liverpool's musical heritage."[31] On one hand is the narrative that has been established through nostalgia, fading memory and aggrandizement, and on the other hand there is the accurate documentation of events. While my intention is not to continue the tradition of comparing Edmonton to other centers of established musical heritage such as Liverpool, my interest is in the development of an historically accurate documentary. There have been recent attempts to document the Edmonton music scene, for example the "Dead Venues" documentary part of the Global Visions Film Festival, was partly funded by a grant from the Edmonton Heritage Council's Edmonton City As Museum Project. One of the producers Mike Siek stated in an interview that the documentary

[30] Shank, *Dissonant Identities,* x.
[31] Cohen and Lashua, "A Fanzine of Record," 88.

"[Dead Venues] is not about reality, it's about people's memories, so in the end, no one's going to have clarity from this movie."[32] My intention is the opposite, to construct a historically accurate documentation of key events, while theorizing activity within the development of a scene. My theoretical framework will draw upon Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson's (2004) adoption of Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) idea of "field" and Howard Becker's (1982) idea of "art worlds."[33]

This thesis consists of three chapters, an introduction and conclusion, a chronology of events and a comprehensive list of venues, bands, media and distribution channels of punk activity in Edmonton 1979-1985.[34] The purpose of chapter one is to explore relevant historical literature that conceptualizes 'scene' while identifying the factors that contribute to scene building including: diversity, appropriation of place, face-to-face interaction, and universal systems of articulation (global media messages); all of these frame subsequent chapters that look at how these factors come together in a local context. The second chapter focuses on the historical outline of Edmonton as a city and its musical activity during the pre-punk period of the mid 1970s, situating the emergence of punk into the economic and cultural history of Edmonton, and exploring the roots of British punk and its connection to Edmonton through dominant notions of culture within media induced moral panics. Finally, the third chapter provides some representative examples of music and media focusing on the various power struggles through contested notions of legitimacy and belonging. I will explore the local media as sites of discursive struggles, social dynamics that work together – and in opposition – resulting in the creation of an active, ongoing, and dynamic scene. My research will hopefully highlight the

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[32] Sandra Sperounes, "Dead Venues film recalls Edmonton's lost, lamented clubs," *Edmonton Journal*, May 7, 2015.
[33] Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes,* 3.
[34] While this list is as accurate as possible, I am fully aware that there are gaps, missing bands, musicians, venues and dates.

diverse ways in which music scenes can create dialogue, address stereotypes, and develop localized definitions of musical genre and concepts of belonging.

Chapter One: Scenes

The way we talk about scenes is similar to the way Dave Laing argues that we talk about punk: in a way that "assumes we know exactly what it [is] and what it [means]."[35] Most of us use the term scene to describe an active community of people organized around a common interest, but when and how did the concept of scene become particularly common in academic discourse? The purpose of this chapter is to explore relevant literature that conceptualizes 'scene' while identifying the factors that contribute to scene building including: diversity, appropriation of place, face-to-face interaction, and universal systems of articulation (global media messages).

The term scene was originally a colloquial term used in media and everyday contexts "by journalists in the 1940s to characterize the marginal and bohemian ways of life of those associated with the demiworld of jazz."[36] These roots of the term, stemming from journalistic discourse, highlight the influence of the media on defining characteristics and perhaps distinguishing traits of a music scene. For example, as mentioned in the introduction, Sara Thornton recognizes that media can often "baptize scenes and generate the self consciousness required to maintain cultural distinctions."[37] In Edmonton, as in many cities, the role of the media has been to report on and criticize cultural activity. According to Stanley Cohen the media "have long operated as agents of moral indignation in their own right: even if they are not self consciously engaged in crusading or muck-raking, their very reporting of certain facts can be sufficient to generate concern, anxiety, indignation or panic."[38] Initially punk activity brought condemnation from the media as unauthentic and unsuitable for Edmonton. To counter such

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[35] Dave Laing, *One Chord Wonders : Power and Meaning in Punk Rock* (Milton Keynes, England ; Philadelphia : Open University Press, 1985), iix.
[36] Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes*, 2.
[37] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, 151.
[38] Cohen, *Folk Devils & Moral Panics*, 16.

claims and contribute to what Julie Chu describes as "critiquing mainstream representations of power," those in the scene organized around actively creating an infrastructure that supported local punk activity by appropriating places for counter discourse such as venues and fanzines.[39]

The concept of music scene as an academic topic was first used in scholarly discourse by Will Straw, and has increasingly been adopted by researchers to designate "the contexts in which clusters of producers, musicians and fans collectively share their musical tastes and collectively distinguish themselves from others."[40] Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson identify three general types of scenes: local, translocal and virtual.

> The first, local scene, corresponds most closely with the original notion of a scene as clustered around a specific geographic focus. The second, translocal scene, refers to widely scattered local scenes drawn into regular communication around a distinctive form of music and lifestyle. The third, virtual scene, is a newly emergent formation in which people scattered across great physical spaces create the sense of scene via fanzines and increasingly through the internet.[41]

The Edmonton punk scene at different times could arguably have aspects of each of these criteria, however my study focuses primarily on characteristics of the local. While I explore fanzines as a method of local and translocal communication, the Internet and social media had yet to be widely used during the timeline for this research. The exploration of punk as a distinctive form of music and lifestyle developing in different geographic places and taking on

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[39] Punk 'scene' is identified by Alan O'Connor as "the active creation of infrastructure to support punk bands and other forms of creative activity." In Alan O'Connor, "Local Scenes and Dangerous Crossroads: Punk and Theories of Cultural Hybridity,"*Popular Music* 21 no. 2 (2002): 226. And Julie Chu, "Navigating the Media Environment: How Youths Claim a Place Through Zines," *Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict and World Order* 24 no. 3 (1997): 82.

[40] Will Straw, "Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music," *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3 (1991): 368–88. And, Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes: Local,Translocal, and Virtual*, 3.

[41] Although many additional classifications are possible, Bennett and Peterson explain that they identify the distinguishing characteristics of these three in particular as a method of organizing the book into chapters. In Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual*, 7.

local identity as it emerges is one aspect of the translocal, yet my analysis of the production of the discourses of punk rock in a local context to create a local scene situates Edmonton as a geographic subject. Therefore, my main model is Bennett and Peterson's notion of a local scene.

Location, Place and Landscape

> Back then there was nothing, so any contribution looked like you changed the landscape. When punk rock came to Edmonton it was a cultural shakeup. There was nothing there so we were able to see the difference we made.[42]

The above quote from Mike McDonald illustrates how the concept of a music scene can be intimately connected to place, through metaphors of landscape. The original concept of scene revolved around a geographical focus, with place and location as central defining factors. Yet recent work on local music scenes, according to Bennett and Peterson, is less interested in the connection between music and established cultural history of a place, and more with how emergent scenes use "music appropriated via global flows and networks to construct particular narratives of the local."[43] They describe a local scene as

> a focused social activity that takes place in a delimited space and over a specific span of time in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans realize their common musical taste, collectively distinguishing themselves from others by using music and cultural signs often appropriated from other places, but recombined and developed in ways that come to represent the local scene.[44]

My research has uncovered (in interviews, media and fanzines) Edmonton participants referring to this cluster as specifically "the scene" or "our scene" raising questions about the objective and

[42] Interview with Mike McDonald, Permanent Records, Edmonton, Alberta, March 13, 2015.
[43] Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes: Local,Translocal, and Virtual*, 7.
[44] Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes: Local,Translocal, and Virtual*, 8.

subjective nature of scenes, questions which I will address later. The identification with its social connections has often resulted in concepts of scene being used synonymously with the term community. In one of the earliest academic approaches to scene studies, Will Straw looks closely at the differences between scene and community as a way of identifying the characteristics that make up a scene, establishing diversity as one trait that distinguishes a scene. He suggests that the notion of a musical scene is distinct, in many ways, from older notions of a musical community. He defines community as

> a population group whose composition is relatively stable …. and whose involvement in music takes the form of an ongoing exploration of one or more musical idioms said to be rooted within a geographically specific historical heritage …. a musical scene, in contrast, is that cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation.[45]

A former fur trading post and settler colony, geographically local music of Edmonton can arguably be rooted in First Nations and Métis musical traditions. As early as 1897 the settlement of Edmonton incorporated aspects of the musical 'local' into its celebrations. Current research by Dr. David Gramit, one of the leading scholars on Edmonton's early musical life, shows that the celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 included local Cree dancers and drummers, and Métis fiddling; entertainment that represented the regional locale of where Edmonton was situated geographically and culturally. Fast forward to 1905, to the occasion of Alberta's inauguration as a province, and there was an absence of 'local' music, the musical customs specific to Alberta replaced by a grand ball and formal concert.[46] In this context it can

[45] Straw, "Systems of Articulation", 373.
[46] David Gramit, "The Transnational History of Settler Colonialism and the Music of the Urban West: Resituating a Local Music History," *American Music*, no. 3 (2014): 284.

be argued that much of Edmonton's musical history has been trying to distance itself from idioms that might be considered geographically rooted. It can also be argued that as an emergent city Edmonton did not follow the path of what Straw describes as a musical community but rather, as Gramit points out, through its musical activity early Edmonton "participat[ed] in a colonial process in which the formation of a new community required the displacement of an existing one."[47] Rather than displacing existing musical idioms, punk music during the 1970s was appropriated from other places that developed in ways that came to represent the local. Perhaps it is this quality of punk – that manifested in many other regions across the globe – that it was recognized by Will Straw as a significant genre in defining the emerging concept of scene. Straw suggests that the rise of "alternative" musical activity in mid-1980s North American urban centers resulted from the proliferation of punk music within youth culture:

> As local punk scenes stabilized, they developed the infrastructures (record labels, performance venues, lines of communication, etc.) within which a variety of other musical activities unfolded. These practices, most often involving the eclectic revival and transformation of older musical forms, collectively fell under the sign of the term 'alternative'. As the centrality of punk within local musical cultures declined, the unity of alternative rock no longer resided in the stylistic qualities of the music embraced within it …. [T]hat unity has come to be grounded more fundamentally in the way in which such spaces of musical activity have come to establish a distinctive relationship to historical time and geographical location.[48]

Rather than distinguishing scenes based on genre, Straw argues that the identification of the concept of scene is closely connected to the way that scenes appropriate spaces of musical

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[47] Gramit, The Transnational History of Settler Colonialism, 278.
[48] Straw, "Systems of Articulation", 375.

activity, which I am interpreting as including (but not limited to) venues as sites of physical interaction and independent media in the form of fanzines. Creating such places for alternative and diverse musical activity to occur is central to defining and sustaining a scene.

The development of a framework in defining scenes emerged alongside a shift in thinking that privileged "the geographically local as guarantee of the historical continuity of musical styles."[49] This shift reflected the academic direction of the post-modern emphasis on globalization and its consequences. Citing Edward Said, Straw suggests that the transformation of the status of the local is in part due to "an increasingly universal system of articulation,"[50] a claim that appears to have formed in part due to the influence of English as a dominant language, globalization and entertainment media in the 1970s and 80s. In his 1989 lecture, "Figures, Configurations, Transfigurations," Said suggests that in looking at English literature of the colonial period one could conclude that there is "the kind of culture embodied in the notion of a British Commonwealth surrounded, but remained confined to minority status within the Arab world."[51] As Said talks about the culture embodied in colonial literature, it can be argued that there is also a culture embodied not only in music, but also in the discourses that surround music making.

This relates to the questions of the Edmonton media in the introduction: what are the youth of Edmonton rebelling against, and why? The concept of a "universal system of articulation" according to Said, is facilitated through the media by "the way programs like Dallas and Dynasty work their way through even the Lebanese civil war, we not only have in the media system a fully integrated practical network, but there also exists within it a very efficient mode of

[49] Straw, "Systems of Articulation", 369.
[50] Edward W. Said, "Figures, Configurations, Transfigurations," *Race & Class* 32, no. 1 (1990): 8, in Straw, Systems of Articulation, 369.
[51] Said, "Figures, Configurations, Transfigurations", 2.

articulation knitting the world together."[52] This concept is fundamental to understanding how the implicit views of youth activity, in the form of punk music, were formed through local discourse and 1980s network TV shows such as *Quincy M.D.* and *Donahue*, which depicted punk as a dangerous youth trend. While there are obvious differences between punk music as a form of resistance against embodied concepts of culture in music, and the decades long struggle for independence by the colonized Arab world, the similarity lies in the method of looking at how literature, or in this case musical scenes, mobilized active resistance and opposition to dominant cultural notions. Dominant notions that Said suggests – when analyzing political conflicts during the 1980s involving Kurds and Iraqis, or Tamils and Sinhalese, or Sikhs and Hindus – "resort[ed] to categories and images of terrorism and fundamentalism…. fearful images that seem to lack discriminate contents or definitions, and they signify moral power and approval for whoever uses them, moral defensiveness and criminalisation for whoever they designate."[53] What connects this example to punk is the way in which the mainstream media is used to communicate dominant notions of culture – through generic and stereotyped images – by designating what is morally wrong with punk while at the same time gaining power through recuperation. Ironically, it was the blending of dominant global media messages and the regionally local circumstances of face-to-face interaction that combined, according to Bennett and Peterson, to create "intensely local scenes."[54]

Fanzines: Talking Back

Communication, diversity and appropriation of place are factors that build a music scene, and fanzines provided the symbolic and literary place for people to network, express ideologies,

[52] Said, "Figures, Configurations, Transfigurations", 8.
[53] Said, "Figures, Configurations, Transfigurations", 9.
[54] Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes*, 7.

interview bands, provide information, raise questions – and problems – about local music activity. Stephen Duncombe defines fanzines as "non-commercial, non professional, small circulation magazines, which the creators produce, publish and distribute by themselves."[55] While fanzines, simply magazines produced by fans, help us define the scene by looking at the critical discourses within the community, they also contributed to the translocal identity of a scene by connecting "groups of kindred spirits many miles away."[56] Teal Triggs argues that fanzines "fostered an active dialogue with a community of like-minded individuals often evidenced through the readers' pages of fanzines and also at the gigs themselves."[57] Appreciation of the scene building aspects of fanzines is not something that was recognized primarily in hindsight: producers of fanzines were aware at the time that having a place for discussion was critical for fostering an active scene. For example, a 1982 editorial by Roszay, the founder of Edmonton's earliest fanzine *White Pages,* explained her main goal in starting it: "*White Pages* has a small readership of approximately 325. It is sent to Calgary, Saskatoon, Vancouver, Toronto and San Francisco. It is not a professional rag. No money is made because that is not its main goal. The emphasis is on information, support of local talent, and discussion."[58]

Returning to the idea of place and landscape, Sarah Cohen's article "A Fanzine of Record: Merseysound and Mapping Liverpool's Post Punk Popular Musicscapes," suggests that "fanzines such as *Merseysound* should be taken seriously as historical documents as they provide finely textured mappings of the times and places of their production."[59] This notion of fanzines

[55] Duncombe, *Notes from Underground*, 6.
[56] Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes*, 9.
[57] Teal Triggs, "Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a DIY Aesthetic." *Journal of Design History* 19 no. 1 (2006): 70.
[58] Roszay, "Editorial," *White Pages*, 1 no. 10 (January 1982): 2.
[59] Cohen and Lashua, "'A Fanzine of Record", 88.

providing a map to the city reinforces the connection between media and scene, through metaphors of landscape in addition to providing a "place" for expression. Julie Chu approaches ideas of place in her article, "Navigating the Media Environment: How Youths Claim a Place Through Zines," describing fanzines as "youth-initiated media."[60] Chu argues that as a "place," "[fan]zines lay claim to a less transitory and more definite location for youths in the media environment …. [F]anzines not only highlight young people's active role in their media environment, but also their sophistication in critically engaging mainstream media and in addressing the limitations of material space."[61]

The rise and proliferation of fanzines during the 1980s occurred not only in Edmonton, but also across North America. According to Duncombe, "throughout the 1980s … 'zines and underground culture grew by leaps and bounds, resonating deeply with young people."[62] This can partly be explained by the 1980s Reagan administration deregulation of media industries that "allowed for increasing commercialization of youth culture [through] mergers of industry giants like Disney and ABC."[63] Chu further notes that,

> eras of increasing surveillance and repression, as noted by Michel Foucault (1978), often give rise to a multiplication of discourses rather than "a plain and simple imposition of silence." Hence, alongside the proliferation of medical, policy, and criminal justice discourses aimed at managing and delimiting youth agency ("Just Say No"), a new mode of youth discourse also developed in the 1980s via the 'zine network.[64]

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[60] Julie Chu, "Navigating the Media Environment: How Youths Claim a Place Through Zines," *Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict and World Order* 24, no. 3. (1997): 71.
[61] Chu, "Navigating the Media Environment," 73.
[62] Duncombe, *Notes from Underground,* 3.
[63] Steven Kline, *Out of the Garden: Toys, TV, and Children's Culture in the Age of Marketing* (New York: Verso, 1993) in Chu, "Navigating the Media Environment," 76.
[64] Chu, "Navigating the Media Environment," 76.

Edmonton fanzines during the 1980s reflect this rise in production and discourse. The following table illustrates the number of articles discussing selective issues found in fanzines (and in the University of Alberta student newspaper *The Gateway*) during the years 1979-1987. The highest levels of discussion about defining the local scene occurred in the years 1983 to 1985.

Topics of Discussion									
Musical Genre	1	1	3	3	3	2	8	1	
Change, Choices, Alternatives			6		2	2	2		
Violence, Defining the Scene, Expression	2	2	1	5	5	9	16	4	1
Media Representations and Lack of Support			2		2	4	1		
Years	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987

Table 1: Topics of Discussion in Local Fanzines (1979 –1987)

Local fanzines documented discontent with the lack of choices and alternatives in music, but they also provided a solution to the problems. For example, a 1982 editorial by Roszay claimed, "the way I see it, if you don't like what you hear, create what you want to hear. Write what you want to read,"[65] perhaps empowering through the do-it-yourself ethos and articulating what many others were feeling.

Theoretical Framework: How to Approach the Dynamics of Scene

Bennett and Peterson recognize the early ethnographic work of Howard Becker to be a major inspiration for the development of academic work from a scenes perspective.[66] Prior to the development of scene studies in academia, Becker theorized connections between music and place through his study on "jazz places," highlighting the connection between music and place, arguing that, "jazz has always been very dependent on the availability of places to perform it

[65] Roszay, "Editorial," *White Pages* 1 no. 10. (January 1982), 2.
[66] Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes*, 12.

in."[67] "Place" is defined by Becker as a physical place, a building, but also a physical place that has been socially defined by its expected uses, by shared expectations about what kinds of people will take part in activities.[68] The idea of place has several different meanings in this context suggesting venues and the music being performed within, a forum to express your views (fanzines), and ultimately the geographic region where music is being produced and performed. Venues are fundamental to scene building, and as Becker suggests, were instrumental in providing a place for jazz music to happen, for example the vitality of jazz in Kansas City during the 1920s and 30s was drawn from the "political corruption which made nightlife profitable."[69] In Edmonton, the earliest venues for punk activity were repeatedly compromised because of the perceived violence at punk shows. The result, as I discuss below, was a dialogue that led to changes in behavior to support the survival of venues, and the scene itself, through efforts of concert promoters and audience that emphasized the importance of respecting the venues by not "trashing" them. Recognizing the significance of these efforts aligns with Becker's theory of how people consume and produce art by approaching the production of music from the perspective of the work some people do. But what Becker's theory fails to address are the reasons that people make certain decisions. Will they decide to "trash the place" like the "Saturday night punks" I will examine in chapter three, or will they be the type of punk that makes a conscious political statement? Bourdieu's field theory and its notion of habitus is helpful here: habitus is theorized as guiding a person to make decisions based on his/her social class inflected by gender, geography (urban or rural), race and ethnicity.[70] While the main objective of this study is not to determine why people in the punk scene made the choices they

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[67] Howard S. Becker, "Jazz Places," in Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual*, 17.
[68] Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes*, 20.
[69] Becker, "Jazz Places," 18.
[70] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction : A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1984.

did, it is helpful in recognizing that there were factors – theorized as habitus – that affected the hierarchies and social structures operating within the scene. In describing a field Bourdieu explains, "the social space is the objective space, a structure of objective relations which determines the possible form of interactions and of the representations the interactors can have of them."[71] The theories of Becker and Bourdieu complement each other and make up the basis of my theoretical framework: through them I will examine the Edmonton punk scene in terms of both an objective space, and a site for subjective experience through the interaction of its participants and negotiations of youth culture within broader dominant ideologies embedded in the media.

[71] Bourdieu, *Distinction,* 244.

Chapter Two:
Edmonton: Local History and Musical Beginnings

What makes Edmonton unique? As of this writing, Edmonton,[72] known as "the Gateway to the North" also boasts the nickname "Canada's Festival City" a proud self-recognition of its cultural events and performing arts festivals.[73] Among them are Edmonton's International Fringe Festival, the Edmonton Folk Music Festival, the Edmonton International Jazz Festival and the Works Art and Design Festival. Additionally, Edmonton is home to the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, the Edmonton Opera and the Citadel Theatre. While such festivals and cultural institutions are not unique to Edmonton – many cities host performing arts festivals and have symphony orchestras – what is unique to Edmonton are the ways and means by which these festivals became part of Edmonton's local history. Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was not written in Edmonton, but is performed by the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, an organization that is considered part of Edmonton's cultural heritage. Similarly, punk is not 'local' music; the genre did not develop in Edmonton. In terms of a musical genre, punk is difficult to define and is therefore often characterized by what it is *not*, its determining factors intricately connected to its opposite or what it is in response to. In the process of examining the local punk scene I have had to ask myself: what then, are the factors that make punk local? The following chapter will outline the developments leading up to the arrival of punk in Edmonton. The first section deals with the

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[72] Facts and statistics in the following section on Edmonton are taken from "Edmonton." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Accessed August 29, 2015. http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/edmonton/ and "Alberta" http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/en/article/alberta/

[73] According to a report on the development of the Edmonton Arts Council, "in 1981 the City allocated $600,000 towards festival support and Edmonton started firmly on the path to becoming Canada's Festival City. The results have been spectacular. Edmonton is now home to twelve major festivals including North America's original and largest Fringe Theatre Festival, the Edmonton Folk Music Festival, The Works Visual Arts Festival, Jazz City International Music Festival, Edmonton International Street Performers Festival, Symphony Under the Sky Festival, River City Shakespeare Festival, Local Heroes Film Festival," in John Mahon,"The Development of the Edmonton Arts Council – A Case Study Connecting Communities Through the Arts," http://www.edmontonarts.ca/static_media/pdfs/files/eac_misc/eachist.pdf

economic and cultural history of Edmonton. The second section examines musical activity in Edmonton in the 1970s leading up to punk, the conflicts and struggles around local musical activity in Edmonton's pre-punk years. The final section examines the roots of British punk and its connection to Edmonton.

When I am asked about my thesis topic and I explain that it is about Edmonton's punk scene the reaction is inevitably "Oh, did Edmonton have a big punk scene?" The value of the inquiry is somehow associated with the size of the scene. In other words, is it worth talking about? I suggest that regardless of the size of the punk scene, its consideration raises important questions about 'the local,' and in doing so provides some sense of what Edmonton values as culture and community, how these values change over time, and the role of the media in determining all this. Research on Edmonton's musical history is in its infancy, and to counter the possible claim of "Edmonton, who cares?" I again look to Dr. David Gramit, who suggests that the nature of local history "requires us to pay attention to the apparently routine and unremarkable – and therein, [he argues], is one of its values."[74] Building on his argument, I suggest that in the process of examining music that is produced locally, we will discover how musical activity is supported and sustained by the city: this includes funding, venues, discussion of value, media and audience participation.

Commerce and Culture on the Prairies

> Whatever a metropolis may be, it seems clear that Edmonton does not qualify. Rather, we are presented with hints and signs of the metropolitan pattern that is slowly beginning to take shape. There is for example, the cultural life that would

[74] David Gramit, "The Transnational History of Settler Colonialism and the Music of the Urban West: Resituating a Local Music History," *American Music*, no. 3 (2014): 274.

> bring no disgrace to the acknowledged world centres … the first twitches of new-grown economic and political muscle … the sharpening of issues and conflicts …[75]

Written in 1978, the above statement distinguishes the connection between culture and commerce as a quality of the metropolitan. In terms of development, economic motivations are intricately tied to the cityscape of Edmonton and in the performance of the local. In terms of cultural and musical identity, Edmonton paradoxically drew upon the "frontier ethos" that emphasizes individualism, and a cultural dependency on external metropolitan centres such as London and New York.[76]

Early in Alberta's history, European exploration of the western plains and fur trading practices of the Hudson's Bay Company established the base of the economy, fur trading eventually giving way to ranching and agriculture in the nineteenth century. Permanent settlement began in the 1870s, and in 1904 Edmonton was incorporated as a city. The discovery of oil in Leduc in February 1947 began the process of transforming Alberta's economic base from agriculture to petroleum. Between 1961 and 1971 rapid economic growth occurred, and during the 1970s a period of economic boom in Alberta was fueled by the petroleum industry. Typical of Edmonton's policies of growth and urbanization, during this time many inner city buildings were demolished to make way for business. Following this period of rapid economic boom, a nationwide recession in 1982 resulted in a decline in construction, spending and urban transformation, leaving an unused downtown core and vacant office buildings. Few historic buildings stand today; one area that has endured is Old Strathcona, but the downtown core has continually been rebuilt since the 1950s.

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[75] P. J. Smith, *Edmonton: The Emerging Metropolitan Pattern*. Western Geographical Series 15, Victoria : Dept. of Geography, University of Victoria, 1978.

[76] See Toscha Lorene Turner, "*Edmonton's Musical Pathways: A Study in Narrative and Emplacement"* (master's thesis, University of Alberta, 2008), 3.

James Belich's book *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939*, suggests that with settler colonies like Alberta, economic booms and busts were part of the recurrent cycle of settler colonization. Belich argues that during boom times populations and economies rapidly grew, including the hasty creation of infrastructure, adding "such development was not necessarily an all around virtue."[77] Edmonton had no established way of dealing with the unstable cultural ramifications of the economic booms and busts, and promoting a modern and progressive city often at the expense of local musical activity is part of Edmonton's history for better or worse. Physical spaces and venues play a fundamental role in the history and development of a city's musical life. Since the city's development in the 1970s followed the prosperity of the oil industry, with its various booms and busts, it follows that economic instability would alter the cityscape during this time, and by extension the soundscape.

I present this information to put the issue of music, specifically the punk scene and how it developed in Edmonton into context. What did the punk scene grow out of? In 1920 Edmonton clearly saw the advantages to having a local symphonic orchestra as a marker of civilization and progress in an urban setting. The focus on symphonies and art galleries inevitably brings up questions about where popular music belongs as a form of culture. In 1979 punks of Edmonton also saw themselves as producers of culture. Messages such as the one below could be often found on the backs of fanzines, and spoke directly to members within the scene, bemoaning the lack of culture in the city.[78]

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[77] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth : The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 2009), 86.
[78] *C.H.I.P.S* no.1, 1983: 8.

Figure1: *C.H.I.P.S* no.1, 1983: 8.

This desperate plea suggests that it was not purely symphony concerts, art galleries, and mainstream music that defined culture to Edmonton youth in an urban 1980s. Perhaps culture represented something that was central to their Edmonton experience, something that was representative of their ideas and values. Moreover, where did these ideas and values belong? It was this tendentious view about what defines culture that may have caused some of the criticism and misunderstanding about punk in the media. Punk rock provides an interesting case for looking at change in cultural understanding because the punk sound at the time was unfamiliar and it significantly altered the musical landscape. Punk was, as Laing suggests, "a disruption of convention and normality."[79] Yet it also created, through musical styles and fanzines, new opportunities for questioning embodied concepts of culture. The following article addresses the complex internal contradictions of punk in Edmonton by acknowledging apparent reasons why punks would be viewed as un-cultured, un-artistic or anti-social at the time:

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[79] Laing, *One Chord Wonders*, x.

> Two groups of people are trying to pull this city together. Strangely enough, both groups don't look like the type that would try to help the community. Leather, studs, wild hair and clothing styles, seemingly bizarre lifestyles, these young adults are labeled mods, rockers, skinheads and punks. The rough and tumble attitude and appearance of these people belies the fact that they do care about the artistic and social aspects of life.[80]

Punk was edgy, social, political, and against the mainstream, yet it was barely mentioned in the mainstream press.[81] Was this the first time Edmonton had to contend with youth creating culture that was outside sanctioned institutions? To answer this question we need to consider what the city's cultural life was like pre-punk.

Pre-Punk Popular Music in Edmonton

During the years 1939 to 1982 ballrooms flourished in Edmonton.[82] Cabarets and ballrooms were a fixture of Edmonton's nightlife, and "fueled by Alberta's second oil boom, Edmonton's music scene in the early 1970s began to blossom. Through the efforts of Tommy Banks and others, Edmonton's jazz scene, centered on the Yardbird Suite, was already flourishing. At the same time, other clubs featuring folk, rock and blues also were springing up

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[80] Roszay, "Compulsion: Them No Good Punks," *The Bullet*, April 27, 1984.

[81] Geoff Pevere discusses the media's reception to early punk in Canada, "as a concept, musical genre and specific historical cultural phenomenon, it took punk a long time to get any traction or respect in Canada. Despite the fact that Canadian punk bands were there from the beginning, Canada's contribution to what may well mark the last truly vital global rock-'n'-roll revolution has gone conspicuously, woefully and persistently under-recognized… the Canadian mainstream press used the label as an excuse to gawk condescendingly at a form of music and behaviour it felt entirely licensed to ridicule," in the *Globe and Mail* April 9, 2015: http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/music/teenage-head-the-band-that-unintentionally-inspired-canadian-punk/article23860811/

[82] Among these include The Starland Ballroom, 100st & Whyte Ave (1954); Tivoli Ballroom, 149 St. & Stony Plain Road (1939); Rainbow Ballroom, 10827-82 Ave (1948); The Embers (1975); Gem Ballroom, 9686 Jasper Ave; The Danceland Ballroom 96 Street & Jasper Ave.

throughout the city's downtown area and beyond."[83] A recent article from the *Edmonton Journal* explains how the success of the local music scene during the 1960s and 70s was partly the result of Alberta's changing liquor laws:

> On Jan. 1, 1960, Ernest Manning's Social Credit government loosened Alberta's liquor laws, Saturday drink service was ordered to stop at midnight, but Monday to Friday establishments could serve drinks until 2am if they provided entertainment by a musical group of three or more members. It was an explosion of the ranks of professional musicians.[84]

Several of the ballrooms operating during the 1960s and 70s with live bands were housed in buildings (theatres, clubs, halls) that had been around for years, but had been revamped or gone through changes of ownership. Among these was the Trocadero at 10151-103 Street, which opened in 1946 in the former Empire Theatre. In 1959 it transferred ownership and name to Troc '59. A ballroom fixture throughout the mid twentieth century, Troc '59 was described in a 1967 *Edmonton Journal* article as "an elegant ballroom like something out of the past, or a setting for a Fred Astaire Ginger Rogers musical dancing cheek to cheek [sic]." The type of music consisted mainly of fox trots, waltz, polkas, butterfly dance, minuets, quadrilles, and "practically everything except rock, but was primarily aimed at the 40 and over age group."[85] Troc '59 and its patrons prided themselves on keeping the past alive, "the last thing we want is change" claimed Mrs. Vi Walmsey in a 1972 *Canadian Magazine* article. She explained "last year (1971) we had to cut some square dances from our program. We were sure they would much rather have an extra waltz and fox trot. But cutting square dances was a change and it took a while before the

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[83] Trevor Harrison, *Prairie Bohemian : Frank Gay's Life in Music* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2015), 107.

[84] Kevin Maimann, *Edmonton Sun,* January 17, 2015 "When an Edmonton Musician Becomes Successful: Should I Stay? Should I go?"

[85] Steve Riley *Edmonton Journal* Friday April 7, 1967, City of Edmonton Archives Clippings File: Troc '59.

fuss about that change died down."[86] There was order at Troc'59; rules regarding dress, alcohol, and dancing (no jiving until 11:45 pm sharp) were all followed.

On the other end of the spectrum was the Gem Ballroom, an establishment not known for its rules and order. Built in 1914 it was originally one of Edmonton's first movie houses. In 1970 it was converted into a progressive rock club and featured mostly local bands such as *Sun, Andromeda,* and *Dick Tater.* Terry Reeves from the band *Andromeda* recalled in an *Edmonton Journal* article that "the Gem was the end of local acts doing their own shows before the drinking age was lowered, which trashed the whole scene." Journalist Mike Sadava added that after the progressive rock club ended [in 1971] "another operator took over the Gem and it became a scene of a different type – a crime scene."[87]

From 1971 to 1976 the former rock club operated as a discotheque until the city refused to reissue its liquor license because of "the long and inglorious history of violent and un-savory behavior" at the nightspot.[88] Alderman Ron Hayter led the city council's charge against the ballroom calling it "a bucket of blood" adding "the history of that place has been a blood splattered one."[89] While there were other ballrooms and dancehalls in Edmonton over the years, the Troc'59 and the Gem Ballroom illustrate the city's polarized musical life and speaks to the significant changes that were occurring socially and culturally during the 1970s. For those not interested in waltzes and foxtrots, or the opulence of progressive rock, disco, and violence what was the alternative?

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[86] Tom Alderman "Cheek to Cheek at the Troc '59: Where Jiving is the Last Word" *Canadian Magazine*, April 1, 1972, City of Edmonton Archives Clippings File: Troc '59.
[87] Mike Sadava "Dreams of Buffing Up an Old Gem" *Edmonton Journal* March 23, 2000, City of Edmonton Archives Clippings File: The Gem Theatre.
[88] "Committee Again Refuses to Renew Gem Ballroom License" *Edmonton Journal* November 2, 1976. City of Edmonton Archives Clippings File: The Gem Theatre
[89] Norm Ovenden "Gem Owner in Debt, Enraged at Council" *Edmonton Journal* July 15, 1977,City of Edmonton Clippings File: The Gem Theatre

In 1973 the term "alternative" had yet to be adopted when describing music that lay outside the mainstream. Media reports at this time referred to a type of music outside the mainstream as "local, original music," and during 1973-1977 the venue that provided this was the *Hovel*. Ron Chalmers, in the magazine *Legacy,* described the *Hovel* as "an unpretentious coffee house that helped launch the careers of countless local musicians and also hosted international performers,"[90] The performance artist ManWoman recalled that a tremendous scene developed there around various musical styles including "wandering folk singers, travelling blues men and psychedelic sixties music."[91] Joe Sorenberger referred to it as a "home for a much loved kind of music that just doesn't get played on CHED or performed in taverns or lounges." Following the eviction from the *Hovel'*s second location (Jasper Ave proper and 109st) its assemblage were described as "Hovel orphans" drawing connections between genre and venue, and reinforcing the outsider status of both the music and participants, a similar status to the punk scene that was to follow a few years later.[92] There was also an ideology behind the *Hovel* that bore some resemblance to the punk scene in terms of recognizing the need for venues and collective action in supporting local, original music. Alan Kellogg of the *Edmonton Journal* chronicled the beginnings of the *Hovel*:

> Having been inspired by the coffee house culture he enjoyed in visits to Toronto's Yorkville and in South America, Andy Laskiwsky decided to get something going in the old hometown. Armed with a grant from the provincial alcohol and drug abuse commission (and later, five federal government funding awards) SPARSE – The Society for the Preservation of an Artistic Reality in a Social Environment – was born, and the Hovel, its "cultural centre" with it…. [O]ffering listeners something

[90] Ron Chalmers, *Legacy* (1999), 15. City of Edmonton Archive clippings file: The Hovel.
[91] Harrison, *Prairie Bohemian,* 107.
[92] Joel Sornberger, "Hovel Orphans Now Home." *Edmonton Journal* March 4, 1978. City of Edmonton Archive clippings file: The Hovel.

> other than the regurgitated, fluffed up hits of the day that infected most musical outlets of the 1970s around here.[93]

By most accounts it was "the place" to hear local, live and original music, and if the performer was not local, they fulfilled the two latter requirements. Sorenberger recalls folk music legends, for example Ramblin' Jack Elliot, Leo Redbone or Dan Hill could be heard there, or jazz music featuring Sonny Slit and Barney Kessel, or perhaps one of Edmonton's rock groups like *Tacoy Ride, Hot Cottage* or *Pontiac*. Or he adds, "just some nobody banging away at an untuned acoustic guitar during an open stage session."[94] *St John's Edmonton Report* of July 1977 described it as providing "a relatively cheap alternative for those sick of the "plastic scene" at the downtown discos."[95]

Paul Balanchuk, an interviewee who was actively involved in the early punk scene as a participant and member of the band *Rabid Drunks*, described the musical atmosphere in Edmonton during the late 1970s as "still really hung up on the disco, that's what was still popular in the mid to late 70s, classic rock and disco."[96] A comprehensive list of all the discos in Edmonton in the year 1979 revealed that there were at least eleven discos operating in the city in various capacities, not including the array of the mobile disco companies that sprang up including "Disco Unlimited, Evertt's Mobile Disco, Madhatter Mobile Disco, Noodles Disco, Spud's Disco, and Nicholodeon Music," bringing disco to the people in places such as Lister Hall Cafeteria on the University of Alberta campus, where – a 1979 *Gateway* advertisement boasted – "Chinese folk dances and drama (Cantonese) will be performed and a disco with

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[93] Alan Kellogg, *Edmonton Journal*, November 19, 1998. City of Edmonton Archive clippings file: The Hovel.
[94] Joe Sornberger, "The Hovel is Dead but the Memories Linger On," *Edmonton Journal* August 6, 1977. City of Edmonton Archive clippings file: The Hovel.
[95] "Hovel Doomed by Impending Demolition" *St John's Edmonton Report* July 18, 1977. City of Edmonton Archive clippings file: The Hovel
[96] Interview with Paul Balanchuck, May 15, 2014.

wonderful sound and light setting follows.[97] Discos, according to a 1976 article in the *Edmonton Journal*, featured "loud, recorded music and spectacularly lit dance floors … cater[ing] to the young, hip, crowd as THE place to go after the bars and cabarets close." These included "the Toy Box, 2001 Disco, The Rollerdrome (where they chase the roller skaters out at nine on Saturdays and convert the place into a huge dance floor for more than 1,000 kids a night), Friar's (licensed) and the Chelsea Village in Bon Accord, among others."[98]

In contrast to the loud recorded music of Edmonton's copious discos, the *Hovel* was the one place that featured live, local and original music, and its society SPARSE embodies several messages. First of all the Oxford Dictionary defines 'sparse' as 'thinly dispersed or scattered, austere and meager,' referring – I am assuming—to the problem of scarcity of venues, or local cultural activity in general, in experiencing local and original music in Edmonton. Howard Becker suggests that "culture arises essentially in response to a problem faced in common by a group of people, insofar as they are able to interact and communicate with one another effectively."[99] The meaning of SPARSE tells us more about the perceived solution to this problem, and the process of communication.

By forming a recognized organization that responded to the need to preserve a community place for artistic expression, those involved in SPARSE articulated the problem and solution. In his theory of "scenes" or "art worlds" Becker recognized that it is the collective activity and the "work people do" that makes art. He argues that with "art worlds" there is a

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[97] Among these include, *Chuckles*, Point After, 7103 78 Ave; *Darling's,* Four Seasons Hotel, 10235 101 Street; *Flashback,* 10330 104 Street; *Night Fever,* Kingsway Inn, 10812 Kingsway Ave; *Spats,* Executive House Inn, 10155 105 Street; *Sugar Tree,* Warehouse Restaurant, 10255 105 Street; *Temptation Dining Room and Lounge*, 13160 118 Ave; *Toy Box Disco,* 10052 106 Street; Upper One, Melton Building, 103108 Jasper Ave; *Yesterday's,* Sheraton Caravan Hotel 10010 104 Street; *2001 Disco*, 10119 82 Ave, in "Disco: A Way of Staying Alive" *Edmonton Journal* May 8, 1979. And, Ron Newton, "The Entertainer…or, the flip side of a good DJ" *Edmonton Journal,* May 14, 1977. And, *Gateway* September 13, 1979 Page 8 Item Ad00804
[98] Joe Sornberger, "Disco Craze sets City a –Dancing," *Edmonton Journal*, Saturday, December 18, 1976.
[99] Becker, "The Culture of a Deviant Group", 56.

social organization that does not follow a structural or functionalist theory, and activities do not have to occur in a particular way for the social system to survive, yet there is undoubtedly collective activity.[100] Recollections of the *Hovel* illustrate that this collective activity was a legitimate function:

> It was just one of the best venues in the country at the time. Everything was done cooperatively, the techs, the staff, the atmosphere was right …. an interesting place to play at a time when the big barn bars were locked up by cover bands. You couldn't even play blues in most bars back then…. eclecticism and originality were encouraged at the Hovel.[101]

The *Hovel* closed its doors July 31, 1977 to the dismay of many, including one who cried that "once again progress has stepped in the way of culture .... this is the only place I can go. I don't like the commercial spots downtown where they get you in, get you drunk and put you back out on the streets to get killed .... it's the only place in the city where a semi-subculture could gather and let go emotionally."[102] Eventually those involved in organizing the *Hovel* would go on to start the Edmonton Folk Festival, an organization that is now fully integrated into the cultural life of Edmonton. At the time those individuals, wrote the *St. John's Report,* "played a role at a pivotal time in local music, adding valuable experience and inspiration to the founders of the folk, jazz and North Country festivals we enjoy today, not to mention providing career development for a wide swath of musicians."[103] An example of a time in the history of Edmonton where the opposing threads of musical culture, in this case "canned" music versus live

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[100] Howard Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 6.
[101] Alan Kellogg, *Edmonton Journal,* November 19, 1998. City of Edmonton Archive clippings file: The Hovel.
[102] "Hovel Doomed by Impending Demolition" *St. John's Edmonton Report* July 18, 1977. City of Edmonton Archive clippings file: The Hovel.
[103] "Hovel Doomed by Impending Demolition" *St. John's Edmonton Report* July 18, 1977. City of Edmonton Archive clippings file: The Hovel.

music were at odds, and the result was an ideological foundation (SPARSE) committed to (live) music, which was representative of (local) place.

In a 1981 interview in the *White Pages* Ian Hunter of QCTV recalled the opposing musical forces that were present in Edmonton when he first arrived:

> When I first came to this town from Montreal, the Corona was the hottest place with the rest of the city wallowing in disco. But amid all the opposing forces changes started to appear. People began seeking an alternative scene when radio and cabarets became dissatisfying. At the beginning numbers were small, but now there's lots of bands and people who are trying to do something different—trying to get things going. But things don't always go so well, the scene itself fragile. Edmonton is not a music center such as Toronto or Vancouver. Local bands get put down by the media and seldom get any air play. Major groups like XTC and Pointed Sticks have a large following in Edmonton, but seldom are their songs heard on K97 or CHED. The radio stations are always crying about the 30% Canadian Content ruling, but fail to recognize new talent around them. They play the same bands—Rush, Prism, April Wine….[104]

Disco and top 40 charts were the dominant musical style in Edmonton, and alternatives such as the *Hovel* featured folk, jazz and rock, but there was another style of music unfolding in England, and it would be a few years until in arrived in Edmonton further complicating – and stimulating – the local music scene.

[104] Arbee Simons, "Summary of an Interview with Ian Hunter of QCTV: The Edmonton Scene" *White Pages*, 1:1 April 1981, 3.

British Roots of Punk Music

While it is impossible to put an exact date, or region for that matter, on the origin of punk, by most accounts 1976 was the year that punk music began to surface in the UK (at least according to the British media). The argument can be – and has been – made that punk originated in New York City through bands such as the *New York Dolls*, the *Velvet Underground* and the *Ramones* directly influencing British punk. Laing argues that while even the meaning of the word is debatable, punk offers us the chance to examine power structures at play in the music industry:

> the meaning of the term 'punk' itself was the result of a range of pressures from different sources, pressures which opposed or reinforced one another in putting forward their own preferred meanings. This intimate connection of power and meaning is not peculiar to punk rock or even to popular music as a whole. But the case of punk rock, its emergence, its complex, contradictory and unstable challenge to the musical establishment and its subsequent disintegration, offers an unrivalled chance to show how power makes meaning in cultural history.[105]

Dick Hebdige, author of one of the first academic studies of punk argues that "punk claimed a dubious parentage."[106] Hebdige recognized that various factions of rock and roll such as glitter rock; early New York bands (mentioned above); pub rock; mod subculture; R&B and reggae, all combined to "[take] rock back to the basics and contributed a highly developed iconoclasm, a thoroughly British persona and an extremely selective appropriation of the rock 'n roll heritage."[107] However he added, "it wasn't until the appearance of the *Sex Pistols* that punk

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[105] Laing, *One Chord Wonders,* xiv.
[106] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture : The Meaning of Style* (New Accents. London : Methuen : Routledge, 1979), 25.
[107] Hebdige, *Subculture,* 25.

began to emerge as a recognizable style."[108] Richard Middleton suggests that "when a genre is *named*, and a certain cultural place discursively established, then we identify a moment possessing a particular historical power."[109] Despite these complex and international origins, punk in Edmonton was first represented as a largely British phenomenon. Several participants interviewed for this thesis that went on to form the early punk scene in Edmonton describe the *Sex Pistols* as a significant force in shaping and influencing their personal musical development. Early media accounts in Edmonton, which will be examined in detail in chapter three, reinforced the British roots of punk. For example, on September 6, 1978, the first mentions of punk appeared in the local Edmonton media titled "Punk Dominates London Scene," making the connection between scene, genre, and the value of punk as a viable form of rock music. Because of the dominant influence of British punk on the youth of Edmonton (as evidenced from participant interviews) as well as Canada's strong colonial ties to Britain, the history of British punk is a crucial background to my discussion of Edmonton.

Musically and stylistically mainstream mid-seventies popular music was composed of two strands: progressive rock, with its virtuosity, grandeur and opulence, and mainstream pop, with its 'teenybopper,' 'unserious' and disco elements. Laing writes that, "both punk rock's supporters and detractors in 1976-77 emphasized the ways in which it was alien to the contemporary musical mainstream: its do-it-yourself stance, its lack of musical sophistication and its concern with different and taboo lyric subject matter."[110] The do-it-yourself stance was not only applied to musical and performance elements of punk; it was also seen in the appearance of a new type of venue connected to this new musical style, commonly called "pub rock," seen as the solution to the problem of progressive rock's opulent concerts and alienation

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[108] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, (London : Methuen : Routledge, 1979), 1n, 142.
[109] Richard Middleton, *Musical Belongings : Selected Essays* (Farnham : Burlington, VT Ashgate, 2009), 254.
[110] Laing, *One Chord Wonders,* 32.

of mainstream pop. Already in 1977, Chas De Waley outlined the genre of pub rock as a precursor to punk, illustrating that punk was a very definite and logical reaction to the elaborate live shows of progressive rock. He writes that musicians playing in the idiom of pub rock "started off the school of thought that if your own material wasn't brilliant you could do somebody else's song that was. It was a reversal of the 'progressive' idea."[111] Paul Yamada's 1978 article titled simply "Pub Rock" provides an exhaustive and detailed description of the origins of pub rock. He determines its beginnings starting in 1967, with musical influences from the San Francisco psychedelic jam-rock of the *Grateful Dead* to R&B covers by artists like Fats Domino and Chuck Berry, harking back to the roots of 1950s rock n' roll. He argues that diverse musical influences including rockabilly, blues, New Orleans R&B, and Brill Building pop performed by the *Flamin' Groovies*, an American band living and performing in the UK that "helped galvanize a roots-conscious rock scene."[112] Diverse musical influences aside, Laing suggests that "punk's most important debt to pub rock lay in its opening up of a *space* for both performing and recording which lay outside the constraints of the mainstream music industry,"[113] further adding that, "while 'private' consumption of punk was encouraged by the release and promotion of [punk] records, its 'public' space was severely restricted through its lack of airplay and through lack of large halls to play in."[114]

Punk, Moral Panic and Connection to Edmonton

With all these diverse musical influences, countless bands, and record companies looking for the Next Big Thing, how is it that punk remained on the industry margins, and retained its

[111] Chas De Whalley, "The Glory That Was Pub Rock," *Sounds*, 1977.
[112] Paul Yamada, "Pub Rock." *Terminal Zone*, 1978.
[113] Laing, *One Chord Wonders,* 9.
[114] Laing, *One Chord Wonders,* 37.

outsider status? Here is where the connection between Edmonton and the UK punk scene begins to be particularly suggestive primarily through the infamous Bill Grundy interview with the *Sex Pistols* in 1976. Dave Laing suggests that although previous rock n' roll bands had been accused of deviancy (eg. drug use), they generally happened "off screen;" however the Bill Grundy interview was the first example of immoral behavior during British family viewing primetime, on Thames Television's news magazine show *Today*. In a short interview with the *Sex Pistols,* Bill Grundy managed to goad the band into acting like typical punks" by swearing on camera. The following is an excerpt:

> **Grundy:** Beethoven, Mozart, Bach and Brahms have all died…
>
> **Glen Matlock:** They're all heroes of ours, ain't they?
>
> **Grundy**: Really? What were you saying sir?
>
> **Johnny Rotten:** Oh yes, They really turn us on.
>
> **Grundy:** Well what if they turn other people on?
>
> **Johnny Rotten:** (whispered) That's just their tough shit.
>
> **Grundy:** It's what?
>
> **Johnny Rotten:** Nothing – a rude word. Next question.
>
> **Grundy:** No. No. What was the rude word?
>
> **Johnny Rotten:** Shit.[115]

This interview, which lasted all of two minutes, sent conservative British television viewers into a "moral panic," emphasizing the outsider status of punk and reinforcing further alienation of punk from avenues of exposure such as radio and forcing their label EMI to drop them.[116] The term "moral panic," first coined by Stan Cohen in 1972, refers to "the process by which the mass

[115] Laing, *One Chord Wonders,* 36.
[116] Laing, *One Chord Wonders,* 35.

media and various 'opinion leaders' define a particular incident or social group as a 'threat to societal values and interests."[117] Cohen's study of British Mods and Rockers explains that

> in the gallery of types that society erects to show its members which roles should be avoided and which should be emulated, these groups [Mods; Rockers] have occupied a constant position as folk devils: visible reminders of what we should not be.[118]

This rhetoric was echoed early on in the Edmonton media, when Barry Lee claimed that punk fans in Edmonton are "playing the role of punk that maybe fits in England but it doesn't fit here. People in general have a responsibility to be intelligent, educated and cultured."[119] Another identifiable factor that was present in early UK punk, and carried over to Edmonton punk scene is Dave Laing's concept of "negative unity." Laing suggests that it was "negative unity" that maintained the identity and cohesiveness of punk rock as a genre. It was not the musical characteristics, but the oppositional role it played within the music industry, and its exclusion from the mainstream recording and music industry. He suggests that punk bands in the UK during the 1970s "shared the same oppositional stance towards the music business, and as long as all remained outside it and unwanted by it, the considerable differences of musical approach between the various punk groups went generally unnoticed."[120]

As even this brief overview of the history of British punk shows, the Edmonton punk scene did not simply materialize, it was an extension of the issues and criticisms that began in England 1976. Issues that were significant to the development of punk in Edmonton include opposition to the dominant musical mainstream; spaces (venues) for punk music to thrive; lack of exposure from the mainstream media (including radio airplay); media induced 'moral panics';

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[117] Laing, *One Chord Wonders,* 38n, 35.
[118] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils & Moral Panics : The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1987), 10.
[119] Barry Lee, "Punk: A Necessity in Britain, A Fad in Edmonton." *The Gateway*, November 22, 1979. Ar00400.
[120] Laing, *One Chord Wonders,* 39.

and “negative unity” to bind the scene. However, there are distinct differences between musical activity in the UK and Edmonton. For example, Edmonton lacks the continuation of a musical tradition through geographic location (for example Merseybeat in Britain), instead relying on imported traditions and styles. Punk arrived in Edmonton with the stamp of “moral panic” already attached to it. How then was punks (apparently natural) oppositional role extended to Edmonton? Or in other words, what happened to punk once it arrived in Edmonton? How was it shaped and reconfigured to express the local?

Chapter Three:
Analysis of Sources: Politics of Legitimacy and Belonging

Prologue: Punk Rock Riot

On July 24, 1980, Edmonton band *The Modern Minds* played a concert at the "Riviera Rock Room" in the Riviera Motor Hotel. Among the songs they performed that evening was the song "Punk Violence." Prior to playing the song front man Moe Berg announced, "here's a song about a terrible scandal, it was a big news story…that just shows you how newsworthy Edmonton is. This is a song about the infamous punk rock riot."[121] The lyrics are as follows:

> I wanna see you spit, spit at the band
> Destroy everything in sight
> Spray your cares in everyone's hair
> Cuz you're a punk and you can do what you like
> If your girlfriend's there, looks to me like you better throw her on the ground
> Kick her and blow your nose in her hair cuz that's punk rock in this town
>
> I wanna see some punk violence
> I wanna feel some punk violence oh-oh
>
> Scream at the band if it's too slow,
> Wave your fist all over the place
> Take out your knife and carve your initials into some poor hippy's face
> If you want to get some press, have a punk rock riot
> Get your picture in the Edmonton Sun
> They've been doing it in London, and now they're doing it in Edmonton

The song refers to a historical incident at the University of Alberta in 1980, which led to the banning of all punk music on the university campus. When the *Gateway* interviewed Student's Union VP Internal Sharon Bell, she explained that reason for the ban was an accumulation of

[121] Recording can be heard here: http://themodernminds.ca/album/live-at-the-riv-rock-room-k97/

many problems with violence at punk shows. She cited one example of fight that broke out between "two punkers" at a Dinwoodie social "featuring *The Ozones*, [where] a city police paddy wagon was called in."[122] But Bell claimed the main reason for the ban was the *PJ Burton and the Smarties* incident, stating in the interview: "everything came to a head with the *999* concert last weekend … we had to do something."[123] In a recent interview with Jerry Woods, former band member of *Jerry Jerry and the Sons of Rhythm Orchestra*, he recalled that,

> the "punk rock riot" was *The Dickies* opening up for *999* at the SUB theatre. *The Dickies* could not get across the border, so *The Smarties* who had been arguably Edmonton's most popular new wave/punk band – they opened – but they just crossed over into being the most hated band. They came out, played their first song – and – there was not a sound. The place was packed – but there wasn't a sound. And suddenly…BOOO and everybody started throwing everything they could find, and we had fun and it was no big deal. Then the next day in the Edmonton Sun, "Punk Rock Riot."[124]

The article that ran in the *Edmonton Sun* the next day (March 9, 1980) was titled, "A Night of Punk Fury."

> Punk fury was unleashed last night in a violent clash between a city band and a frenzied punk audience. A hail of shattering beer bottles, jagged ice, rotten eggs and saliva forced punk group *The Smarties* to beat a hasty retreat from the splattered stage at the SUB theatre. A shaking member of last night's audience told The Sun: "I couldn't believe it. They acted like wild animals. I was horrified, and damned scared."

[122] "Punk Rock Banned." *The Gateway*, March 25, 1980. Peel's Prairie Provinces, Ar00303.
[123] "Punk Rock Banned." *The Gateway*, March 25, 1980. Peel's Prairie Provinces, Ar00303.
[124] Interview with Jerry Woods, March 27, 2014.

> The crowd's fury was directed at satin-clad lead singer PJ Burton. Local punk fans blamed Burton's constant band changes as the reason for their hatred.[125]

The incident was one of the first criticisms of local punk activity to appear in the mainstream media (*Edmonton Sun*), and its associated song it is a good place to introduce the issues, concerns and strategies of response that punk in Edmonton presented.

To begin with, the song refers to the local, and the lyrics "if your girlfriend's there, looks to me like you better throw her on the ground/ Kick her and blow your nose in her hair cuz that's punk rock in this town" address the identification of punk behavior, specifically violence, in Edmonton. The song refers to the media's role in sensationalizing punk behavior by referencing the article in which the audience was colorfully described as "wild animals." Written in response to the representation of punk in the *Edmonton Sun* the song is meant to be satirical and its strategy of parody and self-reflection communicates, questions and contextualizes punk behavior to its audience, and illustrates how music can be used to counter notions of "moral panics" and media stereotypes capable of shaping public perceptions about youth and local musical activity. Laing suggests that unlike other youth subcultures, "punk began as music and punks themselves began as music fans and performers."[126] The profound relationship between punk music and punk activity is reflected in the song "Punk Violence" which established a model by which the Edmonton punk scene would continue to deliberately examine itself – its motivations, values and local identity – through ongoing exchanges with the media.

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[125] Lyndsay Clark and Don Wanagas. "A Night of Punk Fury" *Edmonton Sun*, Wednesday March 9, 1980.
[126] Laing, *One Chord Wonders*, xi.

Punk as a Field

The years following the explosion of punk around 1976 have seen an endless debate as to what it is. Analyzed and studied as a deviant subculture (Hebdige, 1979); a moment in the historical development of rock n' roll (Davies, 1996); a threatening political critique (Brauer, 2012); a fashion statement (Bolton, et al, 2012); an extension of the Situationist International (Nehring, 2006); the list goes on. While punk and hardcore are often used interchangeably, attempts to define musical qualities of punk often resulted in fragmentation. For example, the *Offenders,* a band from Austin, Texas responded to a question in local Edmonton fanzine *C.H.I.P.S.* about how they felt being called a punk band by stating, "we're a hardcore band, a thrash band, a heavy metal band, a punk band, a hard rock band –balls to the wall and tits to the wind – who gives a shit!"[127] Perhaps labels were not important to some bands, but in Edmonton the complexities of distinguishing sound and genre were recognized by those in the scene including Rozsay who mentioned the frustration in one of her articles:

> Oh Gee, another review full of catch phrases and classification of bands. Never in the history of music have there been so many crossovers in styles. Describing a sound becomes a mental jigsaw puzzle …. [U]nless the reading audience has an understanding of alternative rock n' roll, most of this falls on blind eyes.[128]

As this example illustrates, defining the role of the listener was crucial to definition of genre, and pressure was often placed on the audience to understand, assess and define musical traits. The discursive language of genre was employed by fanzines, where writers attempted to break down the musical styles of several Edmonton bands, describing *Euthanasia* as cold-wave/post-punk, *Entirely Distorted* was describes as "pop/metal/hardcore"and *Down Syndrome* "combin[ed]

[127] "Interview with The Offenders (from Austin, Texas)" *C.H.I.P.S*, 1:7, 1985. 8.
[128] Roszay, "Loud Sounds: Two Nights of Alternative Music," *The Bullet*, September 1, 1984.

elements of pop, jazz, funk, hard rock and hardcore," and *Carnival Cops* as having a "[19]77 style punk sound, very reminiscent of the *Ramones* and the *Jam.*"[129]

My intention for this chapter is not to attempt the daunting task of defining musical characteristics of punk, but to provide some representative examples to illustrate how punk embodied notions of difference in Edmonton. While there are countless examples of how difference is portrayed in musical terms, my focus is on how difference is portrayed through contested behavior and representation in the media. Musical definition of punk aside, the consensus of most is that punk operates within a social network of resistances, and has fundamentally altered and influenced popular culture and expressions of musical activity through local scenes. Scenes are not relegated to punk exclusively, but are relevant to any style of music that embodies a social process. Keith Harris, speaking of heavy metal scenes, argues "no musical practice can take place entirely separately from social processes."[130] It was considering these social processes in the context of the local that led me to Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) idea of "field" and Howard Becker's (1982) idea of "art worlds."[131] Due to the interdisciplinary and sociological scope of scene studies, the works of Bourdieu and Becker complement each other and are often referenced by scholars when discussing music scenes. Bourdieu's theory of fields focuses on the distinct power relationships that people—and institutions—take part in. It is one way of approaching power structures within music scenes; it recognizes that fundamental differences must be expressed and is useful in explaining the tension between the media and the local music community. Becker's 'art worlds' developed out of participant observation in

[129] "Local Happenings," *C.H.I.P.S*, 1:8, 1985. 4.
[130] These include: Barry Shank, *Dissonant Identities : The Rock'n'roll Scene in Austin, Texas* (Hanover, NH : University Press of New England, 1994), and Keith Harris, "Roots'?: The Relationship between the Global and the Local within the Extreme Metal Scene." *Popular Music*, 1, 2000, and Emma Baulch, *Making Scenes: Reggae, Punk, and Death Metal in 1990s Bali* (Durham : Duke University Press, 2008).And, Harris, "Roots'?",25.
[131] Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes,* 3.

Chicago jazz clubs (1969-70), where he formed a method of articulating the collective action that he argues is necessary for creating art. Questions of artistic taste and value are an integral component to both theories. Becker shows how jazz musicians in the 1960s experienced conflict in creating music that was experimental and self-expressive, yet still catered to commercial interests. The blame was put on 'square society' and "jazz musicians developed an alternative subculture in which status and symbolic capital was measured by one's autonomy from the marketplace of commercial music."[132]

Assertions of musical taste aside, Bourdieu points out that there are differences between Becker's vision of 'art world' and his theory of field:

> the artistic field is not reducible to a *population,* i.e. a sum of individual agents, linked by simple relations of *interaction* - although the agents and the *volume* of the *population* of producers must obviously be taken into account.[133]

In other words, the field is a social system that it is not strictly defined by coordinated activities; the field has its own set of rules. It is a "structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force independent of those of politics and the economy. Its structure at any given moment is determined by the relations between the positions agents occupy in the field."[134] In explaining Bourdieu's theory of field, scholars often depict it as a game, where agents (individuals) occupy different positions in a social hierarchy, and depend on their capital (cultural, social, symbolic in addition to economic) and habitus (dispositions in individuals or

[132] Moore, "Friends Don't Let Friends Listen to Corporate Rock", 441, and Becker, *The Culture of a Deviant Group*, 61.
[133] Pierre Bourdieu, and Randal Johnson. *The Field of Cultural Production : Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge : Polity Press, 1993), 35.
[134] Bourdieu,*The Field of Cultural Production*, 6.

groups based on lived experience; socialized subjectivity) to strategically negotiate through a field in which the rules are constantly shifting.[135]

Questions arise when contextualizing the Edmonton punk scene as a field: who were the players, what were the rules, and was there a specific logic to how the game was played? While I can only begin to address this question in the scope of this thesis, the song "Punk Violence" provides an opening by identifying the agents and institutions (band/audience/mainstream media), and negotiations of power (expressing artistic legitimacy through parody/self reflection). However, and most importantly, the discussion of violent behavior connected to punk exposes embodied notions of culture in the mainstream media; the ideology that cultured societies – Edmonton for example – must act a certain way. This claim was countered by voices within the scene, the writers of independent media (fanzines), the bands, and the audience. In the process of responding to the mainstream media, the discourse in the scene turned to distinctions among its participants. The following sections examine the dialogue between the local mainstream media, independent media (fanzines) and global media (dominant television networks).

Strange Bedfellows: Local Mainstream Media as a Player In the Field

In Edmonton, like many cities, the media played a role in defining culture. It can be argued that one of Edmonton's most prominent cultural institutions – The Edmonton Symphony Orchestra – was founded in order to raise Edmonton to the respectable cultural position befitting a metropolis. David Gramit highlights a statement in the *Edmonton Journal* from 1920 that suggests "no city of any size or musical standing is quite complete without a symphony orchestra; it has been felt therefore that Edmonton should not remain behind other cities in this

[135] Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1992),126.

matter."[136] Gramit suggests that in early Edmonton the aspiration towards cultural sophistication was governed by the "lure of a metropolitan model and a determination to emulate an imported image."[137] If Edmonton's goal was to become a metropolis, then the question of what constituted a respectable metropolitan cultural life was never far. Without delving too deep into the polarization between popular and classical or 'serious art' music (or the problematic classifications of each), it should be noted that Edmonton's early cultural life was influenced by an integrated value system that Derek Scott, in *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna,* suggests governed most nineteenth century metropolitan centers: "thrift set against extravagance, self-help versus dependence, hard work versus idleness, but where art and entertainment were concerned, the key value in asserting moral leadership was respectability."[138] These discussions of moral authority and respectability often found a voice in Edmonton's local media.

To use the analogy of the field as a game again, Bourdieu explains that "players agree, through the mere fact of playing, and not by way of a "contract," that the game is worth playing, that it is 'worth the candle', and this collusion is the very basis of their competition."[139] The notion of collusion is interesting because it suggests the relationship between players is not only for mutual benefit. Granting value and legitimacy (without respectability) to punk by talking about it, the media benefitted by confirming its own status as a moral voice. Howard Becker refers to individuals or groups who seek to gain power through cultural discourse as "moral

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[136] David Gramit, "What Does a City Sound Like? The Musical Dynamics of a Colonial Settler City." *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 11, no.2 (2014): 287.
[137] David Gramit, "The Transnational History of Settler Colonialism and the Music of the Urban West: Resituating a Local Music History," *American Music*, no. 3 (2014): 285.
[138] Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2008), 59.
[139] Bourdieu, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 98.

entrepreneurs."[140] This negotiation of power plays out in the "why punk" discourse within the mainstream and independent media, and brings up the question of motivation in the context of media. To explain the power structures involved in musical criticism I look to Bourdieu who states:

> The production of discourse (critical, historical, etc.) about the work of art is one of the conditions of the production of the work. Every critical affirmation contains, on one hand, a recognition of the value of the work which occasions it, which is thus designated as worthy of legitimate discourse… and on the other hand, an affirmation of its own legitimacy. All critics declare not only their own judgment of a work, but also their claim to the right to talk about it and judge it.[141]

The media were often the first to address issues relating to punk music such as ideological commitment and expression, claiming their right to judge behavior in addition to the music. Issues of violence at punk shows, a significant and pervasive topic, were first raised in the media, resulting in a response from the punk community that over time helped to define the identity – through contested behavior – of the Edmonton scene. While the timeline for my research on punk 1979-1985 is a far cry from the nineteenth century, the values and issues of respectability (as illustrated in the prologue "Punk Rock Riot") that accompanied nineteenth century ideologies were very much a part of late 1970s musical critiques.

On September 6, 1978 the first mentions of punk – at this point still considered a British phenomenon – appeared in the local Edmonton media. Lawrence Wilkie, in a 1978 article in *The Gateway*, titled "Punk Dominates London Scene" described the sounds of punk and its philosophy:

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[140] Howard Saul Becker, *Outsiders : Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. (London ; New York : Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).
[141] Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 36.

> Though London's punk rock scene may grate on one's nerves and more often than not resemble the sounds of a steel mill as opposed to well-paced chord structure, it is legitimate in the fact that it brings anger back to rock and roll. Granted, the technical expertise required to master punk rock is minimal if not nil, it is a viable rock form since some, but definitely not all, punk rockers will progress and make important contributions to the continual evolution of the rock idiom.[142]

This early discussion of punk in the Edmonton media made the connection between scene, genre, and punk's value as a viable form of rock music. Generally positive in its critique of punk, this account argues that although punk is loud and noisy, it is legitimate—an evolution of rock n' roll. It would be another year until the punk phenomenon hit the Edmonton streets with a scathing critique of the lack of authentic "punk-ness" that Edmontonians had. Perhaps no media report exemplifies that attitude towards punk in the early years better than the 1979 feature article in *The Gateway* by Barry Lee titled, "Punk: A Necessity in Britain, a Fad in Edmonton":

> On the dark, dingy dance floor, the crowd is frenzied, most of them pogoing wildly to a back-beat, the vocals and guitar being barely unintelligible. Is this London underground? No this is Edmonton. This is "The Club." Because of its starkness "The Club" is somewhat reminiscent of the underground British punk scene. But the biggest difference between what goes on there and here is philosophical commitment. British punk was, and still is, a musical-political movement whose objective is total freedom. Punk stars of the Sid Vicious- Johnny Rotten type were the champions of a cult that attracted mostly young working class. The violence of their music is an energetic violence aimed at conservative conformity in government and society. The obvious question is then, what kind of personal commitment to punk is there in Edmonton?

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[142] Lawrence Wilkie, "Punk Dominates London Scene." *The Gateway*, September 6, 1978. Peel's Prairie Provinces, Ar01300.

> Most of those who show up to "The Club" on any given weekend seem to be white middle class Edmontonians; hardly the downtrodden of society. People into punk think that it's expected of them to be uncultured, rude and ignorant. They're playing the role of punk that maybe fits in England but it doesn't fit here. People in general have a responsibility to be intelligent, educated and cultured.[143]

While Edmonton sought cultural guidance from England, the above article makes clear that there was nonetheless a distinction between England and Edmonton, and punk's musical expression of working class discontent did not belong. Mention of class differences in Edmonton's media was often avoided; it was through discussion about music and culture that concepts of class distinctions were communicated. The fact that Edmontonians may have felt more comfortable with hierarchies and distinctions in cultural life rather than in explicitly social discourses illustrates how musical styles can highlight changing class definitions. Indeed, Edmund White suggests that the late 1970s were "the last period in American culture when the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow still pertained."[144] Yet discussions of class in Britain were ongoing and in 1976 the year punk exploded, the questions of post war British working class youth were a topic of academic inquiry.[145]

Punk was a new musical expression when it arrived in Edmonton in 1979, and there were established rules about what constituted cultural life. When punk reared its rebellious head in Edmonton, it was met with outrage and disbelief, and this may be understood by Bourdieu's explanation of the middle class who "striving for distinction but lacking the capital and habitus

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[143] Barry Lee, "Punk: A Necessity in Britain, A Fad in Edmonton," *The Gateway*, November 22, 1979. Peel's Prairie Provinces, Ar00400.
[144] Edmund White, " Why Can't We Stop Talking About New York City in the Late 1970s?" *New York Times*, September 10, 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/10/t-magazine/1970s-new-york-history.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=second-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&_r=0
[145] Was also a topic in Canada, however, like it the UK the focus was on working class male youth, which explains the lack of female voices in punk. See: Geoff Mungham and Geoffrey Pearson. *Working Class Youth Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

needed to fully appropriate upper-class lifestyles, in turn valorizes 'asceticism, rigor, legalism.'"[146] This concern for respectability eventually turned towards a criticism of the audience. The connection was made between the music and the activity, and the motivations of those listening to the music became the subject. On November 29, 1979 Hollis Brown wrote an article for *The Gateway* entitled "Punk Junk," discussing further the problems of punk in Edmonton:

> The problem with punk and new wave is essentially the same problem with mainstream rock music as it existed five or ten years ago. There's a credibility gap between artist and audience: the punkers are wailing away on stage about anarchy, violence and there being no future, and the audience who arrived at the concert in their Datsuns and dressed in their tattered rags worth 50$, don't really believe in this fundamental message …. [T]he stores are full of albums by mediocre bands who…. get the mandatory short haircuts and figure they're decadent; the kids are doing the same thing and consider themselves to be "relating" to the scene, and the movement.[147]

Brown detailed the primary concerns with the emerging scene in Edmonton by suggesting that the kids do not understand the scene, they have no connection – historical or cultural – to the music they are listening to and there is "no personal commitment," questioning (as early as 1979) the authenticity of the scene and the participants, questions that would persist through to 1985 and onwards. The Edmonton scene at this point still associated with London, and it would be a few years before "the scene" became "our scene," through a process of defining local characteristics and activity.

In 1984 a distinction was again made between the prairies and England. One account from a *Canadian Press* article claimed the difference between punk in Winnipeg and punk in London

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[146] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 331.
[147] Hollis Brown. "Punk Junk." *The Gateway*, November 29, 1979. Peel's Prairie Provinces, Ar00400.

was that Winnipeg was more friendly and congenial, to such a degree that punks from Edmonton and Calgary were flocking there:

> This city's 300-500 spike haired and leather clad young people prove that punk rock can survive and thrive in the prairies. It is a congenial group that comes closer to reflecting the province's official slogan of Friendly Manitoba than it does to copying the violent culture of the working class English districts, where punk took root. The local scene is so laid back that the subculture claims to attract punk rockers from other cities, notable Calgary and Edmonton, where the climate is said to be less congenial.[148]

For both Becker and Bourdieu, musical activity is not only a personal act of self-expression, but depends on the collective action and social strategies of its expected uses, and on shared expectations about what kinds of people will take part in activities– in this way Sean Albiez suggests, "musicians are active creative agents though their modes of expression are heavily prescribed."[149] While there was extensive punk rock activity in London and New York, simultaneously (but not to the same extent) there was punk rock activity in Winnipeg and Edmonton. Keith Harris' claim that, "punk is an international movement, but local differences do matter," illustrates that in each scene punk was, in various ways, transformed into a local expression.[150] The Winnipeg example is typical of the comparison among scenes that began as they began to take on local characteristics. In Edmonton there are numerous examples on the topic of conformity in the scene, and an emphasis on individuality is recognized – and proudly celebrated – as a positive quality of the scene. Take for example this interview with members of the local band *Down Syndrome:*

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[148] "Leather Clad Punkers Flourish on Prairies (Winnipeg Canadian Press)" *C.H.I.P.S*, 1:3, n.d. 12.
[149] Sean Albiez, "Know History!: John Lydon, Cultural Capital and the Prog/punk Dialectic." *Popular Music* 22, no. 03 (2003): 363.
[150] Harris, "'Roots'?," 190.

> **C.H.I.P.S:** When looking at the Edmonton hardcore scene, do you think it's just another xerox of the US and English scenes? Or do you think it has it's own style?
>
> **Jan Ek:** I think it very much has its own style. There are a lot of individual minded people who strive to be their own person and that rubs off on the whole scene.
>
> **Sjor Throndson:** It's a melting pot.[151]

Furthermore, the following interview with American hardcore band *7 Seconds* reveals that the characteristics considered unique to Edmonton included unity, appreciation, closeness, positivity and being un-spoiled. Indeed, it was these characteristics that endured and were often cited as what was unique and valuable about the Edmonton punk scene.

> **C.H.I.P.S:** What made you guys want to come to Canada? Has it been satisfying?
>
> **K (Kevin Second):** Everyplace we've been, the kids have been really cool. We haven't seen any stupid violence or any stupid shit at all.
>
> **C.H.I.P.S:** Is this stuff you're used to, like lots of violence and stuff?
>
> **K:** No, not that we're used to it, but every now and then you see assholes in scenes. We really haven't seen anything negative up here.
>
> **C.H.I.P.S:** It's not as spoiled as other scenes right?
>
> **K:** It's a lot more personal, like where we're from Reno, or the smaller cities…
>
> **S (Steve Youth):** It's real appreciative.
>
> **K:** The scenes are a little bit more friendlier than some of the bigger cities in the states.
>
> **S:** Plus the people are a lot more positive here and together, there's not lot of fights and it doesn't seem … well I don't live here so I don't know what it's like as far as the back stabbing or gossip but it seems real close. Like tonight someone got knocked down, and someone just picked him up.

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[151] "Interview with Jan Ek and Sjor Throndson of the band *Down Syndrome. C.H.I.P.S*, 1:6, 1985. 9.

C.H.I.P.S: That's just common sense.

S: A lot of bigger cities in the States it's not like that. It's more like someone's down, leave him down.[152]

Early questions from the media about commitment, value and cultural connection may have forced a response from locals resulting in the distinction between "the scene" and "our scene." Which begs the question, what can account for the subjective shift? At what point was punk music activity in Edmonton even referred to as a "scene?" Mike McDonald – former member of the band *Jr. Gone Wild* – recalled that in 1979,

> there was a small, very tiny scene going on in Edmonton. I don't know if we ever gave it a name, we were just doing what we were doing. Back then there was only 50 people. We were playing crappy halls and there would be the same 30 to 50 people coming out. Everybody knew everybody.[153]

The predominant themes in most sources describing the Edmonton scene, then, are unity and camaraderie; non-conformity; thinking for yourself; and appreciation. In addition to the obvious sense of personal involvement and belonging to a community in an isolated locale, much of the unity of the scene can be attributed to the local fanzines that began to emerge around 1981.[154]

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[152] "Interview with Kevin Second and Steve Youth of the band *Seven Seconds*." *C.H.I.P.S*, 1:8, 1985. 6.
[153] Interview with Mike McDonald, March 13, 2015. This impression of 50 people being the start of the punk scene was also cited in an Edmonton Journal article from 1985. David Staples wrote in, "Edmonton Punks Getting Trendy." *The Edmonton Journal*, Brunch, Sunday June 30, 1985: "since Edmonton's first punks appeared in the late 70s, the movement has grown from a handful—known as the Edmonton fifty—to several thousand people."
[154] For example one fanzine editorial stated "here in Edmonton, the solidarity felt by many members of the Edmonton music scene during the last months of 1984 is carrying over in an immensely positive way. The "good vibes" felt by the success of the "SNFU Tour Benefit" along with the numerous donation collected for the Edmonton Food Bank has brought about a coalition of two of Edmonton's music fanzines, the excellent Inject has merged with the already established C.H.I.P.S to work together to "practice what we preach," in "Editorial" *C.H.I.P.S*, 1:6, 1985. 1.

The Arrival of the 'Zine: Local Independent Media Talks Back

Cultural critic bell hooks has written of the importance of people's voices, claiming that "it is that act of speech, of 'talking back,' that is no mere gesture of empty words, that is the expression of our movement from object to subject."[155] Fanzines were the solution to musical dissatisfaction, boredom, and lack of choices, and their power lay in how Edmonton youth took an active role in communicating with one another, and in shaping their media environment.[156] That environment was, in effect, a symbolic and physical place where local voices were expressed among photocopied, letraset, black and white pages:

> I am constantly told there is no music scene in Edmonton. Well we may not be New York, or London where things start…but we should not compare ourselves to these larger cities. All you have to do is open your eyes a little and search around. The Riviera Rock Room continues to bring in good groups and the Ambassador Inn is becoming more brave. I love choices. This month I offer plenty.[157]

Edmonton's first alternative independent music publication began in 1981, started by Roszay (Rose Kapp, nee Baumgartner) titled *White Pages*. In a recent interview Roszay explained the reason she decided to produce *White Pages*:

> The lack of promotion from regular media… we had to announce events by ourselves. So one of the things I decided to do was put out a production, a fanzine if you want to call it at the time. Not to make money or anything but just to have a vehicle where we could share information and promote gigs… [and] there was the Airtight.[158]

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[155] bell hooks, *Talking Back : Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), in Julie Chu, "Navigating the Media Environment: How Youths Claim a Place Through Zines." *Social Justice : A Journal of Crime, Conflict and World Order* 24, no. 3 (1997). 9.
[156] Chu, "Navigating the Media Environment", 72.
[157] Roszay, "Editorial" *White Pages*, 1:4. July 1981. 2.
[158] Phone Interview with Rose Kapp aka Roszay, January 25, 2015.

Figure 2: Front cover of *White Pages,* no 2. May 1981

Airtight: A Listeners Guide to CJSR, a monthly magazine published by the University of Alberta radio station CJSR provided information on broadcast schedules, editorials on what it meant to be an “alternative” radio station, and information on the local music scene including (starting in September 1983) a monthly “gossip” column by Cynthia Van Ass (Roszay). *Airtight* eventually integrated reports of local punk activity with other musical styles. For example, starting in 1984 *Airtight* had a “jazz beat” section as well as a “folk scene” section and later a column dedicated to heavy metal.

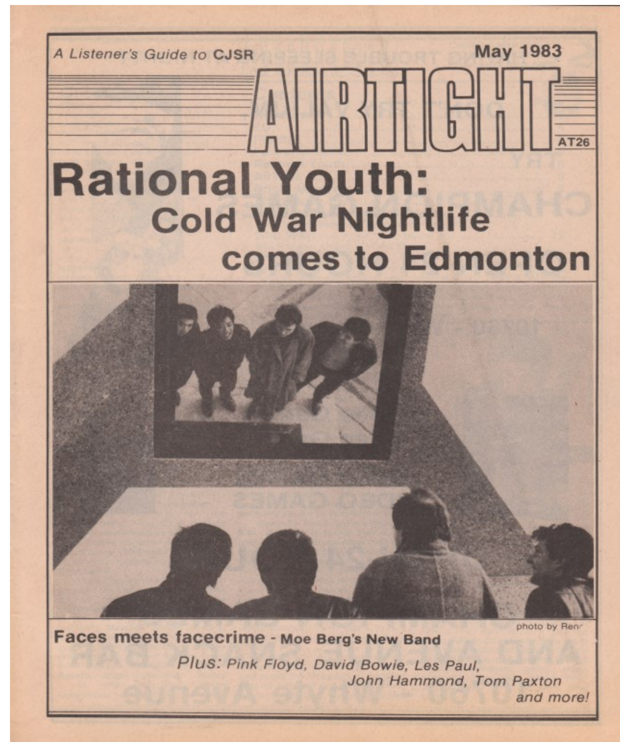

Figure 3: Front cover of *Airtight,* May 1983

As I mentioned in the introduction, while some of the writers for the fanzines also contributed to *Airtight*, the publications that I am designating fanzines are those that are "non-commercial, non professional, small circulation magazines, which the creators produce, publish and distribute by themselves," examples Julie Chu describes as youth initiated media.[159] Fanzines often followed methods of bricolage in their construction, and each had its own emphasis on subject matter: an outlet for art; a collage of corporate advertisements altered them to give a new meaning; personal reflections of the scene; a collection of media coverage from newspapers; scene reports from other cities; PETA animal rights literature; concert reviews; photos; letters to the editor; original art and more. This forum for political and social expression had broad repercussions to the development of the scene, and brought in the field of punk as a

[159] Duncombe, *Notes from Underground*, 6.

challenge to the mainstream ideas of youth culture, providing as Bourdieu suggests, new artistic possibilities:

> Change in the space of literary or artistic possibilities is the result of change in the power relations which constitutes the space of positions. When a new artistic group makes its presence felt …. [it] modifies and displaces the universe of possible options…[B]ut realizing that no cultural product exists by itself, i.e. outside the relations of interdependence which link it to other products, Michel Foucault gives the name 'field of strategic possibilities' to the regulated system of differences and dispersions within which each individual work defines itself.[160]

In terms of the emergent punk scene, fanzines like *White Pages* played an important role in changing power relations early on by, as Roszay pointed out, providing a place to share information. *White Pages* generally stuck to local happenings within a broader alternative oriented approach, for example incorporating movie schedules from the Princess Theatre, or devoting a page to book reviews. Fanzines that followed, such as *C.H.I.P.S*, started by Spyder Yardley-Jones, or *Schism*, started by Louis Pezzani (a.k.a Schism) focused primarily on the punk scene, bands interviews, gig reviews and international scene reports, but also incorporated ideological statements that distinguished punk from the larger alternative music scene. Foucault's 'field of strategic possibilities' highlights the dynamic continuity of independent media, each publication building on the previous, allowing an opening for new discourses and a change in positions of power. Local artist Spyder Yardley-Jones recalled how he was inspired by *White Pages* to start his own fanzine when he arrived in Edmonton:

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[160] Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 33.

> I came from Montreal and it was like culture shock, and I was looking for anything that looked or smelt like punk, and the first thing I found was the *White Pages*, and I was like “Oh this is cool! There’s hope!”

Spyder explained that the name of his ‘zine came from the TV show “CHiPs”, “but what it stood for was “Canadian Hardcore in Prairie Slum.”[161] The front cover image on the first edition also referencing the television program it took its name from.

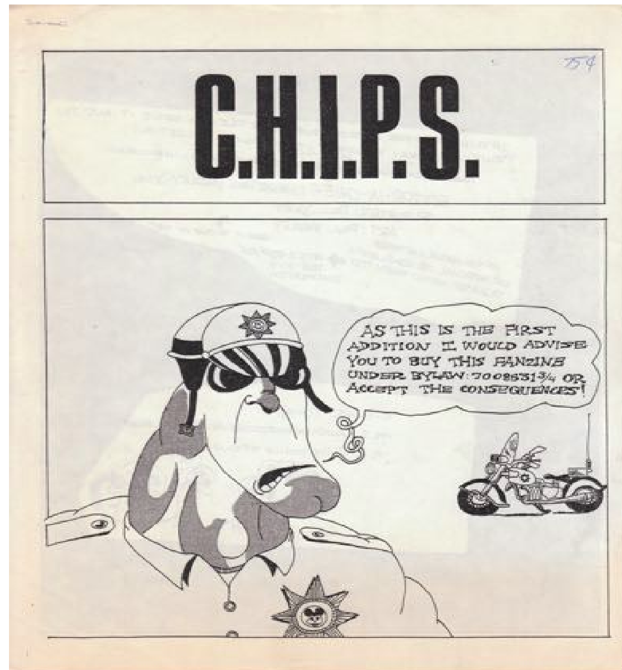

Figure 4: Front Cover of C.H.I.P.S No. 1, Courtesy Louis Pezzani

In the early 1980s, the media and the entertainment industry began to approach punk as a disturbing problem that needed to be fixed. The very notion of a mass youth culture was new in the 1970s, and there were fears that “the majority of young people [would be] unable to escape its dominant themes, interests and values.”[162] The following excerpt from a 1973 study attempts to offer reasons for upper class delinquency in youth:

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[161] Interview with Spyder Yardley-Jones February 3, 2015.
[162] Edmund Vaz, “Deliquency and the Youth Culture: Upper and Middle-Class Boys” in William G Scott, and James E. Curtis, *Social Stratification: Canada* (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada,1973), 215.

> In a fast changing technological world the upper classes have become increasingly "democratized" and heterogeneous. Today adolescent life is much less divorced from extra-class contacts, and ambiguity is evident in parent-child relationships. The "increased concern with *understanding* their children" very likely reflects a desperate bid by parents to *do something* in the face of their moral ambiguity.[163]

Prior to the advent of social media, local news and network television had a much wider reach and influence. Among the many self help TV shows and books attempting to understand youth culture included Serena Dank, a youth counselor who founded a support group called "Parents of Punkers."[164] Dank appeared on a segment of *Donahue* in 1984 in which the host Phil Donahue joked that they were (implicitly or not) discussing punk rock as if was a disease.[165] Ironically, in the struggle to understand punk youth, such media attention became a catalyst for a host of sensationalized notions of punk by the mainstream entertainment industry.

CHiPs was a television show about the California Highway Patrol that ran on NBC from 1977 to 1983. It incorporated aspects of melodrama in which characters are often simple and stereotyped.[166] The original airdate for the *CHiPS* punk episode "Battle of the Bands" aired January 31, 1982; the plot involved a slam-dancing riot caused by a punk band called "Pain." The following year, on December 1, 1983, NBC aired an episode of *Quincy M.D.*[167] that took punk violence as its subject, titled, "Next Stop, Nowhere."[168]

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[163] Vaz, Deliquency and the Youth Culture, 224.
[164] "Parents Fight Punk Movement," *The Daily Reporter*, April 24, 1982. https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1907&dat=19820424&id=qmMrAAAAIBAJ&sjid=pdkEAAAAIBAJ&pg=1359,1199475&hl=en
[165] The Donahue episode can be seen here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UGOQUahAmxg
[166] Wikipedia entry: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CHiPs
[167] The Quincy episode can be seen here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TmJxxnemxmw
[168] http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0681811/

10PM NEWS
QUINCY
After a boy is murdered at a nightclub, Quincy (Jack Klugman) claims punk rock was a contributing factor. Emily: Anita Gillette. Asten: John S. Ragin. Monahan: Garry Walberg. (60 min.)

Guest Cast

Abbey ....Melora Hardin
Mrs. Gavin ....Barbara Cason
Molly ....Karlene Crockett
Kip ....Kelly Ward
Fly Fester ....Richard Dano
Zach ....Dennis Madalone

Figure 5: Image from C.H.I.P.S. No 2. 8. Tim Toonka, "Guns Don't Kill People: Songs Do."

In the episode a young man is killed by an ice pick to the neck while he is slam dancing at a punk show. The dialogue in one scene consisted of a female psychologist trying to explain to Quincy the dangers of slam dancing and punk music:

> **EMILY:** You've got to see it with your own eyes to believe it Quincy. I've seen children come off that dance floor with crushed ribs, and bloody faces like soldiers fighting some kind of insane war.
>
> **QUINCY:** What could persuade a kid to act like that?
>
> **EMILY:** Maybe the greatest persuader there is: music.[169]

The idea that music is so powerful that it can provoke someone to kill is not a new argument. The portrayal of innocent children as victims, as in the Quincy episode, echoes the earlier example of the fear that youth would be unable to escape the dominant themes and values of a mass youth culture. To counter the perceived threat of punk music various strategic possibilities emerged by those in the scene. Among them included the naming of fanzines and bands to focus attention on the media's representation of punk, for example the fanzine C.H.I.P.S. was named after the television program, and the band *Entirely Distorted* was named because, to them it

[169] Transcribed from the Quincy episode https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TmJxxnemxmw

"represent[ed] the way papers and the media distort the truth."[170] Other strategies included reports of subjective experience in fanzines, for example "to us, the [media] distortion is obvious … no one ever gets trampled on the floor at a punk show,"[171] and assertions of misappropriation and exploitation of youth:

> TV is great if you want to laugh tune into any if the new sitcoms and look at the "hippie" of the 80s and the "NBC Punk." You can catch him/her on any show now, "Too Close for Comfort," "Facts of Life," "Square Pegs," ect. [sic] He/She is the one with the typical green and red hair and the pharmacy of safety pins on his glossy plastic (leather) coat … they never say much, just usually lean against a wall and snarl. When they do talk its basically about death, violence and suicide. Just like on Quincy and CHiPs.[172]

Bourdieu suggests that the "relationship of distinction is objectively inscribed (within the field of cultural goods) and is reactivated, intentionally or not in each act of consumption."[173] The adoption of punk violence as popular entertainment reveals the ways that moral panics can be commodified and consumed while also "tak[ing] on a life of their own which is quite unrelated to what is actually going on."[174] The more generic, broad and exaggerated the media's portrayal became, the stronger the acknowledgment of what punk meant individually and locally, at the same time confirming the persistent and complex relationship between the mainstream media and punk.

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[170] Kelly Simpson, "Interview with Entirely Distorted," *C.H.I.P.S*, 1:3, n.d. 30.
[171] Tim Toonka, "Guns Don't Kill People: Songs Do," *C.H.I.P.S*, No 2, 8.
[172] Editorial, "What the Media Tinks of Ya," *C.H.I.P.S*, 1983. 5.
[173] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 226.
[174] Geoff Mungham, and Geoffrey Pearson, *Working Class Youth Culture* (Boston : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), 2.

Contradictions: Politics of Legitimacy and Distinctions in the Scene

Issues of punk violence and behavior were not only limited to melodramatic American TV programs. They continued to be topics of discussion in Edmonton's media, and similar to the "punk riot" incident of 1980, local punk gigs were used as an opportunity for media and participants to scrutinize behavior, and reinforce or resist notions of difference. In the context of punk in general, the players include the agencies of musicians and managers, corporate industry interests, entertainment media (as seen in the *Quincy* and *CHiPs* example), and broadcast discourse including music critics and journalists, and audience. In the context of Edmonton the main agents are corporate and independent media, musicians and audience, and among them the main recurrent themes are those of genre, behavior, and place. More often than not these were negotiated through notions of *difference* both within the objective field of punk and through media representation from outside.

In October of 1982 *Vice Squad,* a band from England fronted by singer Becky Bondage, performed a concert at "Villa Vesuvius" on 118 Avenue. At the time journalist and television personality Colin McLean hosted a weekly half hour television program called "That's Entertainment." In a recent interview he recalled that because the program "cover[ed] the entertainment scene from one end to the other" he thought it would be interesting to have singer Becky Bondage on the show:

> I kind of liked the lady, she was very articulate and we had quite the interesting interview. One knows about three-chord punk, but she was the first denizen of that dark universe that I had talked to. She was very pleasant, very articulate and I enjoyed her very much.

Contrary to the popular entertainment depictions of punk youth prone to violent fits of stabbing rage Becky Bondage's behavior during the interview was pleasant and articulate and Colin McLean subtly suggests that it was the music that caused the ensuing aggressive behavior directed at him and his crew:

> So we went down [to the concert] that night, I'm not sure where it was. It was one of those ethnic halls, and the place was packed with mostly young men. When the show started the audience that had been mostly standing there was galvanized. There was this huge wall of sound and I wondered as they started, I wondered how in the name of heaven they could do this for an hour and a half. She started screaming and the sound approached; PAIN. We were covering this and having a good time because they were having a good time, and the audience was friendly, loud, screaming and seemed to be quite interested in what we were doing with our crew and all that. After about twenty minutes the whole feeling of the audience began to turn. I could feel the waves coming over the audience and the people who were interested in what we were doing and seemed to be quite friendly, you could tell that the whole mood of the audience had turned. I wouldn't exactly say hatred, but there was malice, an enmity coming from it and I don't think I'm reading that incorrectly. I realized what was happening. We were the CBC, there was a logo on the side of the camera, and punk as you know, is an anti-establishment movement, and since there was nothing else to symbolize the establishment in the room, we were it. We became kind of a symbol of everything they were there to protest. After about the first twenty minutes the first bottle began to fly in the air, which was followed by all sorts of stuff, whatever else was around came flying through the air in our direction … That's why I seem to remember it so well, because she was so likeable in person, and second of all I had never been subjected to

> that kind of behavior in all the years… I had never had that kind of experience before. At any rate it was kind of memorable.[175]

This concert was memorable for many, and was perhaps a turning point in the attitude towards punk behavior in Edmonton. Gubby Gabor Szvoboda, one of the first major promoters of punk shows in Edmonton admitted he was at the *Vice Squad* show and "was really drunk throwing bottles around, just being the total Sid Vicious shithead."[176] Gubby's identification with being a "Sid Vicious shithead" is worth noting, for as mentioned earlier, one of the main models for punk music and behavior in the 1970s was the *Sex Pistols*, who at the same time paradoxically served as a model for exaggerated media stereotypes of *all* punk activity.

What connected apparently contradictory elements of Becky Bondage's acceptable articulation, and the musical "dark universe," or the significant influence Sid Vicious held for those in the scene while they simultaneously rejected his behavior, can be explained by Richard Middleton who argues that with popular culture, "the strength with which particular potentially contradictory relationships are held together depends not only on the amount of objective 'fit' between the components but also on the strength of the articulating principal involved, which is in turn connected with objective social factors."[177] He suggests that what ties contradictory elements together in popular culture is an ideal, and the audience at the *Vice Squad* show eventually had to align their behavior with the ideal, or the "articulating principal," in this case individualism. By acknowledging his behavior was conforming to media portrayals of punk Gubby realized that acting like Sid Vicious was the opposite of individualism, it was conformity: a quality those in the punk scene were resisting.

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[175] Phone Interview with Colin Maclean, May 4, 2015.
[176] Phone Interview with Gabor Gubby Szvoboda, May 18, 2014.
[177] Richard Middleton, "Articulating the Popular," in *Music, Culture and Society*, ed. Derek B. Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 137.

In the context of the hierarchies of the punk scene, this realization and subsequent claim to individualism can perhaps be considered symbolic capital according to Bourdieu's definition: "a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honorability that are easily converted into political positions…."[178] To understand the contradictions that occur in gaining symbolic capital within the punk scene I look to Robert Fiske who suggests that popular culture contradicts itself by being subordinate to the forces of domination that are part of social systems while equally evading or resisting them.[179] Within the social system of punk encouragement towards self-reflection, individual appearance, and behavior became a marker of legitimacy, rather than how punk one looked. A typical gig at Spartans Men's Hall would often have a table set up at the entrance to the hall with fanzines for purchase, free handbills and gig posters advertising the next show or items like the poster shown in figure 6, that urged audience members to think critically about the relationship between their appearance and social consciousness.

[178] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 291.
[179] John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (London ; New York : Routledge, 2011), 4.

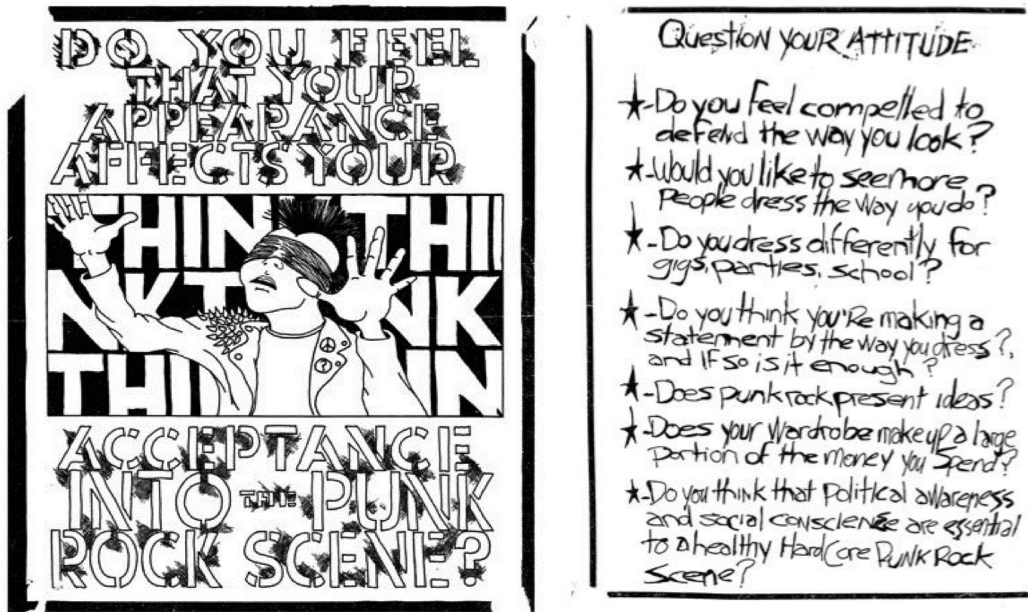

Figure 6: Handbill from a show Spartans Men's Club

On June 30, 1985 a three-page spread in the Brunch section of the *Edmonton Journal* approached the question of trendiness and appearance by interviewing local participants. Journalist David Staples attempted to classify punks according to how they look, asserting that the *alternatives* are the ones who get involved for the fashion, in contrast to the *hardcores* who are the, "slamming, spitting, biting breed of punk." Staples interviewed Cameron Bodian, who explained that "'the guys you find with the pretty hair aren't real punks,'" and further debates spoke to specifics of class, for example, Ian Young claimed that "a lot of them are from really well off families in Riverbend …. [T]hey're just rednecks with haircuts if you ask me." Mike Sinatra (McDonald) further explained the conflict punk elicited in Edmonton by stating that, "'this is oil city, hockey city; there's a lot of farms and everyone is rough. People here are brought up with certain morals and they're not willing to change just because some guy wants to put soap in his hair so it sticks up.'"[180]

[180] David Staples, "Edmonton Punks Getting Trendy," *Edmonton Journal*, Brunch, Sunday June 30, 1985.

While this article attempted to understand punk and its relationship to Edmonton, the superficiality of the approach was recognized by Louis Schizm, who responded to it as another way that mainstream media coverage "ignores the constructive, intellectual and philosophical ideals of the movement – preferring to blow out of proportion the less important concept of appearance."[181] Yet like so many other contradictions in punk, even its identification as a political and ideological movement was contested. Paul Balanchuck reflects on what it was to him at the time:

> I think square society was always hoping there was a big reason for it, some religious or grand political belief behind it. And there really wasn't. I just didn't want to do what they were doing. Maybe that was disappointing because it seemed like we were doing it for nothing, but it seemed pretty important to me at the time I guess. People in the punk scene just wanted something different.[182]

Subjective interpretation of punk allowed for different meanings to be attached to it, including questioning the entire notion that music has to "mean something." Paul's reflection that people in the scene just wanted something different highlights the complex ways difference is articulated through punk. Difference was also emphasized by the lack of expertise and virtuosity required to start a punk band, which held significant appeal both practically and ideologically. Punk was a musical expression that did not have to be rooted in musical expertise, further reinforcing punks outsider status compared to mainstream musical styles. Further internal tensions become clear in this description of the different "types" of punks in Edmonton:

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[181] Louis Schizm, "Punk World Rocked" Editorial Page *Edmonton Journal* July 11, 1985.
[182] Interview with Paul Balanchuck, May 15, 2014.

> There are two types of punks on the local scene: those who are punks because they are making a conscious political statement, and those who are punks because it is trendy and they get to act like assholes and get away with it.[183]

A choice is presented here, and the power lay in the decision of which type of punk to be. Bourdieu suggests that choices such as this are "automatically associated with a distinct position and therefore endowed with a distinctive value."[184] That the value is placed on the "higher" of the two – the socially conscious choice – raises questions about how closely the punk scene mirrored the hierarchy of Edmonton in regards to the moral language of early critiques of punk. Claims that people in general have a responsibility to be intelligent, educated and cultured, are similar to Gubby's claim that we do not all act like "Sid Vicious shitheads" also described in many accounts as "posers" or the "Saturday night punkers" as in this interview with local band *The Thieves:*

> **Shane:** The thing that really killed it in this city, that really hurt any form of new music, was the people who thought there was punk rock. They went out to be punks.
>
> **White Pages:** The Saturday night punkers.
>
> **Andy:** Yeah, the one's *[sic]* who think it's really cool to kick the sink off the bathroom wall.
>
> **Shane:** When we did that hall party for the ski club, we didn't really advertise it. To see what would happen if the only people who came were "the normals." They causing [sic] the damage. They were the university shitheads.
>
> **James**: Cowboys! One guy with cowboy boots and a ski jacket just WHAM! Smashing the hell out of the guy's can!

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[183] Professor Punk, "Punk Me Out," *Schism*, 1:4, 1985. 8.
[184] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 246.

Shane: I just sat back and said "I didn't think it was the people who like this music that cause the destruction.[185]

Behavior was one method of asserting authenticity. According to Bourdieu behavior is "strategic rather than rule or norm conforming, for, as the label suggests, actors in their everyday practices attempt to move through their constraints and opportunities that they grasp imperfectly through past experience and over time."[186] Deciding what was punk in the Edmonton scene was a process of communication and action, and the contradictions in punk presented further opportunities to distinguish what type of punk to be. Locally, the problem arose from the original statements about punk being a violent expression of working class conflict which did not belong in Edmonton, yet the very oppositional nature of punk forces a response that embodies, constitutes and constructs a local meaning; therefore the local expression of punk in Edmonton was opposition to the representation of itself.

Genre, Place and Belonging: This is Hardcore Territory

"Every artwork has to be someplace," wrote Howard Becker while considering questions such as: what places are available to perform works in; who is in charge of them and responsible for them; and what opportunities does it make available?[187] Further questions might consider the connection of genre and venue, and how music may have a different meaning, or a different sound when experienced in a specific place. Previous media examples often unintentionally raised the issue of venue to support their argument. For example, venue was employed as a rhetorical device to reinforce the difference between Edmonton and London in Barry Lee's

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[185] Roszay, "Interview with The Thieves January 18, 1982 In Which They Talk About The Scene And Themselves" *White Pages*, 1:11. February 1982. 5-7.
[186] David Swartz, *Culture & Power : The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1997), 99.
[187] Howard Becker, "Jazz Places," in *Music Scenes: Local,Translocal, and Virtual*, eds. Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 17.

critique that asked, "Is this London underground? No this is Edmonton. This is 'The Club.' Because of its starkness 'The Club' is somewhat reminiscent of the underground British punk scene."[188] The "Punk Rock Riot" that resulted in a punk ban on the University of Alberta campus claimed to be the end of punk in Edmonton, but contrary to that belief, punk did not end: instead its definition became more complex and fragmented and subgenres such as "new wave" or "hardcore" were used to distinguish people, music and venues. The appendix provides a comprehensive list of Edmonton venues during the years 1979-1985, but because of the shifting terms, and shifting economic policies of Edmonton, I have in most cases only the address of the venue not the type of music that was performed. This leads me to the question for this final section: where did punk belong?

"Spartans Men's Club" or "Spartans," as it came to be called, was a dilapidated community hall on Edmonton's north side across the street from the historic Transit Hotel. It was formed April 9, 1958 and affiliated with the North Edmonton Community League, a community hall attached to a hockey rink at 12649-66 Street, but from 1980 to 1985 it was a main venue for punk/hardcore music.[189] Mike McDonald recalled that:

> Spartans Men's Club was a key junction. It was sort of where everyone gathered. I put on the first gig there (April 3, 1980). I used to drive by it on the school bus all the time and we were getting kicked out of all the community halls. Every time you would put on a gig you would get kicked out. One day I saw Spartan Men's Club all by itself out there, there was the Transit Hotel, the 7-11, and the Mom n' Pop shop down the street.

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[188] Barry Lee, "Punk: A Necessity in Britain, A Fad in Edmonton." *The Gateway*, November 22, 1979. Peel's Prairie Provinces, Ar00400.

[189] City of Edmonton Archives RG-11 series 7.1 File 67

My band the *Malibu Kens* wanted to do a gig. It was us, the *Urban Surfers* and Terry Cox's band *New Values.* It was really cheap to rent, like one hundred dollars.[190]

Figure 7: Photo of Spartans Men's Club courtesy Paul Balanchuck

In Howard Becker's concept of art worlds, he recognized that innovations in venues lead to new playing opportunities.[191] With Edmonton, perhaps the innovation was the realization that punk needed to be in its own world, with its rules and codes of behavior, because as Mike McDonald pointed out, every other hall they played in they had gotten kicked out of. Spartans offered a remote and isolated location that the other halls did not, and also it helped the scene to grow by making the shows affordable and available for everyone. In a recent interview Gubby recalled that he

> remember[ed] getting the key [to Spartans] and checking it out, and going WOW, this is really big, and its really cheap, and this is really important because the scene at that point wasn't that huge. Because whatever you bring into the hall: PA, postering, the rental of the hall, and any investment, you had to work that into the ticket price. The

[190] Interview with Mike McDonald, March 13, 2015.
[191] Becker, "Jazz Places," 19.

> problem with Edmonton was, a lot of halls were really expensive, therefore you would have to charge ten bucks a show, and there weren't enough people to support that. So Spartan's was the perfect place.[192]

To many in the scene, Spartans Men's Hall was *their place*, an objective social space, a place to experiment and develop ways of being and acting, the place you would not get kicked out of. Ken Chinn of *SNFU* once described it as the "home of straight from the gut rock n' roll for over six years."[193] Diversity, a fundamental part of scene building according to Will Straw, was welcome and recognized as an important aspect of the Edmonton scene, and typically punk gigs at Spartans would include diverse styles of music as Paul Balanchuck explained:

> At a Spartan's Hall show you would get like *Jr. Gone Wild,* or *Jerry Jerry and the Sons of Rhythm Orchestra*, you would get *SNFU*, and some touring band from Winnipeg or Vancouver. It was a real shit mix of musical styles, you would get a band like the E*nigmas* playing and they were like a 60s garage band, then *Down Syndrome* would come on and they were this heavy grunge, British sounding punk music. Then *SNFU* would come on and it was this hardcore skate rock thing, and everybody liked it, everybody got into it. Everybody moved around and enjoyed it.[194]

Mike McDonald also commented that his "favorite gigs at Spartans are when four or five different groups play."[195] Laing's concept of "negative unity" can also be seen in the local manifestation of punk: in Edmonton the exclusion from the music industry (because there were only a handful of bands with recording contracts for example *S.N.F.U*) came from the broader local musical world, reflected in the lack of places to perform punk music, limited opportunities to hear local punk music on the radio, and distorted representations of punk in the media. These

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[192] Phone Interview with Gabor Gubby Szvoboda, May 18, 2014.
[193] Chi Pig, "The Pig's Pen." *Airtight*. November 1985. 18.
[194] Interview with Paul Balanchuck, May 15, 2014.
[195] "Interview with *Jr. Gone Wild." C.H.I.P.S*, 1:8, 1985. 26.

exclusions made Spartans all the more significant: it was not simply a place to see a gig, it was a place to experiment musically and socially. As punk developed in Edmonton, Spartans became a key venue with its own social standards and principles of behavior. In an article in *Bullet* in 1983 Roszay deciphered the process of putting on a show at Spartans and its accompanying conventions:

> Three years ago halls were the only place to hear "punk" music, which at that time could have meant anything from rock-a-billy, mod, to hardcore. Most forms of "alternative" music are now accepted in clubs. Except hardcore. The musicians want to perform, and there are enough young people interested to create a respectable audience, so certain individuals tired of non-existence become promoters. A hall has to be found, the bands available (always more than one), the money put together and then the advertising can begin. Shocking xeroxed posters appear in areas potential audiences might see. The day of the gig draws near. Instead of less postering, there's more. On the actual day, equipment is brought to the hall. People start drifting in, they are stamped, in this case with a huge SNFU on the back of the hand. The hall booked for tonight. The Spartan Men's Club is not known for its décor and is one place that isn't easy to vandalize. The windows are boarded up and the fixtures are minimalistic. Your basic room with a stage. The bathrooms are simple and grubby. Those who were punk virgins before this have to make up their minds if venturing into the north end of town was worth it. Ears bombarded, eyes assaulted by the real thing. Illusions set up by the media are distorted, shattered, hardly ever verified. Even though things have shifted from three years ago, some things haven't changed, there's still no violence, no knives, or broken bottles. Remember, this is hardcore territory. If you don't like what you see or hear, leave. This is not the time or place to have a big mouth and explain what is wrong with the youth of today. Hardcores wear what they want and during

> performances such as this one, they act the way they want. Halls are the only places they can. No one is hurt and most hall gigs are peaceful with young adults only there to vent a bit of daily frustration with their brand of music.[196]

As Roszay's column suggested, "this is hardcore territory" speaks to the connection of place and genre by recognizing that this is "the place" to experience hardcore. As mentioned earlier, for both Becker and Bourdieu, musical activity is not only a personal act of self-expression, but depends on the collective action and social strategies of its expected uses, manifested in shared expectations about what kinds of people will take part in activities. Codes of behaviour that were discursively framed in the media were acted out in the physical territory of Spartans, illustrating the face-to-face interaction that Will Straw points out is necessary aspect of scene building.

On March 30, 1985 Stephen Hume of the *Edmonton Journal* wrote about his experience attending a punk concert at Spartans Men's Hall:

> Here at the Spartans Men's Hall, the punk bands are trying to turn each other's head bones to Jell-O. Spartan is the operative word. It's as bleak a place as you're likely to find for a fast night out. No door to the women's can, which spills harsh yellow light onto a dance floor scuffed to a slippery sheen. The light bulbs are naked. Splintered linoleum looks like rats have been gnawing at the edges…. [E]very once in a while even a Sibelius lover like me experiences an overpowering urge to go out and get his brains pulverized with some down and dirty rock and roll. Most music employs silence as well as sound, constructing space to accentuate and provide a field for the notes themselves. Absence defines presence. Not here. The warm up band is *Entirely Distorted* and it generates sound with a peculiar density, as though

[196] Roszay, "Pumpkin Disorderly: A Lesson in Alternative Etiquette." *The Bullet*, November 18, 1983.

> the performers seek to squeeze all the silence out of it; to compress the music into a solid state…. [A]s for me, I cool out the night with Stravinsky's *Rites of Spring [sic]*. Just slam dancing to another order, my wife Susan likes to say.[197]

Unlike earlier media accounts of punk, Hume does not dismiss the music or claim that it has no value or that it is morally destroying youth; instead he legitimizes punk in several ways. By musically mapping genres he looks for similarities in the music, comparing Stravinsky's "Rite of Spring" – the ultimate example of an edgy classical piece – to punk, he makes the connection that punk belongs in the same music- historic stream; it is music that challenges, shocks and offends. Howard Becker suggests that a critic, or anyone talking about aesthetics "provid[es] a basis on which people can evaluate things in a reliable and dependable way, makes regular patterns of cooperation possible."[198] Hume had a responsibility to his readers and by painting a picture of Spartans, ("no door to the women's can, which spills harsh yellow light onto a dance floor scuffed to a slippery sheen. The light bulbs are naked. Splintered linoleum looks like rats have been gnawing at the edges…"), strengthening his critique of the music by describing visually what it sounded like to him; the starkness of the place contributing to density and musical qualities.[199]

Just as the youth in Edmonton made choices about what type of punks to be, Hume made choices on how to position himself as a tolerant critic without falling into a tone of moral panic. Howard Becker suggests that often "writers on aesthetics strike a moralistic tone. They take for granted that their job is to find a foolproof formula which will distinguish things which do not *deserve* to be called art from works which have *earned* that honorific title." Hume does not go so far as to claim punk is art, but by putting punk in a context that his readers would understand,

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[197] Stephen Hume, "A Really Rockin' Sock-it-to-'em Beat," *Edmonton Journal*, May 5, 1985.
[198] Becker, *Art Worlds*, 134.
[199] Hume, "A Really Rockin' Sock-it-to-'em Beat."

comparing genres and positioning himself as both appreciating classical and rock n' roll, as someone open to having an authentic punk experience in an authentic punk place, he legitimizes punk in a "civilized" discussion about music.

The examples I have explored conceal notions about civility, social responsibility, social differences and the role music plays in their construction. Adorno's claim that "intramusical tensions are the unconscious phenomena of social tensions," asserts that the inherent tensions within music reflect – or give a voice – to social conflict.[200] Through this complex process of legitimizing punk in Edmonton, the punk scene and the media were trying, in perplexing ways, to communicate and punk provided the site for political discussion, exploration, tension and exchange. Creative forces such as music, art, and dialogue were adopted and used toward resisting the mainstream media's dominant forces, instruments of social control. Hume's article suggests that over time the media did become more tolerant; arguably, then, the media and its responses were part of the scene, yet the methods of communication were distorted by particular strategies that go along with gaining symbolic power. While power struggles within the scene presented individuals' strategies of distinguishing themselves from the group by way of behavior and appearance, the mainstream media focused on legitimizing their role as cultural critics, and on playing the role of the opposition. What this offers then is not an explanation about generational conflicts, but a way of exploring the boundaries and the territory of punk, who and what belongs, and where it belongs, and in the process defining the boundaries of music in Edmonton.

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[200] Theodore Adorno, "On Classes and Strata," in *Music, Culture and Society*, ed. Derek B. Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 120.

Conclusion

Punk music emerged in Edmonton, Alberta in 1979 bringing with it questions from the local media of cultural legitimacy, philosophical commitment, codes of behavior and belonging. Local punk shows were often used as an opportunity for media – and participants – to scrutinize youth musical activity and in the process reinforce notions of social difference and hierarchies. The argument that the term punk is used in a way that assumes we know specifically what it was and what it meant suggests that general assumptions about punk have the potential to overshadow specific local and regional meanings attached to it. Studies of punk are also hindered by problems with subjective experience, fading memories and lack of accurate documentation. Because of these and many other contradictions and complexities of punk, its consideration provides a fertile site for exploring local dynamics and cultural belonging through musical activity. Indeed, the recurrent theme among these chapters is one of belonging. In the process of documenting the emergence of a punk music scene and examining the role of the media in its formation, distinctive questions about place and belonging arose: does punk belong in Edmonton? And if so, where does it belong in terms of venue? In the context of social hierarchies questions were raised concerning who belongs in punk and what role do they play? Definitions of punk are also problematic, but this uncertainty can be seen as productive: Laing argues it can function as a provisional discursive formation contributing to "the ability of those involved to enforce or negotiate definitions, exclusions and positions which reinforce their interests." Approaching definitions of punk in this way highlights how the media was fundamental to the development of a punk scene, because it provided an oppositional place to establish dialogue about primarily local issues regarding punk activity in Edmonton.

One of the limitations of this study – focused on punk as a local phenomenon – lies in the lack of attention regarding analysis of the larger music industry response. Digital recording and Internet access has opened up new opportunities for recording and distribution, but during the 1980s commercial opportunities were limited often forcing local bands to relocate to larger cities. Further research could be done on the effect that recording and distribution contracts had on local music scenes. What were the local recording opportunities? What impact did bands with recording contacts have on local musical activity? How did the movement away from places like Edmonton towards places with more opportunities like Toronto impact local musical scenes?

This thesis has also left out of consideration the extensive amount of non-musical materials and ephemera that were produced during the years 1979-1985. As I began collecting sources for this research, I quickly realized that the quantity of these materials would require a completely separate project. I have personally collected and digitized over three hundred gig posters and fanzines from individual collections. The preservation of these materials provides essential documentation of visual and artistic communication within the scene and I would like to see them made available for future research. For example a recent project by Ryan Richardson digitized all twenty-nine issues of the LA fanzine "Slash" published between 1977 and 1980, and made them available to download for free. Many online archival collections are non-academic, and Richardson raises questions on his website such as "are collections better off inside the institutional libraries or in the hands of collectors?"[201] The value of these materials is recognized, yet the question still remains: where do they belong?

Taken together these chapters begin the process of documenting local musical activity, raising questions and issues that contribute to local historical knowledge. The years 1979 to 1985

[201] Downloads are available free at http://www.circulationzero.com/ with a link to make a charitable donation to either "Austin Pets Alive!" "Doctors Without Borders" or "Electronic Frontier Foundation."

represented a creative and dynamic time that firmly established the roots of an alternative music scene in Edmonton. The closing of Spartans was a blow to the community, but is also a testament to the resilience of music scenes. Mike McDonald responded to the closure of Spartans in a 1985 *Airtight* article by stating that: "shouts of "NO!" echoed throughout our alternative community as the progress of man once again reared its ugly head. Another piece of history has been obliterated in the best interests of profit, or in the best interests of a big empty field. They tore down the Spartans Men's Club …. but what a school for the groups that grew up there."[202] The site of Spartans is still a big empty field, but what remains is the memory of a venue that was distinctly local; one that connected youth musical activity, community and corporate interests, and local processes fundamentally related to place and belonging.

[202] Mike Sinatra. "Mike Muses Aloud." *Airtight,* November 1985. 18.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANTS

Paul Balanchuck was active in the early 1980s punk scene as a participant and member of the band *Rabid Drunks*. Paul has been involved in the Edmonton music scene since, as a lead singer in rockabilly/psychobilly bands, the *Krazy 8s* and the *Ingniters*, and most recently the *Preying Saints.*

Brent Belke is a founding member and guitarist of the bands *SNFU* and the *Wheat Chiefs.* In 2003 Brent received a BFA degree in composition from Simon Fraser University and today has a successful career composing music for film and television.

Evan C. Jones was a founding member and drummer of the bands the *Uncolas, Urban Surfers,* the *Reverb Angels* and *SNFU.* As a young musician Evan was a fixture on the scene performing alongside influential punk bands such as *DOA, Youth Brigade,* and *Social Distortion.*

Spyder Yardley-Jones grew up in a politically aware family; his father (John Yardley-Jones) is an editorial cartoonist. In 1982 he started the fanzine "C.H.I.P.S" as a creative outlet and place for political discourse in the punk scene. Today he is active as a freelance artist and mentor/educator.

Roszay (Rose Kapp nee Baumgartner) started Edmonton's first alternative independent music publication "White Pages" in 1981, which became "The Kid" in 1982. She also wrote columns for "Airtight" and the "Bullet", and hosted an independent cable program called "White Pages On the Air." Today Rose lives in the Vancouver area where she works as a freelance illustrator and graphic designer. She is active in the local arts scene hosting a salon-style discussion group called Creative People Talking, involving visual, performing and literary artists.

Colin MacLean is a long time theatre critic with the Edmonton Sun. He wrote the CBC national network programs The Tommy Banks Show and Stompin' Tom's Canada and was host of the highly popular quiz program Reach for the Top for twenty years. In 1982 Colin interviewed Becky Bondage of *Vice Squad,* for his weekly half hour television program called "That's Entertainment."

Cameron Noyes was active in the Edmonton music scene playing bass and singing in such bands as *ANOYES, Jr. Gone Wild* and *Psychedelicatessan.* In the mid 1980s he toured with local celebrities *Jerry Jerry, SNFU* and *Jr. Gone Wild* while promoting local and foreign bands including John Cale, *The Flaming Lips, Scream* (Dave Grohl) and many others. In 1993 he moved to Vancouver and began grant writing and organizing European / Canadian tours. Cameron presently works with a wide array of artists as a consultant / grant writer and personal management of *SNFU's* Mr. Chi Pig, and remains active as a concert promoter.

Jen Paches became part of the Edmonton punk scene with the band *ANOYES.* She also started a promotion company with Cameron Noyes called NEAT N TIDY bringing in alternative Rock bands like *Cowboy Junkies* and *Red Hot Chili Peppers.* In the 90's she began her studies at The University of Victoria where she received her degree in Composition and Performance

completing her first Opera NA GWEENA and has just completed a new POETIC TERRA-IST Opera with words by permission from Naomi Klein plus a new collection of songs for the duo GAS TANK written with her brother Rob.

Louis Pezzani (aka Schizm) was involved with CJSR as a radio DJ (The Hardest Core and SERIOUSNOISE) and editor of the University of Alberta's radio magazine "Airtight" during the 1980's. In 1983 he started the fanzine "Schism" focusing on alternative music, art and opinion. At the end of the 80's he returned to the stage and Mystery Arts, and today is considered one of North America's top Mentalists. He has a huge collection of 80's 'zines and records from around the world and has very fond memories of those amazing times.

Gabor Gubby Szvoboda was one of the first punk show promoters in Edmonton. In addition to putting on many shows in the early 1980s, *SNFU* asked him to be their manager, assisting the band with touring and recording which he agreed to. Gubby moved to Chicago in 1997 and continues to stay active in the music industry working for Cobraside: a record label and distributor.

Jerry Woods is a founding member of the band *Jerry Jerry and the Sons of Rhythm Orchestra*. Jerry moved to Montreal in 1985 returned to Edmonton in 1999 and is active in the Labour Movement with CUPW, The Alberta Federation of Labour and the Alberta Worker's Health Centre.

APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY

Chronology of Local Punk Activities in Edmonton: 1978-1985

September 1978:	The first mentions of punk appeared in the local media. Lawrence Wilkie, *The Gateway*, "Punk Dominates London Scene."
November 1979:	Feature article in *The Gateway* by Barry Lee titled, "Punk: A Necessity In Britain, a Fad in Edmonton."
1980:	*Modern Minds* releases 7" single "Theresa's World"
November 1979:	Randy Boyd opens 'The No Name Club' and later changes the name to 'The Suicide Club.'
February 1980:	*DOA, Urban Surfers, Blank Generation* gig at the Northmount Community Centre.
March 1980:	The "Punk Rock Riot" during the *999* Concert at SUB Theatre, University of Alberta, results Student's Union ban on all punk rock from being performed at any of the venues on campus including Dinwoodie, SUB Theatre and RATT.
April 3, 1980:	First show at Spartans Men's Hall – *Urban Surfers, Malibu Kens* and *New Values.*
April 1981:	*Rock n' Roll Bitches* releases Wild West EP. *PJ Burton and the Smarties* release a single.
April 1981:	First edition of the White Pages.
May 1981:	"Baker's Dozen" a weeklong event at the Ambassador Motor Hotel featuring all local bands.
June 1981:	CALM (Canadian Association for the Advancement of Marijuana) concert in Borden Park, first gig for *Live Sex Shows* later to become *SNFU.*
February 1982:	Last edition of the White Pages.
June 1982:	First edition of The Kid.
June 1982:	Scandals in the Sheraton Caravan begins offering live alternative music.
September 1982:	The Kreig After Hours Nightspot opens.

November 1982: Iggy Pop performs a concert at the Dinwoodie Lounge, University of Alberta.

October 1982: *Vice Squad, Youth Brigade* and *Social Distortion* perform at Villa Vesuvius.

August 14, 1982: "Youth Explosion" *Stretch Marks, SNFU* (first gig) *Sting Zelda* and *Riot 303.*

November 1982: "West Watch Project"[203] benefit concerts at The Kreig featuring *Troc 59, The Draggnettes, Backstreet, The Malibu Kens, The Thieves, Bastille, SNFU, Dammerung, Reverb Angels, Office, Psyche,* and *The Mods.*

December 1, 1982: Quincy M.D. "Punk Episode" airs on NBC.

March 31, 1983: "Thrash and Burn" at Spartans Men's Hall, *SNFU, Down Syndrome* and *Bing Jesus.* 300 people.

June (?) 1983: First edition of C.H.I.P.S.

May 1983: The Kreig closes down.

October 1983: "Pumpkin Disorderly" show at Spartans Men's Hall featuring *Down Syndrome, Entirely Distorted* and *Ghost Shirt Society.*

December 1983: *The Unwanted* and *Last Gasp* at Spartans Men's Hall.

December 1983: British punk band *GBH* and *SNFU* perform at Scandals.

October 1983: "It Came From Inner Space" released, a compilation of all Edmonton bands featuring *SNFU* (Real Men Don't Watch Quincy) *The Touch, The Thieves, Route 66, facecrime, Down Syndrome, Malibu Kens,* and *The Standards.*

October 25, 1984: *Dead Kennedys, SNFU, Down Syndrome* and *Government of God* Sportsworld Roller Rink, 750 people.

January 1984: Final edition of the Kid.

April 1984: Compulsion – The Society for the Promotion of Non-Commercial Talent is formed.

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[203] The West Watch Project was a compilation project "meant to elevate twelve local bands involved in the concept from the garage level to some degree of national recognition," but it was never completed. Proceeds for the project were raised from three nights of bands at the Krieg, plus groups had to provide their own financial backing for studio sessions. Fred Hamster, "The Peters Principal: Inner Space an Eleven Year First" *Airtight* September 1983, 6.

1984:	Better Youth Organization's Something to Believe in Compilation released featuring *SNFU.*
December 26, 1984:	American punk band *Black Flag,* at Sportsworld Rollerskating Rink.
March 1985:	"Cynthia Tells All" replaced by "The Pigs Pen" in Airtight
April 1985:	*Entirely Distorted* releases cassette tape.
September 29, 1985:	Last show at Spartans Men's Club. *The Melvins, Beyond Possession* and *Scattered Bodies.*

APPENDIX B: COMPREHENSIVE LISTOF BANDS/VENUES/MEDIA

BANDS

Band Names	People	Year Formed
Rock & Roll Bitches	Ken McKay, George Wall	1979
PJ Burton and the Smarties(The Nerve/Romper room		1979
The Uncolas (Not just another Pop Band)	Dale Muscalic, Jamie "Jungle Jim" Algae, Evan C. Jones, Brian Ogae	1979
Urban Surfers	Al Miller, Jamie "Jungle Jim" Algae, Evan C. Jones	1980
The Reverb Angels	Al Miller, Ken McKay, Evan C. Jones	1980
Office/ Voice	Vincent Evans, Malcom Swan, Jeff Sawatszky, Phil Young, Brian Letourneau, Steve Honeyman, Murray White	
The Diefenbakers	Dale Davis, James Halum, Kevin Forbes, Dave Stevenson, Dan Webster, Paul Souldre, John Gilchrist, George Kelly, Mark Vidalin	
Live Sex Shows	Ken Chin, Marc Belke, Phil Larson, Ed Dobek	
SNFU	Evan C Jones, Ken Chinn, Jim Algie, Mark Belke, Brent Belke	1981
Troc '59	Kim Upright, Bobby Orysdale, Dave Gilby, Gene Pyrz, Moe Berg	
Modern Minds	Moe Berg, Kim Upright, Bobby Orysdale	
Psyche	Darrin Huss, Stephen Huss, Dwayne Goettel	1981
Malibu Kens/Joey Did and the Necrophiliacs		1982
The Draggnetts	Drew Berman, Dennis L., Darryl Sterdon, David Page	1982
The Thieves		1982
Facecrime	Moe Berg, Dave Gilby, Blaine Vanstone	1983
Blank Generation/ Dammerung		
Jerry Jerry and the Sons of Rhythm	Jerry Woods, Paul Soldoure	

Orchestra		
Jr. Gone Wild	Mark Brostrom, Kim Upright, Graham Brown, Mike (Sinatra) McDonald, Cameron Noyes	1983
The Po ta toes		
The Poodles		
The Psychotics		
The Presence		
Explore the Floor		
The Bopcats		
Zsa Zsa		
Scooter and the Suntans		
		1983
Entirely Distorted	Darren Vanstone, Dave Rees, Brian Toogood, Tom Pfalz, Mark Simpsone	1983
Euthanasia	Cameron Boddy, Chris Boddy, Marty Chatrin, Rick Hewson	
ANOYES	Jen Paches, Rob Paches, Reg Elder, Cameron Noyes, Dave Mockford, Dean Cunninham	
Rabid Drunks	Paul B., Mike Whitney	
Rapier	Jen Paches, Rob Paches, Reg Elder	
Ghost Shirt Society	Max House, Dave Bacon, Andy Hill	
Legal Limit		
The News		
Down Syndrome	Jan Ek, Sjor Throndson, Laurie Bulback	1983
The Standards/ The Mods	Dave Lawson	
Success Widout College	Ken Hilby, Dave Mutual, Maury, Pat Braden, Susan Raken	
Me and the Mosquitos	Mike Demers,	1983
The Ditto Girls (All Girl Band)		1983
The Transistors (All Girl Band)		1983
ThemEssentials	Jerry Woods, Fido, Ace	
government of God	Andy Hill, Krag Quasar	1984

Scattered Bodies	Troy Shenfield, Dean Relf, Ross, Danny Gordy	1984
Route 66/ Idyl Tea		
Inferior Beer Gods	Cameron Noyes, Curtis Creager, Chi Pig, Aeknw Nelson, Elkanah Babcock	

VENUES

Bars/Clubs	**Halls**	**Houses**
Crackerjacks 9707 – 110 St.	Eastwood Community Hall 11803-86 St.	Mouse House
RATT, Student's Union Building University of Alberta	Ukrainian Hall 11018-97 St.	Big House
Multi Purpose Rumpus Room 9523-Jasper Ave.	Polish Hall	Bel Abris
The Ambassador Motor Inn 10041-106 St	Spartans Men's Club 12645-66 St.	The Nunnery
Scandals- Sheraton Caravan Hotel 10014-104 St	Sacred Heart Parish 10825-96 St.	Castle Greyskull
SUB Theatre, Student's Union Building University of Alberta	Orange Hall 10335 - 84 Ave.	
The Suicide Club (originally the No Name Club)	Rossland Hall 132 St North End	
Dinwoodie Lounge, Student's Union Building University of Alberta	Bonnie Doon Hall 9240-93 St.	
Riviera Rock Room 5359 Calgary Trail	Edmonton Ski Club 9613-96 Ave.	
Rose Bowl 10111-117 St.		
The Krieg 10147 - 104 St.		
The Chinook Theatre 10329-83 Ave.		
The Limit 8006-104 Street		
Flashback 10330-104 Street		
The Saxony		
The No Name Club		
Lucifer's 9974 - Jasper Ave		
The Sidetrack Café 10333 - 112 Street		
Sportsworld Roller Rink 8124-113 Ave.		

MEDIA & DISTRIBUTION

Record Stores	Fanzines	Magazines	Production Companies/ Societies
SU Records – Hub Mall	White Pages	The Bullet	Compulsion
Auracle Records 10808-82 Ave.	The Kid	Something Entertaining	Neat and Tidy Productions
Obscure Alternatives	C.H.I.P.S	The Examiner	Parallel Productions/Dusty Chaps
Cargo Records	Schism	Hub Cigar	Periscope Productions
Sound Connection 10726-101 St & 8411-109 St	Trash	Mike's News Stand Downtown on101 St.[204]	Violent Moose Studios
Sound Side Sound	Inject		The Machine Shop[205]
	Dire Doyle		
	Up Your Shaft		
	The OK Mag		
	RAID		
	SHAME		
	Morbid Curiosity		
	Marcy Buckets		

[204] "Carries "Sounds" "New Music Express" from England" The Kid No. 2

[205] The Machine Shop (by the Rat Hole) 104 Ave. 109 street (studio started by Daryll Goede) had for a few years 1978/79 Bands that didn't have a practice spot could rent spaces to practice it was called Studio City in the basement. Bands would stay there people would crash on the couches ect.