

**The Punk Rock Subculture in Victoria:
A Field Study**

Stephen W. Baron
Bachelor of Arts. Victoria, 1984

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in the Department
of
Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

Richard L. Ogmundson Ph.D.

C. David Gartrell Ph.D.

David S. Moyer Ph.D.

Leland H. Donald Ph.D.

© Stephen W. Baron, 1988

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

1988

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced
in whole or in part, by mimeograph or other means,
without permission of the author.

ACCEPTED

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEAN

02 June 1988

Supervisor: Professor Ogmundson

ABSTRACT

Research in the area of adolescent subcultures in Canada has been sparse. This field study of the Victoria punk rock subculture attempts an exploratory examination in the area. The data consist of transcribed unstructured interviews with members of the subculture and field notes gathered during the observation period. The study uses structural functionalist and neo-Marxist theories of subcultures as guides to explanation of the Victoria subculture.

Structural functionalist theory postulates that lower class youth who experience a discrepancy between ideological goals and the opportunities to reach goals will enter a subculture. The subculture allows them to achieve higher status via alternative criteria. Neo-Marxist theorists argue that lower class youth participate in subcultures in an attempt to solve structural problems emanating from their class position. The subculture allows them to symbolically challenge the dominant order.

The findings challenge the assertions of both theories concerning class of origin. The membership is not drawn primarily from the lower or working classes. Current class status, overlooked by both theories, indicated severe resistance to the dominant order. Many of the members adopted marginal socioeconomic locations and were faced with severe hardships. Members lived in "squats", received state support or worked at low wage employment. They begged, stole,

robbed and scammed to survive. They were exposed to negative interaction with the public, violence with other subcultures, and attention from the police and other social agencies.

As suggested by both theories, the subculture was male dominated. Males were involved in more severe resistance while females tended to use the subculture for social purposes. Otherwise the results revealed a diversity of responses that made theoretical explanation difficult. In many cases, each theory explained different aspects of the subculture. In other cases, the responses of many members did not fit the theories at all. While part of the membership displayed resistance to cultural goals, school and the family, others showed little resistance in these areas. This suggested that there were differing levels of resistance within the subculture.

The attitudes of the subculture were found to be libertarian. The resistance was seen to stem from the libertarian aspects of the subculture not from its class origin. This libertarianism served to mute any potential political action because it discouraged the development of a group ideology. The members could only solve their problems symbolically through their style. They achieved status through membership and violence. They could not address issues of unemployment, poverty and alienated labour in the subculture.

Neither theory gained clear support and the study revealed a number of weaknesses in them. This suggests that further work needs to be carried out to fully develop subcultural theory.

Examiners:

[Redacted]

Richard L. Ogmundson Ph.D.

[Redacted]

C. David Gartrell Ph.D.

[Redacted]

David S. Moyer Ph.D.

[Redacted]

Leland H. Donald Ph.D.

CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Contents	v
Tables	vii
Acknowledgments	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction/Theory	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Merton's Structural Functional Theory	2
1.3 Cohen's Adaptation	5
1.4 The Strain From Norms	10
1.5 The Neo-Marxist Theory	13
1.6 Style	16
1.7 Other Methods of Resistance	21
1.8 Summation	25
1.9 Females in Subcultures	26
1.10 Review of Studies on Punks	28
1.11 The Canadian Case	37
1.12 Research Questions	40
Chapter 2: Method	42
2.1 Local Subculture History	48
Chapter 3: Results	53
3.1 Background	53
3.2 Member's Goals	58
3.3 School	66
3.4 Parent/Child Relationships	77
3.5 Entry into the Subculture	85
3.6 Initiation	89
3.7 Group Views	91
3.8 Political Views	96
3.9 Style as Resistance	105
3.10 The Construction of Style	110
3.11 Music	115
3.12 Creativity	116

Chapter 4: Consequences of Resistance	119
4.1 The Subcultural "Hang-outs"	119
4.2 Daily Activities.	126
4.3 Living on the Street	129
4.4 Relations with the Public	133
4.5 Subcultural Violence	135
4.6 Interaction with the Law	139
4.7 Interaction with Street Workers	141
4.8 Day to Day Survival	143
4.9 An Examination of Individuals	146
4.10 White Collar Males	147
4.10.1 Walt	147
4.10.2 Alan	149
4.11 White Collar Females	151
4.11.1 Heather	151
4.11.2 Mary	152
4.12 Blue Collar Males	154
4.12.1 Tom	154
4.12.2 Bob	156
4.13 Blue Collar Females	157
4.13.1 Naomi	157
4.13.2 Farrah	159
4.14 Summary of Individuals	160
Chapter 5: Discussion	162
5.1 Future Questions	168
Bibliography	173

TABLES

3.1	Subculture Age Distribution	54
3.2	Class of Origin by Sex	56
3.3	Present Residence and Class Location by Sex	58
3.4	Class of Origin and Future Orientations by Sex	64
3.5	Current Class Position and Future Orientations by Sex	65
3.6	School Histories and Class of Origin by Sex	70
3.7	Present School Circumstances and Class of Origin by Sex	71
3.8	Present School Circumstances and Present Class Location by Sex	71
3.9	Class of Origin and School Attitudes by Sex	75
3.10	Present Class Location and School Attitudes by Sex	76
3.11	Member/Parent Relationship and Class of Origin by Sex	82
3.12	Member/Parent Relationship and Present Living Arrangements by Sex	83
3.13	Method of Entry by Sex	88
3.14	Class of Origin and Political Orientations by Sex	102
3.15	Present Class Location and Political Orientations by Sex	103
4.1	"Hang-Out" and Present Class Location by Sex	122
4.2	"Hang-Out" and School Attendance by Sex	123

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following people for playing an integral role in the completion of this thesis: Dr. Richard L. Ogmundson, Dr. William K. Carroll, Dr. C. David Gartrell, Peter Baron, Warren Baker, David Tindall and Greg Dawe.

A very special thanks must be made to all the subjects who participated in this study. I wish them all good luck in the future.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION/THEORY

1.1 Introduction

Since the mid 1970's, the deepening crisis of capitalism has resulted in limited opportunities for the youth of the western advanced nations. The youth in these countries are faced with high unemployment rates and an employment market that is rapidly changing. In confronting this bleak reality, many youth have developed feelings of anger, resentment and discontent (Cashmore 1984 p. 8). Many of them attempt to overcome or express these feelings within a subcultural setting. One such subculture that evolved simultaneously with the economic downturn in the 1970's is the punk rock subculture.

Establishing itself in Britain over a decade ago, the punk rock subculture was the focus of great media attention. The media, in its coverage, sensationalized the subculture. These reports were directed at parents. The punks served as prime examples of youth who had not been disciplined properly. Later, the press changed its tactics, sanitizing the punk phenomenon and diffusing its threatening elements (Cashmore 1984 p. 35; Laing 1985 p. 36; Brake 1980 p. 80).

Over time, the media has gone on to pursue other events, leaving the erroneous impression that the punk rock subculture has dissolved. The transformation of punk rock into a less volatile form of music, new wave, has also led the public to believe that punk rock is "dead" (Laing 1985 p. 109). However,

this is not the case. The subculture not only continues at its geographical origin, but has now taken root in other parts of Europe and North America. This leads one to ask why punk rock subculture emerged in Canada and why it continues to exist.

In formulating an answer to this question, this chapter first examines the structural-functional theory of adolescent subculture developed by Robert Merton and Albert Cohen. The analysis then moves to a critique of the functional theory and an alternative neo-marxist formulation by Stuart Hall, Dick Hebdige and other mainly British Scholars. The comparison of these two approaches raises questions about the character of punk subculture which this study will attempt to answer.

1.2 Merton's Structural Functional Theory

Robert Merton's work has been the basis from which subcultural theory has been developed in North America. In his book Social Theory and Social Structure (1957), Merton, describes a dominant ideology that stresses the achievement of goals. This ideology also contains the assumption that every person within the social order has an equal opportunity of attaining these goals. However, Merton notes that while the ideology of an open class continues, there is very little advancement for those with little formal education and few economic resources. That is, even though goals are seen to transcend class lines, there are class differentials in the accessibility of the goals.

Emerging from this ideology is a cultural manifesto stressing that "one must not quit, must not cease striving, must not lessen his goals, for 'not failure, but low aim, is crime'" (Merton 1957 p. 139). As a result of this manifesto, Merton feels that three axioms have gained cultural acceptance.

First, all should strive for the same lofty goals since these are open to all; second, present seeming failure is but a way station to ultimate success; and third, genuine failure consists only in the lessening or withdrawal of ambition (Merton 1957 p. 139)

Belief in these axioms serves to deflect any criticism away from the social structure onto one's self, especially among those who do not have equal access to the opportunities. It also leads people to conform so as not to be outcast from the society. An additional implication of belief is that members of the lower social strata will compare themselves with those on the top rungs of society, rather than with those of the same social strata.

Those who are the victims of the discrepancy between goals and their opportunity to attain them, while aware of the difference between their worth and social rewards, are not usually aware of how this discrepancy comes about. This lack of awareness arises from an assimilation of the dominant ideology. The result is that many people in this position, according to Merton, attribute their problems to mystical sources.

Of central importance in Merton's theory are the institutional means by which the goals can be attained. He believed that if a society stressed the goals to a certain extent, and the need to accomplish these goals by legitimate institutional means to a lesser extent, there could arise "anomie" (normlessness). Anomie would occur when individuals stressed the emotional importance of reaching goals, while giving less emotional support to the methods of reaching these goals. Merton was of the opinion that because of their unequal importance, adaptations evolve based on the cultural goals and the institutionalized means.

Merton considers five forms of adaptation. First, "conformists" accept both the cultural goal and the institutionalized means used to attain the goal. Second,

"innovators" accept the cultural goal but reject the institutionalized means as a method by which to reach the goal. Third, "ritualists" reject the cultural goal but continue to accept institutionalized means. Fourth, "retreatists" reject the cultural goals and the institutional means to achieve goals, resulting in a "dropping out" from the society. Last, "rebels" reject the cultural goals and the institutional means and substitute them with new goals and means. It is this type of adaptation that Merton felt youth subcultures have adopted.

When rebellion is confined to relatively small and powerless elements in a community, it provides a potential for the formation of subgroups, alienated from the rest of the community but unified within themselves. This pattern is exemplified by alienated adolescents teaming up in gangs or becoming part of a youth movement with a distinctive subculture of its own. This response to anomie tends, however, to be unstable unless the new groups and norms are sufficiently insulated from the rest of society that rejects them. (Merton 1957 p. 191)

Merton was of the opinion that the family and the school were the major agencies for socializing individuals into the dominant ideology. They

join to provide the intensive disciplining required if an individual is to retain intact a goal that remains elusive beyond reach if he is to be motivated by the promise of gratification that is beyond reach (Merton 1957 p. 136-7).

Parents serve to transmit values and goals. These values will be influenced by the social strata that the parents themselves occupy. The socialization takes place not only through direct training and discipline but also inadvertently by the child's exposure to the everyday life of his parents and their experience.

The schools are the official agencies for passing on the ideology, "with a large proportion of the textbooks used in city schools implying or stating explicitly 'that education leads to intelligence and consequently to job and money success'" (Merton 1957 p. 136-7). Together, the school and the family socialize youth to

strive for goals; to internalize the notion that success can be realized if one has the abilities.

1.3 Cohen's Adaptation

Albert Cohen adapted the central thesis put forth by Merton in an attempt to explain the emergence of youth subcultures. In his book Delinquent Boys (1955), Cohen argued that such subcultures arose because of the discrepancy between the culturally accepted goals and the means by which to attain these goals. That is, when a person's opportunity is restricted by his place in the social strata, an alienation from legitimate institutional means to attain the goal develops. However, Cohen felt that Merton's theory could not fully explain youth subculture because many of its activities were non-utilitarian, malicious and negativistic. This is in contrast to Merton who felt that people engaged in stealing because of its practicality - they wanted the items. Cohen argues that in the subculture much activity has no apparent material motivation at all. It serves to show prowess and to raise the self esteem of members. In addition, the negativism allows members to take the norms of the larger society and turn them upside down. This would to a certain extent support Merton and his use of the concept of adaptation through rebellion. However, Cohen does not fully agree, stating

This argument is sociologically sophisticated and highly plausible as an explanation for adult professional crime and for the property delinquency of some older and semi-professional thieves. Unfortunately, it fails to account for the non-utilitarian quality... Were the participant in the delinquent subculture merely employing illicit means to the end of acquiring economic goods, he would show more respect for the goods he has thus acquired. Furthermore, the destructiveness, the versatility, the zest and the wholesale negativism which characterizes the delinquent subculture are beyond the purview of this theory (A. Cohen 1955 p. 36).

After dismissing aspects of the Merton theory, Cohen notes that situations limit people's activities and the means and opportunities to act (A.Cohen 1955 p. 52). He writes that any situation and the problem it implies are relative to the actor. Therefore, what is considered to be a barrier or an opportunity, a reward or punishment, depends on the actor's goals and aspirations. Cohen was of the opinion that if the goals were not achieved, actors were left with feelings of tension, frustration, resentment, guilt, bitterness, anxiety and hopelessness. Actors would then attempt to overcome these feelings. Cloward and Ohlin support this view. They write that the gap between what lower class youth want and what is available to them can create a problem of adjustment (Cloward and Ohlin 1960 p. 86).

Cohen mentions some possible attempts at solutions that are based on Merton's ideas.

One may respond to a barrier on route to his goal by redoubling his efforts, another seeks a more devious route to the same objective. Another succeeds in convincing himself that the game is not worth the candle. Still another accepts, but with ill grace and an abiding feeling of bitterness and frustration, the inevitability of failure (A. Cohen 1955 p. 56).

However, central to Cohen's work is the view that the frustration would lead actors to question the norms of the society.

It was Cohen's feeling that there is a pressure towards conformity. He thought that this arose because of actors' reliance on their social milieu which tend to offer solutions to problems that are established and known to be "congenial to our fellows" (A. Cohen 1955 p. 56). People wish to be members with good standing in some groups and roles. In addition, Cohen believed that actors wish to be members of groups in which there is an agreement of beliefs and

norms. If the actor is at odds with the norms and beliefs of the group, he alienates himself from that group and will have trouble establishing satisfying social relationships.

The man who stands alone...not only suffers a loss of status; he is not likely to hold his beliefs with much conviction. His beliefs will be uncertain, vacillating, unstable. (A Cohen 1955 p. 7)

This alienation from mainstream groups causes the actor to search for groups in which he will feel more comfortable; where there is an agreement in beliefs and norms. This enables actors to "be themselves". Cohen felt that there is therefore an unconscious quest by actors to find a social milieu that would be favourable to their pattern of adjustment.

Cognitive dissonance theorists tend to support this idea. Festinger notes that if there is a discrepancy between a person's opinion and that of the group, the actor will change his opinion, or he will choose not to participate in the group. This will depend on how important the actor defines the group (Festinger 1954). If an actor chooses to join a certain group, it affects his self concept or social identity, which is a derivative of his knowledge of membership along with the value and emotional significance attached to the group (Tajfel 1981 p. 255). If an actor chooses to become part of the group, the group serves as an environment in which to gauge his behaviors and to try new solutions (Shibutani 1955 p. 566). Thus, according to Cohen, actors are drawn to subcultures when current membership groups fail to solve their problems.

The crucial condition for new cultural forms is the existence, in effective interaction with one another of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment (A. Cohen 1955 p. 59).

This new group may answer these problems more effectively, and appeal more to the actor, than any of the solutions offered by institutional means. The emergence of "group" standards expressing this shared frame of reference is the emergence of a subculture.

It is cultural because each actor's participation in this system of norms is influenced by his perception of the same norms in other actors. It is subcultural because the norms are shared only amongst those actors who somehow profit from them and who find in one another a sympathetic moral climate within which those norms may come to fruition and persist (A. Cohen 1955 p. 65).

Sherif and Sherif see these group standards as being used to regulate what is acceptable and desirable in the attitudes and behaviors of group members (Sherif and Sherif 1964 p. 53). The safe climate that emerges allows members to test new ideas and create or redefine norms which are then communicated through interaction with other members (Berger 1963 p. 329; Brake 1980 p. 14; Brake 1985 p. 13; Fine 1979 p. 4; Hendry 1983 p. 93; Yinger 1960 p. 60).

With common interests, norms and values to guide them, the subculture may become, as Laing has described the punk rock subculture, a "discursive formation".

A discursive formation is a system which supplies for anyone entering it a series of positions to adopt, roles to play and rules to adhere to (Laing 1985 p. 99).

A member's loyalty and worth to the subculture may be tested and if he oversteps his limits, he may be punished. According to the Sherifs, negative sanctions provide the clearest evidence of group norms (Sherif et al 1964 p. 177).

Clarke notes that such rules tend to create boundaries defined by the type of person that is in the subculture and the type of person that is not; and provide the feeling that being in the subculture is important (Clarke 1974 p. 433). Tajfel elaborates on this further. He writes

no social group in a complex society lives in isolation from others and therefore, the processes underlying the ways in which it compares itself with other groups are crucial to the manner in which it is defined by its members. These comparative notions that the individuals construct of the group or groups to which they belong contribute in turn to some important aspects to their definition of themselves, of their social identity (Tajfel 1984 p. 165).

The subcultural members will develop "hostile and contemptuous images" of those outside of the subculture. Cohen believes that this enables members to protect themselves from the feelings that other groups might hold for them.

Cloward and Ohlin have also examined adolescent subcultures and support much of Cohen's work. They believe as Cohen does, that subcultures arise because of the discrepancy between goals and opportunities experienced by some youth. They also feel that this frustration occurs more commonly among those of the working classes. The result is that actors experiencing this strain may interact giving rise to a subculture. (Cloward and Ohlin 1960 p. 86).

One response to the strain experienced by these youth is to look for the source of their frustration and failure. This usually results in either blaming oneself for the failure, or blaming institutions. As noted by Cohen, success is measured by individual criteria, thus making failure an individual problem which deflects criticism from the institutional order. Those who attribute failure to themselves have in theory accepted the dominant ideology of success. However, Cloward and Ohlin view subcultures arising when the blame is placed on the institutional order. This in turn, leads to an alienation from the dominant ideology.

The individual who attributes his achievement dilemmas to the deficiencies in the prevailing institutional arrangements...is at odds with the social order. This alienation generates a great deal of tension in relation to the carriers of the dominant ideology. To some extent, the tension can be relieved if the alienated person can gain the support of others who are in the same position and who share the view that their misfortunes are due to an unjust system of social arrangements. Critical support can provide reassurance,

security and needed validation of a frame of reference toward the world at large is hostile and disapproving (Cloward and Ohlin 1960 p. 126).

Therefore, the subculture establishes new norms which protects members from feelings of guilt over the violation of the dominant norms. Once established it can serve to solve other needs.

1.4 The Strain From Norms

The preceding has helped to explain how Cohen and others believe that subcultures develop. However, it does not explain how alienation from the goals of the dominant order occurs initially. Cohen follows Merton's lead in stating that there is an ideology in the larger society which holds monetary success in high esteem and maintains that all have equal opportunities to succeed via hard work. In Cohen's work however, children are not yet in the work force; rather they encounter the strain before they reach it. According to Cohen, schools are where children experience alienation or strain from norms. He refers to the school system as the middle class measuring rod:

In a society like ours, however, in which a child may be legitimately compared, in terms of the same criteria, with 'all comers' regardless of family background, it does not follow that the ability to achieve these criteria is necessarily distributed without regard to family background and social class. Systematic class-linked differences in the ability to achieve will regulate to the bottom of the status pyramid those children belonging to the most disadvantaged classes, not by virtue of their class position as such but by virtue of their lack of requisite personal qualifications resulting from their class linked handicaps. In short, where opportunities for achievement are class linked, status discontent will be generated to the degree that the status universe is maximized (A. Cohen 1955 p. 85).

Cohen goes on to outline what he terms the "middle class ethic". This consists of ten qualities that he feels give the middle class child an advantage over the

working class child in the school system: ambition, responsibility, the cultivation of skills, rationality, the development of long term goals, manners, the control of aggression, the development of intellectual skills, the constructive use of leisure time and the respect for property. In fact Cohen views economic success as a sign of these qualities for those who hold this ethic. (A. Cohen 1955 p. 87-8).

The main teacher of these values, as noted above, is the family. These values may be held in different families to different degrees. While one may be considered middle class in terms of status or economic worth, it does not necessarily follow that the family will be middle class in terms of culture. This goes for working class families as well. It can also be noted that rising incomes in certain manual occupations makes its use problematic in defining class. As Cohen notes, "there is no perfect relationship to income and occupation" (A. Cohen 1955 p. 157). Thus, the experience that the parents provide their children will be based on the culture of the family. This experience will affect the way children view the world. Cohen is of the opinion that because of the experience their families provide, middle class children are better socialized to excel in the school situation. The lower class child has been exposed to different experiences and as a result is not as well prepared. The will to succeed and achieve status is not enough for those who have grown up in homes where the skills have not been emphasized. Cohen writes

it comes hard when his world of adult intimates does not so consistently exemplify these values or inculcate the necessary skills. The middle class home is more likely to train the child to compete successfully for status in terms of these norms than is the working class home (A. Cohen 1955 p. 94).

While the working class home may not socialize the child into successfully competing with those of the other classes, this is not to say that the working class does not hold the success goals that are represented in the ideology. While their goals are very likely to be attenuated, those who strive for success may wish someday to occupy a working class job that is better than average: something better than their starting point. However, once in the school system, working class children must contend with unfamiliar middle class rules.

The most serious problems, from the standpoint of the teacher, are those children who are restless and unruly, who fidget and squirm, who annoy and distract, who create 'discipline' problems. The 'good' children are the studious, the obedient, the docile. It is precisely the working class children who are most likely to be 'problems' because of their relative lack of training in order and discipline, their lack of reinforcement by the home in conformity to the requirements of the school. Both in terms of 'conduct' and in terms of academic achievement, the failures in the classroom are drawn disproportionately from the lower social class levels. The child has little choice within which he shall compete for status (A Cohen 1955 p. 115).

Cohen believes that it is those students who hold middle class values that feel the most pressure to deviate from conventional goals and to seek a solution. To Cohen, the delinquent subculture is a way of dealing with the problems of adjustment. These children are denied status because they cannot meet the criteria for status. The subculture deals with these problems 'by providing criteria of status which these children can meet' by developing a new set of norms. (A.Cohen 1955 p. 121). However, because this status exists only "within" the subculture, members may develop hostility for those who do not share it, possibly resulting in an increased dependence upon the subculture.

Cloward and Ohlin also agree that education is a main source of alienation for youth. They note that youth who fail to secure an education are likely to come to

realize at some point that chances of success within the social system are limited. They note that education is not valued equally at all levels. However, of more importance is the fact that the opportunity for education is not equally available to all levels of the social strata. Youth must make occupational decisions during their early teens and if they view their route through education as blocked, the result may be alienation from the goals (Cloward and Ohlin 1960 p. 102-6). The ultimate outcome may be a collective challenge, via a subculture, of the dominant ideology.

1.5 The Neo-Marxist Theory

Neo-Marxist criticism of Cohen's structural functionalist theory became prominent in the early 1970's. Many researchers engaged in the study of youth subcultures began to reconceptualize one of the theory's main assertions: the strain between goals and opportunities. These researchers believed that the source of the strain resided in people's class position in a capitalist social structure. Although Cohen himself touched on the issue with his explanation of the "middle class ethic" and opportunity blockage, many scholars believed that his work did not provide an adequate analysis of the sources of youth rebellion. As a result of this questioning, and the rise of critical scholarship, youth subcultures began to be examined in relation to their position vis a'vis the dominant class. Central to their analyses was the concept of culture.

Culture can be defined as the distinct patterns of life developed by social groups, the way in which these groups give expressive form to their "social and material life experiences" (Hall et al 1976 p. 10). Cultures can be seen to contain "maps of meaning" which allow members to make things intelligible.

These 'maps of meaning' are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectivated in the patterns of social organization and relationship through which the individual becomes a 'social individual'. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped: but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted. (Hall et al 1976 p. 10)

People are born into sets of meanings, institutions and relations, which help to locate them within a culture. These structures and meanings tend to reflect the positions and interests of the most powerful class which supports a dominant culture. When this class attempts to define experience, the resulting culture is referred to as ideological. Brake uses the work of Althusser to describe ideology.

Ideology represents the 'imaginary' relationships of individuals to their real conditions of existence. This relationship is 'imaginary' just because ideology does not correspond to the real relationships in society. It represents a distorted relation to those real relations, but its attraction is one that is lived (Brake 1985 p. 4).

Ideology does not occur as a deliberate attempt to conceal by certain people or groups. "On the contrary, ideology thrives beneath consciousness" (Hebdige 1979 p. 11). It is here that it becomes part of 'common sense' and its class character can thus be concealed. It is this "naturalness" that enables ideology to be resistant to change. A person cannot learn "how things are" through common sense. To uncover such information one must examine the codes by which the meanings are arranged.

In addition to examining the codes, one must also examine which classes or groups the ideologies benefit. In our society, those who control the means of production also, according to Marx, control the process of mental production. That is, they have more "opportunity" to make the rules and organize meanings (Hebdige 1979 p. 14-15). The situation in which an alliance of groups can exert "total social authority" over a group, is referred to as hegemony (Hebdige 1979 p. 15). Stuart Hall writes

Hegemony is not simple 'class rule'. It requires to some degree the 'consent' of the subordinate class, which has, in turn, to be won and secured; thus, an ascendancy of social authority, not only in the state but in civil society as well, in culture and ideology. Hegemony prevails when ruling classes not only rule or 'direct' but lead. The state is a major educative force in this process. It educates through the regulation of life of the subordinate classes. These apparatuses reproduce class relations, and thus class subordination (the family, the school, the church and cultural institutions, as well as the law, the police and the army, the courts). The struggle against class hegemony also takes place within these institutions as well as outside them—they become the 'site' of class struggle. (Hall et al 1976 p. 39)

Thus, subordination is secured because the dominant class is able to weaken, destroy, displace or incorporate "alternative institutions of defence and resistance thrown up by the subordinate class" (Hall et al 1976 p. 39). However, there is always room for negotiation between classes as to the meanings being given. In some measure the subordinate classes resist and struggle against the hegemony, thus redefining to a certain extent the meanings of cultural codes.

According to Marxist researchers, youth subcultures are an example of this negotiation and redefinition process. Hall et al. claim that subcultures can be seen to be "engaged in a struggle over cultural space" (Brake 1985 p. 4). It is within the subculture that members attempt to overcome structural contradictions that have their genesis in the wider societal context. Theorists argue that youth subcultures take problems that exist in their parent class and attempt to come to terms with them through their own experience. However, this form of resistance has inherent limitations. The subcultural resistance takes place on the street, not in the institutions where change can be made. Therefore, youth subcultures can be said to offer only symbolic representations and critiques of structural contradictions. Members use the subculture as a vehicle to escape class and occupation in a

symbolic manner. British theorists have chosen to define these symbolic solutions as "magical" (Brake 1985; Hall et. al. 1976; Hebdige 1979; Muncie 1976). Muncie notes

it is realistic fatalism which unites working class youth rather than articulated political protest. Similarly, subcultural solutions themselves are limited because they focus almost exclusively on leisure. Thus the dominant order is only occasionally confronted, and then in a symbolic fashion whereby youth subcultures are only able to strike 'tangential blows'. They cannot provide a real alternative because the problems facing youth emanate largely from the work place and the market, and this is not the arena in which the collective solution is sought. There is only compensation for, but no subcultural solution to, the problems of youth unemployment, low pay, and compulsory miseducation (Muncie 1981 p. 57).

1.6 Style

Style is one way in which members of the youth subculture have been seen to challenge the dominant order. Through their style, they abuse the codes to make themselves different. This usually results in being defined as unnatural by those classes who hold power. Hebdige writes

the challenge to hegemony which subcultures represent is not issued directly by them. Rather it is expressed obliquely in style. The objections are lodged, the contradictions displayed (and ...'magically' resolved) at the profoundly superficial level of appearances; that is the level of signs. (Hebdige 1979 p. 17)

Central to this process of "stylistic resistance" are the meanings that are ascribed to mass-cultural commodities within advanced capitalism. In the production and consumption of culture, objects are encoded with meaning by producers and the meanings are decoded by users. When an object is produced it must first be given a meaning or there will be none taken.

Gottdiener (1985), in his analysis of hegemony and mass culture, suggests that there are three stages in which objects obtain meaning within the system of commodity production and consumption. The first is the producer/user stage which occurs when an object is produced for exchange value. This product, since it is produced under the auspices of the dominant class, can be seen to have "institutional, political, and ideological order imprinted upon it" (Hall 1980 p. 134). That is, when an object is produced, the producer attempts to shape how the user will define the object.

However, in the construction of a definition of an object, the user engages in a separate process of decoding. Thus, the relation between the producer's intended meaning and the user's received meaning is not deterministic, but contingent in the decoding. If the meaning that was given the object, referred to as encoding, is decoded by the user in the same way, then this is referred to as a dominant or "hegemonic" code. However, codes can also be negotiated between the user and the producer resulting in a "negotiated" code. This occurs when there is a middle point met; when the producer agrees with the user's definition or vice versa, giving the code legitimacy. Finally, there are oppositional or global codes, where in the process of decoding, the actor understands the hegemonic code, but redefines the object, exposing its ideological meaning. Oppositional codes are important in that they enable the possibility of developing counter-hegemonic consciousness (Streeter 1984 p. 86; Hall 1980 p. 135).

The second stage in Gottdiener's model is the user/object stage in which objects are given meaning based on the functions they perform in everyday life. That is, the users of the object may redefine the object to suit their own needs.

This can be seen as a form of resistance to or negotiation with the dominant class.

The last stage is the producer/object stage in which the meanings generated by the users become the raw materials for producers to appropriate and use in defining products (Gottdiener 1985 p. 994–996). An example that Gottdiener gives is the transformation of punk rock into new wave. In the case of punk rock the music was seen as threatening to the social order. The dominant order took the style and music of the subculture, sanitized it, and mass marketed it as “new wave” with great success (Gottdiener 1985 p. 996).

The importance of these three stages of meaning lies in the way in which the subculture acquires its “style” within the larger context of capitalist production and commodity circulation. The subculture members take objects that have been produced for other uses and redefine them to suit the members’ needs. This is referred to as “bricolage” (Hebdige 1979 p. 104). The objects that make up the style of the subculture are not chosen haphazardly. They become part of the style because they represent or serve a purpose. For stylization to take place there must be a recognition by members that this redefinition is occurring. Hall et al. note

despite their visibility, things simply worn and appropriated and worn (or listened to) do not make a style. What makes a style is the activity of stylization – the active organization of objects with activities and outlooks, which produce an organized group-identity in the form and shape of a coherent and distinctive way of ‘being-in-the-world’ (Hall et al. 1976 p. 54).

Another contributing factor in the process of stylization is “homology”. This term is used to describe objects chosen by the subculture because they correspond to, reflect or “possess” the values of the group. Music can be seen to

hold a major role in the subculture because of its homologous nature. Firstly, it forms a basis from which interaction can begin, since it can form a common ground among actors. Secondly, it can serve to establish, confirm, and verify group beliefs and attitudes (Fine 1977 p. 481; Lewis 1978 p. 58). If one examines the post war youth subcultures that have arisen in Great Britain, music has held a central place among the members.

Once this style has been developed and adopted by members, it serves as a statement about the actors' relation to the world. It makes a statement about who they are. Furthermore, it creates a boundary for the members allowing them to differentiate themselves from the dominant culture. This whole process is an example of Gottdiener's "user/object" stage of the development of meanings. The members take objects encoded by the producers and redefine these objects to meet stylistic requirements.

The development of the style, however, only challenges the dominant order at the symbolic level and can only serve to solve problems at a symbolic level. The style can also be used by the dominant order to bring members back within the mainstream, or at least to dilute its potential oppositional nature. This is done by the appropriation of the subcultural style, which is then marketed by the cultural industries with a meaning that has been to some extent defined by the subculture. However, its critical thrust is lost as it becomes available for all to purchase, sometimes obscuring who is a true member of the subculture and who is not. The most important effect here is that the oppositional code is filtered out –sanitized– in order to make the object saleable as a mass market commodity. This is an example of the "producer/object" stage in the production of meaning.

Gottdiener's analysis is more sophisticated than many other accounts of hegemony in that it views the dominant class not as a conspiratorial group, directly and consciously neutralizing opposition, but as a class whose economic dominance has cultural implications. The complex practices identified by Gottdiener's three stages of semiosis are all seen to be part of a process of commodity production and consumption which permeates the cultural realm. This process according to Gottdiener has a neutralizing effect on counter-hegemonic subcultures even without direct manipulation from the dominant class.

The process of appropriation is not the only way in which the oppositional nature of youth subcultures can be neutralized. The mass media can also play a role in the neutralizing process by forms of labelling. Hebdige has described two types of labels that have been used in the past to deal with subcultures. The first is to present the subculture as a threat to the dominant order. This process usually involves portraying the youth subculture as "lawless", "violent" and "a threat to the family" (Muncie 1981 p. 57). In most cases these depictions are exaggerated. The purpose, in this case, is to persuade parents to take a firmer grip on their children's lives. Furthermore, the label makes relations with those who are outside of the subculture difficult.

The second labelling process involves trivializing the subculture. This serves to deny that there is a significant difference between the members of the subculture and those outside of the subculture (Hebdige 1979 p. 94-7). The tendency is to suggest to the public that the subculture is not the threat that it seems. As with the first type of labelling, the second type can affect the way members define themselves since the second approach merely brushes aside the

statements the members are making. These attempts at neutralizing the subculture are never totally successful. The style may be appropriated and the subculture labelled, but there are still core members within the subculture whose resistance continues despite efforts to diffuse it. Many activities engaged in by members (eg. crime) are not available for commercial exploitation. They must be dealt with by more "overt means of social control" (the police and the courts). "Thus the status of being deviant outsiders remains for all subcultures. And within such deviance lies the essence of political protest" (Muncie 1981 p. 57).

1.7 Other Methods of Resistance

The style of a subculture is not the only evidence of the members' resistance to hegemony. Other aspects at a more individual level involve the institutions that the youth are involved in. One such institution is the school system. This system can be portrayed as a classist institution involved in relaying ideological codes to children. In this view the schools attempt to legitimize the superordinate/subordinate roles in the social order. They try to persuade children to accept this subordinate role while at the same time attempting to fragment consciousness. This later process serves to make it difficult for children to shape their material existence (Bowles et al. 1976 p. 130).

The school system provides children with skills that enable them to become productive workers. Simultaneously it is "helping to diffuse and depoliticize the potentially explosive class relations of the production process" (Bowles et al. 1976 p. 11). The schools teach students to relate to the hierarchy of authority while at the same time providing a pool of surplus labour. The school itself is not unlike

the workworld with its hierarchy of authority and alienated work over which the student has no control. In addition, the school with its system of rewards, justifies the inequality in the larger order by passing off the view that the successful are more intelligent and skilled (Bowles et al. 1976 p. 22).

Bowles et al. see school as a process of behavior modification. Those students who are obedient are rewarded. Those who are not are punished in an attempt to change their behavior. The students who display "creativity and divergence of thought" interfere with the functioning of the classroom and must be trained to suppress these tendencies or at least channel them in "appropriate" ways (Bowles et al. 1976 p. 40). One result of this process is that judgments of success become based on behavior rather than cognitive achievement.

However, the ideology that is relayed must be filtered through people and their experience. The neo-marxist analysis, in a manner reminiscent of Cohen's theory, sees the school system as an institution in which youth engage in much questioning. Hall et al. write of the school as a bourgeois institution.

They do go to bourgeois schools; their ideas about what education is and what it is for and how it should be organized are the ideas embodied in their schools; there are no alternative, working class, 'educational' institutions; no notions of resisting education as education. And yet the evidence is that working class kids, do, to a greater or lesser extent resist something in the school system - how else explain the overwhelming evidence (that any teacher would confirm) that a school is a battleground, the pupil's weapons ranging from apathy through indiscipline to straight absence. And in this battle the school always is (precisely in terms of ideology) the loser. Every use of formal, repressive power reinforces working class experience of education as imposition (and not as a good thing - that - will - extend - my horizons - and - make - me - a - good - person); every (regular) experience of failure confirms that reality that "this place has nuthin' for me" (Hall et al. 1976 p. 235).

They go on to note that working class experience, even in bourgeois institutions, is working class experience, not bourgeois. The result 'a la Cohen is a rejection of the school and its norms and the adoption of norms based on the opposition to these norms.

Brake is of the opinion that because of the "semi conscious" recognition of the structural problems and the school's failure to meet the working class youth's needs, the subculture can be seen as a positive reference group. It provides symbolic and social support as well as a counter-ideology to the one provided in school. Furthermore, he notes that an "achieved alternative identity can be constructed" which can be viewed as an alternative to the "ascribed pupil role" (Brake 1985 p. 47).

Further evidence of opposition towards the dominant order can be found in the member's relationships within their families. Cohen believed that the values handed down by the family were of great importance in the formation of each individual. However, he assumed that these values were assimilated without question. Neo-marxists view the family much the same way that they view the school system. The family is seen to pass on ideological codes in an attempt to shape children so that they may become viable, reliable, productive labourers for the economic system.

Leonard (1984) notes that parents hold expectations of the characteristics their children should exhibit. These expectations affect the child immediately. Parents will begin to relate to the child as masculine or feminine resulting in the creation of gendered subjects. Leonard believes that this gender identification is vital in the transmission of ideology concerning "subordinacy/superordinacy" (Leonard

1984 p. 131). The idea of subordination/superordination is important in "the production of class and gendered subjects because it legitimates, in individual consciousness, historically constructed systems of domination and exploitation" (Leonard 1984 p. 131-132). As well, it demonstrates to children that the existing relations are "right, just, and desirable" and are not subject to change.

The child will receive this information in a number of ways and to different degrees depending on the experiences of the family s/he is brought up in. Leonard is of the opinion that the information the child receives contains contradictions and is "always to some degree problematic both for the social order and for the individual" (Leonard 1984 p. 136). During adolescence the child may lose his/her identification with parents as "their powerlessness and conformity in the face of class and gender relations becomes increasingly obvious to the young person" (Leonard 1984 p.152). Although there are problems with the passage to adulthood and its "contradictions and ambiguities", Leonard notes material reasons for family conflicts. These conflicts are a direct result of the resistance on the part of the child stemming from his/her developing consciousness of the oppressions and exploitations in the social order (Leonard 1984 p. 152). The result of this resistance according to Leonard is youth subcultures.

Frith and Brake note that there is a discrepancy between the family in which the child is brought up and the social system in which s/he will eventually take his/her place. They describe youth culture as something that "detaches children from the family and socializes them into the wider social system" (Frith 1983 p. 23 ; Brake 1985 p. 24). Outside of the family, are views that are not manifestly present within it. The discussion of these views, within the subcultural setting,

enables members to engage in a criticism of the dominant order and in some cases formulate a counter ideology.

1.8 Summation

The importance of the two main perspectives reviewed above lies in the general guidance they can provide to the present study. Structural functional theory points to the need to establish if the members of the local subculture have assimilated a dominant "success" ideology. If so, it asks whether members exhibit frustration from being denied access to the means by which to attain this success.

Both the structural-functionalist and the neo-marxist theories focus on the lower or working class element of subcultures. Both theories focus on the importance of school and the problems it generates that may lead youth to adopt a subcultural solution. Furthermore, both theories point to the problem-solving function of the subculture. It must be determined how the subculture serves to solve problems and the forms the solutions take. Are the solutions purely "magical" in the sense that Hebdige suggests, that is, superficial adaptations, or do they pose a real challenge to dominant economic and political interests?

The neo-marxist theorists point to the family as a source of further friction for youth. In addition, they suggest style, homology and bricolage as means of resisting the dominant order.

Each of these theories suggests questions that must be examined within the present study if it is to adequately explain the local punk rock subculture.

1.9 Females in Subcultures

The above theories have been used to explain observations concerning male subcultures. Researchers have tended to either ignore females in subcultures or have classified them as peripheral to the major male activity. Brake believes that this has happened because subcultures are concerned with masculinity: "For boys subcultures allow an exploration and investment in forms of masculinity" (Brake 1985 p. 164). Maleness is seen as a solution to problems rooted in "structural features". Brake argues that the absence of women in subcultural studies is related not only to concerns with masculinity but also because of women's relationship to production, a sphere where they are also seen as peripheral (Brake 1985 p. 163).

This peripheral relationship to production can be explained by the stress placed on maleness and careerism. Benston argues that there are "strong and clearly articulated norms for men and women that are very different" (Benston 1982 p. 51). While she admits not all individual behavior follows the norms, she stresses the importance of their existence and their use by individuals as standards to judge themselves and others. These norms are based on qualities each sex is seen to possess. The characteristics required to attain occupational success, "in almost one-to-one correspondence, parallel to normal male characteristics" (Benston 1982 p. 51). In contrast, the norms for female behavior are the opposite.

It is assumed that men are or should be aggressive, strong, independent, logical, dominant, in control of their physical environment, handy with tools, and mechanical systems, in control of their emotions, and capable of abstract, objective thought... Women in contrast, are assumed to be intuitive, nurturant, emotional dependent on and with strong connections to those around them, loving and caring, passive, and with limited capability for rationality and objectivity (Benston 1982 p. 51).

Parents and educators use these norms to direct children to develop and master their sex specific characteristics. The result is that for males, masculinity becomes identified with occupational success. The latter is evidence of the former. This explains the strain placed on males to become occupationally successful. On the other hand these norms discourage females from developing those qualities that would allow them to become occupational successes. They are "steered towards 'girl subjects'". Most females begin to underachieve at the age of puberty, a time when they become self-conscious about their femininity. (Brake 1985 p. 166). Being forced to the periphery by the patriarchal society means that women are judged by different criteria. They are judged by their femininity (their sexual desirability) rather than their occupational status.

McRobbie et al. believe the distinctive types of activities females engage in limit subcultural participation (McRobbie et al. 1976 p. 215). Females spend more time at home where they are closely monitored by parents. Where females are present in male dominated subcultures, they are "contained within them". McRobbie et al. write that where girls are clearly present "the way they are present suggests the way their cultural subordination is retained and reproduced" (McRobbie et al. 1976 p. 215). Within the subculture the female is still influenced by the ideology of male supremacy. Brake argues that this occurs because "working class girls are not exposed to any alternative concepts of femininity." Their interaction with traditional roles does not provide alternatives (Brake 1985 p. 174).

Females do not use subcultures to explore forms of the female identity. For females the subculture is more likely to have a social focus. The subculture is something to dress for, and to enable an escape from home, school and work

(Brake 1985 p. 167). In fact the point has been raised that female participation in subcultures serves to reinforce traditional roles.

Their own culture is the most effective agent for social control for girls. Their anti-school subculture stresses having a good time, rather than an achievement which would gain them a hold in male dominated work. They resist what is for them a meaningless curriculum, by talking back to teachers, and amongst themselves, and sometimes fighting. (Brake 1985 p. 174).

Brake feels that females in subcultures do rebel against male supremacy, "but even in aggressive subcultures toughness is not aimed at their men". Rather the aggressiveness is an attempt to gain acceptance from the males of the subculture (Brake 1985 p. 176). Where females have successfully negotiated acceptance, by fighting against other females, Brake points out "the male attitude when it comes to sexual relations remains traditional" (Brake 1985 p. 182).

1.10 Review of Studies on Punks

Having examined the theories used to research subcultures, the chapter will now focus on specific studies of punk rock subculture. This review is important since it will lead to possible research questions and a direction for the project as a whole.

Most researchers examining the punk rock subculture have adopted the neo-Marxist perspective. These researchers view the punk rock subculture as a means of negotiating meaning and space within an environment of bourgeois hegemony. The results of their research have not been uniform. There are a number of views concerning the class content, the political significance, and the style of the subculture.

Hebdige is one scholar who feels it is working class youth who dominated the punk subculture. In his book, Subculture: The Meaning of Style (1979) Hebdige examines the post-war youth subcultures that have appeared in Britain. He concludes that these subcultures have evolved as a reaction by white working class youth to the growing immigrant black population. In the case of the punk subculture, it was the working class youth's response to the rastafarian movement.

In his book, Hebdige describes how white punks, not unlike those blacks involved in reggae, attempted to solve practical problems mystically through music. Reggae music, according to Hebdige, provided the punks with a "tangible form to their alienation"; it "carried the necessary conviction, the political bite, so obviously missing in most contemporary white music" (Hebdige 1979 p. 63). However, while the rastafarians believed in a better future in an "imagined elsewhere", the punks were tied to the present time in their own country with no foreseeable future (Hebdige 1979 p. 65). Hebdige views this as a voluntary exile which, unlike the rastafarians, could promise no future:

once inside this desecrated circle, punk was forever condemned to act out alienation, to mime its imagined condition, to manufacture a whole series of subjective correlatives for the official archetypes of the 'crisis of modern life': unemployment figures, the Depression, the Westway, Television, etc. Converted into icons (the safety pin, the rip, the mindless lean hungry look) these paradigms of crisis could live a double life, at once fictional and real (Hebdige 1979 p. 65).

Hebdige points out that even the punk style had its genesis in the rastafarian movement. The example he provides concerns the characteristic hair style worn by the punks at the time, "a petrified mane held in a state of vertical tension by means of vaseline, lacquer or soap". To Hebdige, this represents the dreadlock style worn by the blacks.

Hebdige also argues that punk rock was a reaction to the glitter rock of the early 1970's. This backlash, according to Hebdige, stems from glitter rock's alienation of the working class youth. Glitter rock attempted to escape both class and sex. Punk, as Hebdige sees it, attempted to expose the "implicit contradictions" in the glitter music.

Its "working classness", the scruffiness and earthiness of punk ran directly counter to the arrogance, elegance and verbosity of the glam rock superstars" (Hebdige 1979 p. 63).

Hebdige attests that punk claimed to speak for the white lumpen youth. Its "guttersnipe rhetoric" and obsession with class were designed to dismiss glamrock.

Hebdige's examination of the style of the subculture describes the punks' visual representation of the crisis of poverty and depression in Britain. He outlines how the style and music reflected the punks' wilful desecration and voluntary outcast status. However, while the style displayed the problems, Hebdige notes that it did not solve them, except at a 'magical level'.

The punks dissembled, dying to recreate themselves in caricature, to 'dress up' their destiny in its true colors, to substitute for hunger, to slide the ragamuffin look (unkempt, but meticulously contoured) between poverty and elegance. Punk having found an adequate reflection in the shards of broken glass, having spoken through the holes in purposely torn tee-shirts, having brought disclosures on the family name, found itself again at the point from which it had started; as a 'lifer in solitary' despite the fierce tattoos (Hebdige 1979 p. 66).

Marsh reiterates Hebdige's argument that British punk rock subculture membership was drawn from the lower or working classes. Marsh categorizes punk rock as 'dole que rock'; the music of the unemployed teenager (Marsh 1977 p. 114). Marsh, like Hebdige, also emphasizes the role of the blacks. He argues that the punks' goal was to emulate the blacks and demonstrate frustration

through music and riots. The punks wanted "a piece of the action" (Marsh 1977 p. 114).

Marsh points out that punk music had a political consciousness in that it was a type of music that contained criticisms of the social order. Like Hebdige he suggests that punk failed to solve the problems it addressed (although for different reasons). Marsh sees punk as self limiting. Its message could not be spread because of the form it took; it was unintelligible. Furthermore, he implies that if punk were to become successful, the genuine commitment of its message would be lost (Marsh 1977 p. 114). This point reflects Gottdiener's third stage of semiosis whereby the mass production of the subculture neutralizes its effects.

There is not agreement among researchers concerning the class content of the punk rock subculture. Frith emphasizes regional differences in the character of punk. He argues that the subculture was a working class movement in London only. In the other locales the subculture attracted art scholars, hip kids, hippies and drop outs. Frith traces this aspect of the subculture back to the 1960's and the Situationalists, a group of radical British artists. These artists "painted slogans down their trouser legs and across their ties and shoes. The two latter items they tried to sell"(Frith 1978b p. 535). For Frith, this stylistic similarity provides a link between the punks and the artists. He also sees similarities in the two groups politics. Both groups, Frith feels, concerned themselves with the "politics of everyday life, the aesthetics of boredom." The punks and the Situationalists

ambition was to turn spectacle (the passively experienced structure of reality that we live with as consumers) into situation (structure blown up, its rules made clear, the possibilities for action and desire exposed) (Frith 1978b p. 535).

As a result of this relationship with artists and the middle class, Frith argues that punk was more of a bohemian movement than a working class movement. The members were middle class youth engaging in lower class leisure on the streets. For Frith the bohemian element is important. Bohemians serve the important function of nurturing "aesthetic sensibility" (Frith 1978b p. 536). However, according to Frith, punk distinguished itself from other bohemia by rejecting the upper class rock bohemia, and the bohemian myth of classlessness. Frith also believes the middle class punks wished to conceal their bohemia for fear of being labelled "poseurs".

Frith does suggest that the political consciousness of the working class element of the subculture was raised by the music. At the same time, he sees punk challenging the capitalist control of mass music. Punk accomplished this with its emphasis on the "do it yourself" aspect, thereby seizing the means of cultural production (Frith 1983 p. 158). Frith feels that punk demystified the production process of the music itself and as a result, led to customer expression rather than product manipulation.

Brake agrees with Frith the punk subculture did not contain only youths from the working class. He argues that the subculture contained several strata including the middle class artists that Frith describes.

There was a distinction between middle-class, art-school influenced punks, and working class hard punks. At one end the art school students, with their Mohican haircuts, indicated their separation from non-bohemian careers, aligning themselves with cultural rebels and the new outre' consumerism, whilst working-class punks underlined their refusal to conform, to follow ill-paid, dead-end jobs by making sure they would not be employed. At first they despised work of a routine nature, but as the recession increased, they could not even find general labouring work. In different ways both sought to shock the bourgeoisie: the middle class by creating a fantasy world which excluded outsiders; the working class by celebrating their unemployment (Brake 1985 p. 77)

Brake reiterates Frith's views that punk reintroduced social and political comment into music at a time when youth unemployment was increasing. However, like Marsh and Hebdige, he feels that punk failed to solve the problems it addressed. Brake finds punk's political disappointment "puzzling" and places some blame on the middle class involvement. He feels a cultural rebellion by artists cannot be viewed as political because artists have always been considered rebellious. Furthermore, their politics are never disciplined: "They are libertarian not Leninist, often far out, seldom right on " (Brake 1985 p. 78).

Muncie also argues that punk contained members from the middle classes or was at least influenced by the middle class art schools. He notes that the punks attempted to "satirize the bourgeoisie". Unlike the other researchers who have chosen to amalgamate the style and politics of the punk subculture, Muncie sees punk as providing an example of a divergence between subcultural politics and subcultural style. It is his view that some are drawn to the subculture by the lyrics of the music. Others he sees as content to display their revolt in their style without "translating them [it] into political action" (Muncie 1981 p. 50).

Muncie feels that the punks were a nihilistic, do-it-yourself culture that saw themselves as true outsiders. A group that adopted a style to "disrupt every pre-existing style of life, to reduce everything to levels of absurdity" (Muncie 1981 p. 50). A style into which any object could be adopted as long as it was unacceptable to those outside of the subculture. To Muncie, the punks had a homology that centered on the "antithesis to anything orderly, restrained or sacred".

Levine and Stumpf, in their analysis of the punk rock subculture, echo many of Muncie's views. In their examination of style of punks in the Los Angeles area, they came to the conclusion that the punk rock subculture was a reflective subculture. That is, it reflected what was already feared in society. (Levine and Stumpf 1983 p. 433). The symbols that the punks had adopted

seem to be the embodiment of that which is the object of fear, disgust, or rejection for the rest of society or of that which represents anarchy and death (Levine and Stumpf 1983 p. 431).

The authors believe that the punks wished to challenge mainstream society by intimidation through these symbols. In the style there was an amplification of all the negative events and objects already existing in society, events and objects which are ignored by themselves, but impossible to ignore within the context of punk style. While this study provides an examination of the style of the American west coast punks, it failed to even address the issue of class.

Laing has looked in detail at the music and the style of the punk rock subculture. His research reflects some of the remarks made by Muncie. He notes that the punks were negative, frustrated, angry and apathetic and had as an aim, disruption. However, Laing takes the investigation of these feelings and their results in a different direction. According to Laing, the punks were out to disrupt the everyday life of capitalism and to "expose its oppressive nature" (Laing 1985 p. 126). As evidence he reveals punk's attempt to "introduce ideological trends in songs with political and social topics" (Laing 1985 p. 31). The music was meant to shock with unfamiliar and unexpected material which "invades and disturbs" (Laing 1985 p. 78).

To Laing the style of the subculture represented poverty, a lack of concern for appearance, and involvement with violence. He also views the style as an attack on traditional sexual relationships. For Laing the use of objects (make-up and safety pins) "undermined the possibility of contact" (Laing 1985 p. 95). In the end he comes to conclusions similar to Muncie and Levine et al. He reasons that punk rock was not separate from morality and culture, but was "symbiotic" with it (Laing p. 125).

Brake offers another insight through an unpublished article written by Rothaus. She argues that there were "discernible class variations" in the punk style. In her study of female punks in Los Angeles she argued that the downwardly mobile middle class punks "reappropriated Hollywood ideologies of femininity by fetishising its commodities of fashion and beauty." (Brake 1985 p. 176) They parodied its ideals and "mocked" its cost. Rothaus also felt that the middle class punks "dressed punk" rather than "being punk". It was an entrance into the musical and artistic fringes. It did not provide resistance but only reasserted their class position in a bohemian mode.

In contrast, the working class females were seen by Rothaus as "being punk". This group did not fetishize Hollywood fashions. Rather they emphasized their class position with "short hair cuts, plain white t-shirts with rolled up sleeves, army fatigues and old sneakers." (Brake 1985 p. 177). To Rothaus the working class females aligned themselves with the working class males, not the middle class females. For the working class females the subculture provided resistance against the "drudgeries" of young motherhood and bleak employment prospects. Furthermore, by "combating men's sexual propositions" on the street they were

able to negotiate space as far as gender relations were concerned. However, Rothaus believes that the style did not solve problems at a class level. It "leaves unresolved the consequences that downward mobility poses for women" (Brake 1985 p. 178).

Dancis' examination of the punk rock subculture in Britain perhaps sums up all the arguments that have emerged from the research in the area.

At its best, punk rock represents not only an energetic aesthetic attack on the dominant trends within popular music, but also making class protest against youthful unemployment, poverty, government censorship, authoritarianism, racism, fascism, the record industry, the star system, and the traditional performer/audience relationship. At its worst, punk is a manifestation of cultural despair and decadence, featuring nihilism, sexism, a glorification of violence and fascist images, sado masochism, and musical incompetence (Dancis 1978 p. 59).

Dancis is of the opinion that while the style of the punk rock subculture can be seen as a form of class protest, it can also be considered bohemian. He does believe that the way in which the punks "reclaim" old clothing points to a strong statement of working class anger. In addition, Dancis sees punk rock as an important expression of youthful anger and rebellion that is in the opposite direction of most of the escapist music available (Dancis 1978 p. 74).

With the exception of the Levine and Stumpf research where data were actually collected, the studies reviewed so far have been merely speculative. This study will fill in an important gap in the research by testing these views empirically.

1.11 The Canadian Case

The above studies have mainly examined the British punk subculture. This is an important consideration in that there will be differences in the class structure, the economic conditions and the content of bourgeois hegemony that occur in Britain and those that occur in Canada. While it is important to examine the British studies in depth, caution must be exercised against cross-national generalizations.

Youth subcultures have not been examined to a great extent in Canada. Brake in his book Comparative Youth Culture(1985) offers an overview of the work undertaken. He is of the opinion that subcultures fail to arise in Canada due to the lack of consciously experienced class divisions.¹ He believes that because the evidence of poverty is disguised, class struggle is diffused and muted.

Modest affluence and self-respect (which have different meanings for different groups) have cemented a conformity to established social norms, and a stable established social and political order. In this sense Canada is a liberal, social, democracy, one which is determined to follow the middle path, resisting too much radicalism, one which conceals the very struggles going on under the surface by denying the extent to which they are embedded in the Canadian class system (Brake 1985 p. 149).

Brake argues that the youth culture that does arise in Canada is a derivative of other cultures. It is not built on "indigenous forms of local tradition."(Brake 1985 p. 145). One reason he offers for the lack of unique Canadian youth culture is the vast geographical area that the country encompasses. This, he believes, makes it

¹ The apparent classlessness of popular culture in Canada has been noted for quite some time (Alford 1963; Porter 1965). Recent discussions, more informed by survey data, continue to confirm this impression (see especially Goydor and Pineau 1979). Data from the most recent national election survey in 1984 continue to confirm this trend (Lambert et. al. 1984). In that survey, less than half the respondents responded that they were even aware of being a member of a social class. Furthermore, most of these people did not understand the word "class" in the sense that the word is typically used by intellectuals. Other such discussions of such issues in the Canadian case include Forcese (1980), Hunter (1986) and Curtis et. al. (1988).

hard for common themes to develop. Another reason he offers is the Canadian climate and the long cold winters, which he feels discourage the formation of subcultures. Brake does admit that youth subcultures do emerge in larger Canadian cities but notes that they usually fail to attract the media attention that the subcultures in other countries have. The subcultures that do occur tend to localize in shopping malls (which might be explained by the climate) which "do little to generate collective gatherings and are easy to control"(Brake 1985 p. 145).

The main reason that Brake gives for the lack of youth subcultures in Canada is the lack of hegemonic crisis, and the associated lack of resistance by youth to bourgeois hegemony.

In Canada what has occurred in line with other Western democracies is an economic crisis, that is a historical moment when the economic sector is no longer able to provide income commensurate with the working population's needs. However, unlike Britain, there is no hegemonic crisis. This arises when the state is unable to provide an educative role which promotes social cohesion and maintains the legitimation of its authority and power (Brake 1985 p. 150)

According to Brake, the public in Canada blames the problem on mismanagement. As a result he feels that the public has "no sense of the dimensions or probable longevity of the crisis" (Brake 1985 p. 150).

The problem with Brake's analysis is that it fails to offer any work done in Canada on youth subcultures. He relies on work which does not address subcultures directly to provide an overview of the Canadian case. In one of the few empirical analyses of youth culture in the Canadian high school, Tanner found that those students with a low commitment to school were more likely to be associated with an out-of-school culture. Furthermore, his data suggest that students from skilled and unskilled working class families were more likely to

participate in this out-of-school culture. However, the effects Tanner observed were not strong.

The fact that there is little work available on Canadian youth subcultures leads one to rely on the British studies which, however, describe a different cultural context. But the British literature does provide questions that can be applied to the Canadian case. The class content of the subculture has been debated in the British literature and will have to be examined in the Canadian case. The British studies also question the political content of the punk subculture. Furthermore, while superficially similar to the British subculture, personal experiences and cultural differences may reveal important distinctions. These issues, along with the questions raised by the theories themselves must be considered when formulating the research questions for the present study.

1.12 Research Questions

The theoretical background and review of past studies have led to many questions that need to be addressed in order to understand the punk phenomenon in Victoria. Both the structural-functional and neo-Marxist theorists believe that youth subcultures arise mainly within the lower and working class. With the present crisis in capitalism, and classless ideology in Canada, does this hold true? Or is recruitment more broadly based, suggesting that youths of all classes are feeling the prospects of a bleak future and attempting a solution within a subcultural setting?

Structural-functional theorists believe that youths who participate in subcultures do so because of the strain experienced when there is a discrepancy between the goals these youths wish to attain and the means by which they can be legitimately attained. Therefore, a question that must be addressed is how subcultural youth in Victoria assimilate the achievement ideology as postulated by Cohen and others. If this perspective holds, do youth experience strain as a result of their school experience, as theorized by Cohen and others? Neo-Marxists describe resistance towards various institutions that leads to subcultural participation. They argue that youths question the ideology passed on in these institutions because it contradicts their own experience. This study will examine evidence of a critique of school curriculum which might support the neo-Marxists. It will also test neo-Marxist assumptions concerning friction in families. It is hoped that the answers to these questions will shed light on the formation of the punk rock subculture in Victoria.

The third major question the study must address are the types of problems members encounter and the way these problems are dealt with. That is, does the subculture help members overcome problems as has been stated by structural functionalists and the neo-Marxists? Does the subculture enable members to address problems or are the problems resolved at a "magical" level? In an attempt to solve these problems, is there any attempt to address the source of the problems in an active fashion or do members merely strike out at problems without a clear-cut focus? Is the style of the subculture (as has been theorized by Hebdige, Hall and others) a process by which members attack the dominant order? In particular, is the style merely a fashionable mimic of the British counterpart, or is there actual conscious resistance taking place through the style?

The study will also examine the results of resistance. Are there any repercussions from resistance? Are there a different set of problems members face from engaging in resistance? The above questions will guide the study and its analysis.

Chapter 2

METHOD

To make sense of the punk rock subculture in Victoria, I adopted a participant observation approach to gather data. In this approach, the researcher enters the subculture not only to obtain data, but to get a feeling for the lifestyle of the subjects. One adopts such an approach in the hope of gaining better understanding. This approach is indicated because the subcultural situation is not conducive to normal data gathering techniques. It is unlikely that the members of the subculture would look favourably upon a researcher entering their domain with questionnaires in hand.

Participant observation is superior to a pure observation method in that a great deal of information on attitudes and behaviors can only be obtained by questioning the subjects. A participant observation approach also tends to be more valid because the observation takes place in the subjects' natural environment (Bailey 1982 p. 248; Kane 1983 p. 53) . Furthermore, in many cases, studies of this sort can only take place in a natural environment. For these two reasons the research took place where the subcultural members met each day.

The participant observation approach has the advantage over other methods in that it allows the researcher to observe what people do, and therefore, not rely on subjects' memories of what they do (Hagedorn and Labovitz 1973 p. 92; Sellitz 1959 p. 201). In addition, any attempt to mislead the observer will be difficult to

maintain if the observer is in the field over long periods of time (Phillips 1971 p. 162).

The participant observation method is not without shortcomings. The three major criticisms of this method are (1) observer bias (Hartmann and West 1982 p. 119; Johnson 1975 p. 18), (2) the possibility of the observer's presence affecting the events that he is observing, and (3) observer recording errors. However, it is thought that experience eventually enables the researcher to minimize these difficulties (Bailey 1982 p. 281; Jahoda 1951 p. 530). As experience accumulates, the observer should overcome his/her biases and become adept at recording observations and creating experientially grounded categories to help organize them. Experience can also be seen as an asset in overcoming problems that are unforeseen when entering the field (W.F. Whyte 1943). Over time subjects will become accustomed to the researcher observing them and thus will act in a more natural manner.

Entry into the subculture was initiated on the corner of Yates and Blanshard Streets, a location known to be frequented by punk rockers. Here I approached five youths who appeared to be punk rockers. Although these youth were attired in a punk style, I felt it important to establish their subcultural status. I did this by asking if they gathered at the location daily or whether the present meeting was a random event. The five acknowledged that they met at this location on a daily basis.

With their subcultural status determined, I identified myself and explained the nature of the research to the group. No attempt was made to mislead the prospective subjects. I explained that participation in the interviews was voluntary,

and stressed that they could withdraw from the interview at any time or refuse to answer any questions. It was explained that the interviews were to be recorded with a microcassette recorder. I also explained that I was not interested in any illegal activities and if any information about such activities was given, it would be erased from the tape immediately. This assurance seemed to put most respondents at ease. Along with their consent to use any information gathered, I also sought permission to spend time with the group. The members had no disagreement. These consent statements were repeated before each interview was carried out so that there would be no misunderstandings.

The five members informed me that a local restaurant was a main gathering place for subcultural members in the winter months. It was felt by these five that interviews should be conducted at this location. I agreed to this and began the interviews at this location.

The interviews contained questions concerning members' family backgrounds, school backgrounds and subcultural experiences. Other questions were asked about a number of issues that would lend information to the understanding of the subculture. The interviews were loosely structured. I asked most of the questions of most of the subjects but in some cases certain questions were overlooked or the subject did not answer. There was no consistent order to the interview as I many times had to adapt to the flow of conversation by taking the liberty to explore other facets that the subjects seemed to believe were important. This method helped to open up unforeseen categories, and to explain important matters that I had either overlooked, or was unaware of before entering the field. Upon completion, interviews were selectively transcribed within a twenty-four hour

period to insure against ethical problems. All steps were taken to preserve the anonymity of the subjects. They were given pseudonyms, and identifying information was left out.

The local restaurant proved to be a fruitful location for subjects. Members who gathered at other locations often came into the restaurant for coffee and to get warm. The result is that the location provided a steady supply of new subjects. The five members that I approached on the first day in the field were helpful in introducing other members of the subculture. On many occasions, I would have one of these five introduce me to other members. In fact I developed a good rapport with a number of the members far in advance of an actual interview. This made interviews easy to obtain since some of these members waited with anticipation for an interview. When I was introduced to members, the member doing the introducing often repeated the explanation and consent statements that they had been given. This again put members at ease and allowed interviews to progress with ease.

The interviewing of the subjects at the local restaurant continued for four weeks. However, there reached a time when there were no further subjects to be found at this location. Not all members of the subculture frequented this location. Therefore, in an attempt to locate further subjects, I moved on to a new location at "the alley" where I had encountered my first five subjects. At this location I encountered earlier subjects but they did not offer any further introductions. Therefore, I was forced to approach a single subject. Although the interview was granted, no further introductions came. For most of the interviews conducted during the next four and one half weeks, I had to introduce myself and explain my purpose to each subject individually.

After interviews were completed at "the alley", I moved to the front of a local fast-food restaurant where a third group of punks were located. Again interviews were obtained by approaching subjects one at a time. Over time, I did develop a strong rapport with the members who spent most of their time on the street and felt free to move amongst them.

As mentioned, the total time spent interviewing subjects at these street locations was four weeks and one half weeks bringing the total time spent in the field to eight and one half weeks.

I did encounter problems in interviewing subjects. First, during the interviews conducted in the restaurant, acoustics hampered the sound and created difficulties in transcribing the tapes. Second, it was difficult to separate the subjects from the group. The subjects themselves sometimes wanted to be separated, other times not. In either case there were constant interruptions as others entered the interview area out of curiosity, or to converse with the subject. Subjects were not immune to leaving during the interview to converse with others, usually to return a short time later. In the case of the street interviews, the volume of human traffic was great and there were many interruptions from other members passing by, the subjects themselves panhandling, or breaking off the interview to pursue more exciting activities with other subculture members. I also discovered that the appearance I had adopted for the field created some problems. My black leather jacket, ripped up blue jeans, work-shirt, t-shirt, black hightop running shoes and long unkempt hair served to attract attention to myself from local police officers who must have assumed I was a member of the subculture. Fortunately, no complications occurred.

Over time, I developed a rapport with the members that in one respect hampered research. I had known some subjects for eight weeks. I would see them for five hours a day during the week and longer on weekends and on the days of "gigs". Furthermore, because of the content of the interviews, and the disclosure involved, a closeness was quickly developed. Over time, the members treated me as a member of the subculture. Due to this rapport, questioning sometimes became difficult because I was now considered a "punk" and such questions were dissonant with everyday subcultural activities. I also got the impression from some that they felt they had fulfilled their duty by granting one interview. Further questions were an inconvenience. I adapted by asking a small number of questions of members without the taperecorder. Answers were then transcribed at the earliest possible moment. This method served its purpose as it managed to fill in areas of information I felt were lacking. I also discovered that getting members to answer every question was difficult if not impossible. Some members had no answers to certain questions. Others did not wish to answer certain questions. Still others answered questions in a hostile manner that cued me not to pursue questions in that area. The result is that the number of subjects answering each question varies.

Exit from the field was gradual. During the analysis of the data I continued contact by returning to the field one day a week in an attempt to locate any new developments in the subculture. Developments were rare and over time I sensed that I was losing the rapport that I once had. A total exit came about with a natural ease. I returned after completing a draft of the paper and was greeted by most members as a long lost friend. The rapport had returned and I was informed

of all the events I had missed. I continued contact by attending the local concerts. Perhaps I regained rapport because the members has separated me from my researcher role and saw me now more as a friend instead of someone after information.

The analysis of data took place in a number of ways. First typologies were constructed in areas that I felt would help to address the research questions. Respondents were placed into the various typologies and divided by gender and social class to investigate possible differences.

Case histories were also developed on a number of subcultural members in an attempt to display the membership on an individual level and to give a feeling of their diverse experiences and views. Lastly, the day to day life of the subcultural members was described to reveal the manner in which members carry out their resistance through an alternative lifestyle and the consequences of this lifestyle.

2.1 Local Subculture History

In order to situate the results that follow it is useful to recount the history of the punk rock subculture in Victoria. The following history was compiled after an examination of local newspapers from January 1978 to July 1987.

There were punk rockers in the city as early as 1980 according to one student interviewed in a October 1980 issue of the local popular-cultural weekly, Monday magazine (Monday Vol.6 no.44 1980 p. 8). However, there are no reports by the press of a formation of an actual subculture until a December 1982 issue of Monday. In a cover article, a group of punk females calling themselves the "Speedqueens" and their male equivalent, the "Victoria" Knights were interviewed.

In the article, the formation of the group is discussed. The females reveal that a year earlier, a group of four met at a laundromat, began a conversation, and later began to spend time together. This meeting places the probable genesis of the subculture in late 1981 (Monday Vol. 8 no.51 1982 p. 14-15).

The press offers more coverage of the subculture in 1982. Punks and rockers are noted to be decorating the streets on Friday nights. This gives the impression that the subculture had not yet evolved into an everyday occurrence (Monday Vol.8 no.51 1982 p. 14-15). A cartoon in September 1983 offers more information as to the development of the subculture. Its caption describes groups of punks congregating in a local restaurant and in a local record store (Monday Vol.9 no.34 1983 p. 6).

The next notice the press takes of the group is in January 1984 where a meeting between four punks and two elderly women is outlined. The article sets up the women's stereotypical view of the punks (rude, hostile without provocation, loud and bizarre) and then destroys it with the pleasantries exchanged between the two groups. This seems to exemplify the media reaction "dismissal" described earlier where punks are dismissed in a trivial fashion by displaying their similarity to the general public (Monday Vol.10 no.5 1984 p. 7).

The attitude towards the group changes. This is apparent in a August 1985 insert in Monday called "The Victoria Downtowner". In this insert, loitering by youths is mentioned as a problem by merchants of the 700 block Yates Street. While it is common knowledge that the punks congregate in this area, they are not singled out in the article (The Victoria Downtowner August 1985 p. 8). This concern for "groups of people hanging out " is voiced again in an October of

1986 issue of Monday. Again the punks are not singled out (Monday Vol.12 no.44 1986 p. 5).

In January and February of 1986, there is the public notice of the formation of the Association for Street Kids, showing the growing concern in the community for the increasing number of youths on the street (Monday Vol.12 no.7 1986 p. 5; Times Colonist Jan. 30 1986). On September 24, 1986, the Times Colonist runs a story of a meeting between the 700 Block Yates Street merchants and the punks. The meeting has been set up to discuss the problem merchants believe the punks cause by congregating in front of merchants' shops. The punks are again depicted as youths that are "not that different from most people". This statement is made even though there is a discussion in the meeting pertaining to violence on the streets, harrassment from other gangs, and unhappy family situations. Furthermore, the group of punks voice their displeasure about being the scapegoats for the problem. However, the merchants are more concerned with their businesses than with the views the punks express. (Times Colonist Sept. 24 1986).

One week later another article on crime in Victoria vindicates the punks to a certain extent. "The punkers don't have very much of an impact on crime." "They've been responsible for some property damage, yes, but not crimes against persons." (Times Colonist Oct 1. 1986). The article also relays that the problem of punks meeting in the 700 block Yates is tapering off.

Later that same month there is concern voiced by merchants for the panhandling on Broad and Fort, another known punk "hangout". But punks as a category are not singled out (Monday Vol.12 no.43 1986 p. 7). In November of

1986 there is an article on the "pit", a local house that caters to punk rock concerts. The article attempts to portray the punks as merely "out for fun" while at the same time being socially conscious by contributing to the local food bank (Monday Vol.12 no.49 1987 p. 29).

An April 1987 issue of Monday has a photograph of a subcultural member at a peace march (Monday Vol.13 no.18 1987 p. 3). A May 1987 issue of Monday contains an urban snapshot of a punk (Monday Vol.13 no.19 1987 p. 3). Finally, a May 1987 article in Monday describes the situation for street kids in Victoria. In this article punks are recognized as a distinct category and their locations described (Monday Vol.13 no.21 1987 p. 13-14).

The above review has revealed that since 1981 the punk scene has progressed from a small group meeting on weekends to a larger group gathering on a daily basis. As it has developed it has come to the public's attention for two different reasons. First, merchants felt that the subculture members were hurting their business, and second, of a number of people became concerned about the welfare of young people spending time on the street. The local media image of the subculture has evolved from being portrayed as harmless, to being depicted as a group that is disturbing the public because of the unconventional lifestyle they have adopted. Perhaps Gary, a member of the punk rock subculture can best summarize the actual growth of the subculture.

When the scene started in 81 or 82, when it came to the streets, people used to meet here on Saturday to go to the park. These guys were all like nineteen or twenty. Then the kids started coming on Friday nights and pretty much hung out everyday, all day, right. Like last year I hung out all day doing nothing, just spaced out.

By early 1987 then, the subculture had grown from a group of punks getting together episodically, to a group of punks banding together continuously in a complex unit.

Chapter 3

RESULTS

3.1 Background

There were thirty-five members in the subculture that I studied. This is not to say that there are only thirty-five punk rockers in Victoria, rather that there were thirty-five who at the period of the study (January 21 thru March 22, 1987) gathered downtown on a consistent basis. Since subcultures are not static, the number of members will fluctuate. Thus, the sample is from one period of time. Of the thirty-five members, twenty-one were males, and the remaining fourteen were females. This suggests that the subculture was male dominated.

The members ranged in age from fourteen to twenty-nine (see Table 1). However, only two members were over nineteen. The mean and median age for the group was seventeen and its distribution was bimodal. There were nine members aged fifteen and nine members aged seventeen.

Length of participation in the subculture ranged from four weeks to five years. The mean length of participation was approximately two years (as was the median and the mode). For the most part I found that there were few new members. Only five had been involved for less than a year. Two of these entered as the research was taking place.

Questions were asked about the members parents' occupations in an attempt to locate subjects in a class-of-origin. The debate over definition of class is

Table 3.1: Subculture Age Distribution

29 *
28
27
26
25
24
23
22
21 *
20
19 **
18 *****
17 *****
16 *****
15 *****
14 *

ongoing and very complicated.² Depending on the argument that one supports, there are many possible ways to categorize classes in advanced capitalist societies. One approach comes from Eric Olin Wright who has suggested that divisions be based on ownership, decision making, authority, and autonomy. According to Wright, these criteria generate a typology that elaborates on the traditional bourgeoisie/working class division and accounts for various levels of contradictory classes that have emerged overtime. However, Wright's approach requires detailed information, as can be seen from his own categorization of the the American class structure (Wright et al 1982). It was felt that subjects would not have enough knowledge of their parents' occupations to use this method correctly.

² A comprehensive discussion of class and class consciousness is beyond the scope of this thesis. Significant recent discussions include Carchedi (1977), Giddens (1973), Parkin (1979), Poulantzas (1975), and Wright (1985).

Another solution has been suggested by Barbelet (1986) who argues that within advanced capitalism there are only two classes, the bourgeoisie and the working class. However, Barbelet discerns various status groups within the working class who have different interests at different times, accounting for a lack of working class cohesion. Although different status groups are from the same class, their immediate, self-identified interests are affected by their history.

It was felt that Barbelet's class division was broad and that a middle class of some sort had to be determined. Therefore, the researcher resorted to a blue collar/white collar occupational division. Included in the blue collar group were such occupations as army petty officers, manual labourers, department store clerks, and policemen. The white collar group consisted of professionals such as accountants and bureaucrats and those who owned their own businesses. Admittedly this is not a fully adequate method of representing class, but seems to accomplish its purpose reasonably well.

By these criteria, fifteen members were placed in the white collar category and eighteen were placed in the blue collar category (See Table 2). Two members did not furnish the needed information to the researcher. Eleven of those with blue collar backgrounds were males, seven were females. Eight of those with white collar backgrounds were males with the remaining seven being females. Both of the members with unknown backgrounds were males.

These findings will have an effect on the interpretation of the other results as it can be seen that the subculture contains a significant number of members from both classes. Thus, this would suggest that the youth subculture, and the punk subculture in particular, is not made up of primarily lower class youths. This

Table 3.2: Class of Origin by Sex

<u>SEX</u>	<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>White Collar</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Male	11	8	2	21
Female	7	7	0	14
TOTAL	18	15	2	35

would support some of the British literature reviewed and its suggestion that the punk subculture contains members from both the middle and working classes (Brake 1985; Frith 1983; Muncie 1981). These data do not support the view put forth by either the structural functionalists or neo-Marxists that the subculture draws members exclusively from the working class. The case may be made that since the membership of the subculture is diverse in its class of origin, problems experienced by youth may not be class specific, but rather may permeate all socioeconomic strata.

While in the field I realized that many members did not live with, or receive any support from their parents. These members were in a class position of their own. Study of the present class location of members revealed the following pattern. Of the thirty-five members in the subculture, there were only twelve who lived in their parents' residences (See Table 3). This ties these members to their parents' class by immediate domicile. Four males and eight females gave this response.

Thirteen members reported that they rented residences. These members were able to afford these lodgings through various means. Three members (two males;

one female) received assistance from their parents. This tied them to their parents class. Three members supported themselves through low wage employment (one male; two females). There was also a sub group of subjects that relied on the state for survival. Five males received welfare, one drew unemployment insurance benefits and one resided in a group home. The other member who rented her own residence did not disclose the means she used to support herself.

Finally, there was a group that lived on the street, did not work, and relied on various methods of survival including illegal activities. Nine members of the subculture gave this response (seven males; two females). At the beginning of the study period there were thirteen members who lived on the street. However, four males rented apartments during the course of the research and have been coded according to their later status. The street experience was not uncommon to members. Nine of the thirteen members who were renting their own apartments had lived on the street. Three others living at home had also lived on the street. The total number of members who had at some point lived on the street was twenty one.

The above reports the present class position of the members. More than half of the members of the subculture are in a class position "of their own", that is defined by not living with their parents. In all of these cases, their socioeconomic position is very low. The literature does not examine this phenomenon so it is difficult to come to a conclusion. Furthermore, the uncertainty about the pattern of entry makes interpretation difficult. Members may reject dominant values and norms and as a result seek out membership and adopt a marginal socioeconomic position. On the other hand, membership may influence members to reject

Table 3.3: Present Residence and Class Location by Sex

<u>PLACE OF RESIDENCE</u>	<u>Present Class Location</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
With Parents	Blue Collar	2	3	5
	White Collar	2	5	7
	TOTAL	4	8	12
On Own	Blue Collar Parental Support	1	1	2
	White Collar Parental Support	1	0	1
	Low Wage Employment	1	2	3
	State Support	7	0	7
	Street	7	2	9
	Unknown	0	1	1
	TOTAL	17	6	23

dominant norms and adopt very poor socioeconomic conditions. In either case, these findings will have important influence in the way the analysis of data proceeds. They can only help to further understand the Victoria punk subculture.

3.2 Member's Goals

A basic premise of Cohen's theory is that youth are socialized to accept the success goals represented in the dominant ideology. According to Cohen, it is those youth who strongly internalize the goals that will experience frustration when the means to attain the goals are blocked. Furthermore, he argues that it is youth from the working class who will most likely experience this strain. It is these youth that enter into a subculture. To test Cohen's assumption, I needed to

establish if the members of the punk subculture did have occupational goals that they wished to attain. Members were questioned about occupational goals and about their perceptions of their future. Four types of responses emerged from these questions: conformist, rebel/retreatist, ritualist and innovator.

Members placed within the "conformist" type conveyed goals of attaining positions where there would be some legitimate monetary rewards (n=12). This type included those members who wished to further their education through post secondary institutions. These members believed that education was a route that would enable them to reach these goals.

The conformist type was divided into two distinct groups. One group contained members who were attending school (n=4). Thus, it might be inferred that they have a more realistic chance of attaining their goals. The other group contained those members whose school circumstances would likely have inhibited their chances of reaching goals. The eight members placed in this second group either attended non-diploma granting alternative schools (n=4) or did not attend school (n=4). Both of these situations would seem to disqualify members from attending postsecondary institutions and thus the most obvious means to reach their goals.

Both of these groups demonstrate the internalization of the ideology described by Cohen. They wish to achieve cultural goals through institutional means. The school circumstances of eight of these members may reflect or cause their frustration leading to subcultural participation.

Class membership is also important to Cohen's theory. Five members placed in the "conformist" type came from blue collar backgrounds (two males; three

females). Seven members reported coming from white collar backgrounds (four males; three females).

An examination of the present residence of the members reveals a cross section of circumstances. Three members resided in white collar homes (two males; one female). One female lived in a blue collar home. Two males received state assistance and lived in their own apartments. Two females rented their own apartments (one through parental support; one unknown). One male lived in a foster home and two members lived on the street (one male; one female). These data suggest, not unlike the class of origin data, that members hold these goals regardless of class position. The following are examples of responses by members who were placed into this type.

I lived in Germany for three months and I picked up the beginning of the language. What I want to do is go back. I want to go to Camosun you know, get a couple of years of German, then I'm going to go back to Munster where I lived, they've got an air base there, so the people there I can talk to in English. Then improve my skills to the point where I can be translating. I mean there's lots of money involved in translating, being a translator or interpreter, or getting an English book and putting it into German and getting the rights to that or vice versa. That's where the money is, doing things like that. Not spending the rest of my life doing something for someone else.
(Tom)

Get a job, make lots of money, drive a Porshe, snort lots of cocaine.
(Walt)

Go to Toronto to get a job. A friend of mine I was talking to a couple of nights ago and there's lots of money, a lot of money. Anything I can get right now and maybe save up for college or something. (Ulrich)

The second major type of response, "retreatist/rebel", revealed that a number of members were negative about their futures (n=12). The members who were placed into this type tended not to formulate long term occupational goals. Some

members reported that they were not interested in succeeding. Two members saw themselves as permanent street people. Others described an apocalyptic future. Some responses vaguely covered the negative feelings members had for their future's. This group have no real cultural goals and no faith in the institutional means to attain them. Within the subculture they are able to attain status via alternative criteria.

Study of the class of origin of the twelve members placed in this type revealed the following. Seven members were from blue collar backgrounds (six males; one female). Three members were from white collar backgrounds (two males; one female). Two males placed in this type failed to provide information on their class backgrounds. An investigation of the present living arrangements of the members placed in this type showed two males living in blue collar homes. One female resided in a white collar home. Three state supported males lived in their own residences and six members lived on the street (five males; one female). Only three members placed in this type attended school. All three of these members lived at home. The following are examples of this type.

Generally I don't like to think about it. You walk down the street and you see old men crashed out and you just hope that's not you in a few years. (Mr.X)

I don't know. Hard to say. Teaching handicapped people. I don't really care, I won't be here. (Kathy)

I'm not going to get a job. It looks like I'm going to sit here for the rest of my life with my long hair and my music and just sit around. I'm on welfare. I need a chance to earn lots of money. I need a chance to go out and do things. (Mark).

Panhandling for the dog, scamming a little bit here, scamming a little bit there. It's a living. (Kip).

I don't need it. I'd rather sit on the street and play my guitar and harmonica now. I don't know if I can make any money at it I don't

really care because I really don't need money. Besides getting my stuff together, that I need. But that will all come in due time. (Gary)

I'm downwardly mobile and proud of it. Like I don't know about the way my parents live. Like get a job, work nine to five, do it for thirty odd years, then get shipped off to some lousy pension. I couldn't handle that. Like my dad worked thirty years to get a pension. You might as well live on welfare (Hal).

The members that were placed into the "ritualist" type were employed but felt that advancement was not in the future (n=2). These members either did not desire advancement, or felt that it was unlikely even though it was desired. These members did not subscribe to the achievement ideology, but continued to work through institutional means. The members in this type would differ from Merton's in that they are not the zealous prototype that he describes.

The two members who were placed into the "ritualist" category came from blue collar backgrounds. Both lived in their own apartments and supported themselves through low wage employment. Neither member attended school. This may demonstrate that no effort was being made to train for better employment. Below are examples of this type.

I've got a job. I make five bucks an hour. That's enough to live on. That's all I really need. I don't want an office job. So in ten years dying, or doing the same thing that I'm doing now. (Stan)

I can't go anywhere, I can't do anything. I'm stuck here paying rent and buying groceries. (Geraldine)

The members who were placed into the "innovator" type had goals of monetary success (n=2). However, these members felt that education as a route to success was difficult. That is, they believed that they would not be able to attain their goals using the standard channel of mobility. They held hegemonic goals but felt they could not achieve them through institutionalized means.

Both members placed into this category came from white collar backgrounds and attended alternative schools. The male lived on his own supported by his parents. The female also lived on her own, supporting herself through low-wage employment. The following statements provide evidence of this type.

Art if I could. It would take too many years of school but I like marine biology but I'm too lazy. Maybe I'll get my act together some day.(Mary)

Carl wants to join the airforce. It takes six years to become a pilot, why don't you do something else...We just got jobs, Carl and I, picking daffodils. It's like nine hours a day and we make 300 dollars a week. We just want a couple hundred bucks, you know to have a party. We're going to rent a limousine.(Alan)

From the above analysis one may conclude that there is a diversity among subculture members and the future goals they wish to attain. Not all members wish to attain goals, but among those who do, there is evidence that class is not a barrier in the internalization of the success ideology. This applies not only to class of origin but present class circumstances as well.

This finding does not coincide with the functionalist theory. The functionalists believe that the lower class youth will seek out a subcultural solution when legitimate avenues to success are blocked. The mixed socioeconomic makeup of the youths holding dominant goals suggests that youth of all classes who experience goal blockage may seek a subcultural solution. There is also evidence that some members' expectations of achieving these goals are unrealistic due to their present class and educational circumstances. This discrepancy between reality and fantasy may have led these members to seek a subcultural solution. If not, they may experience this strain in the future. For females in this group, participation in the punk subculture might reflect the frustration concerning the blockage into male dominated occupations.

Table 3.4: Class of Origin and Future Orientations by Sex

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>Class of Origin</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Conformist	Blue Collar	2	3	5
	White Collar	4	3	7
	TOTAL	6	6	12
Retreatist	Blue Collar	6	1	7
	White Collar	2	1	3
	Unknown	2	0	2
	TOTAL	10	2	12
Ritualist	Blue Collar	1	1	2
	White Collar	0	0	0
	TOTAL	1	1	2
Innovator	Blue Collar	0	0	0
	White Collar	1	1	2
	TOTAL	1	1	2

Functionalist theory also predicts that youths entering the subculture have dropped their goals and use the subculture as an alternative criteria for status. The youth in this group have not done this. They participate while clinging to the hopes of someday attaining their goals.

There is also evidence from the data that a number of members do not aspire to the success goals espoused in the dominant ideology. These members have become alienated from the dominant ideology. This would coincide with functionalist explanations. These members have rejected the dominant norms and

Table 3.5: Current Class Position and Future Orientations by Sex

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>Present Class Location</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Conformist	Blue Collar Home	0	1	1
	White Collar Home	2	2	4
	Parental Support	0	1	1
	State Support	3	0	3
	Street	1	1	2
	Unknown	0	1	1
	TOTAL		6	6
Retreatist	Blue Collar Parents	2	0	2
	White Collar Home	0	1	1
	State Support	3	0	3
	Street	5	1	6
	TOTAL	10	2	12
Ritualist	Low Wage Employment	1	1	2
	TOTAL	1	1	2
Innovator	Parental Support	1	0	1
	Low Wage Employment	0	1	1
	TOTAL	1	1	2

replaced them with norms of their own or they reject the norms and “drop out” from the society. The large number of males present in the “retreatist/rebel” category may lend evidence to the male–female differences concerning the norms stressing occupational success. For those males who perceive their opportunities blocked, the subculture may provide an alternative route to masculinity. This

interpretation also is congruent with the neo-Marxist perspective that subcultural youth resist the dominant order. Their responses and behavior (the adoption of marginal socioeconomic status) displayed their refusal to assimilate the dominant ideology. They use the subculture to negotiate cultural space within hegemony.

Those members who choose "ritual" appear to be drawn from the blue collar class and the "innovator" from the white collar class. However, the numbers in these last two types are too small to draw any firm conclusions.

The above analysis reveals that members can be placed into a number of the categories suggested by Merton. It is not only the "rebel" that inhabits the youth subculture. The subculture allows for a number of responses based on the diverse experiences and reactions of the members. It appears that the punk subculture allows for all of the adaptations. This suggests levels of resistance which theorists have failed to predict.

No causal ordering can be drawn from the data. Perhaps these types are recruited into the subculture, or perhaps subcultural membership produces these orientations. It may even be that the process works in both directions depending on each particular case. Considering the number of adaptations that appeared, there is room for both interpretations.

3.3 School

The experience of youth in the school is cited by both the structural functional and neo-Marxist theorists as a contributing factor in the formation of adolescent subcultures. Cohen is of the opinion that it is in school that youths recognize that the means to attain goals are blocked. Therefore, the opposition to school

demonstrates the strain deriving from ideological goals. The neo-Marxists view the oppositional behavior as an attack on the dominant order. While both of these perspectives provide possible explanations, the recent education cutbacks in the province of British Columbia might also have had an influence on members' attitudes.

Crawford Kilian, in his book School Wars, The Assault on B.C. Education (1985), argues that the cutbacks (beginning in the summer of 1982) and the economic realities experienced within families during this period affected students attitudes towards education. He notes that teachers had to deal with demoralized students.

Levels of community unemployment were directly affecting student achievement. Students were showing increased evidence of negative self attitudes, and a declining interest in learning (Kilian 1985 p. 5).

Kilian believes that increased class size, decaying school buildings and the scarcity of materials and equipment all influenced students' outlooks.

The kids weren't dumb; they saw the whole system was rigged against them. Why should they sweat to save a system that wouldn't save them (Kilian 1985 p. 176).

It is attitudes like these that may be reflected in members' responses. I questioned members on their school histories and their attitudes towards the school system. It was hoped that this would provide evidence of types of opposition.

An examination of the members' school histories reveals that school was a source of difficulties for members. In total, twenty-seven of the thirty-five members had at some point given up attendance at school. Ten members had been expelled from school (eight males; two females) and seventeen members had

quit school (nine males; eight females). In addition, one female had failed. Only seven members of the subculture had school histories that were not marked by expulsion, departure or failure. It is interesting to note that members were usually expelled for disciplinary reasons rather than their school performance. In a number of cases their dismissal came about after a physical confrontation with a teacher or a principal.

During the course of the research, nineteen members of the subculture were attending school (eight males; eleven females). Ten of these members were from white collar backgrounds (four males; six females) and nine were from blue collar backgrounds (four males; five females). Class of origin showed no relation to continuation of school.

The present living circumstances of members offers a better indication of who will continue to attend school. The data reveal that twelve of the students still lived at home (four males; eight females). Five students lived on their own but three of these were supported by their parents. One student lived in a group home and another lived on the street. This suggests that being supported by parents influences school attendance.

An analysis of the types of schools members attended demonstrates further the history of problems. Of the nineteen students, eight attended regular schools (four males; four females) ten attended alternative schools (three males; seven females) and one male attended college. The alternative schools are set up to accommodate students who have encountered problems with the regular school system and who wish to return to school after expulsion, departure or failure. These schools teach basic courses (English, Social Studies, Math and Science),

allow more individual freedom and provide more individual attention to students. Many members indicated that the option of alternative schools influenced their decision to continue or return to school.

Sixteen members of the subculture did not attend school (twelve males; three females). Eight of these members came from blue collar backgrounds (seven males; one female). Six nonstudents came from white collar backgrounds (four males; two females). Class was not a factor in determining which members did not attend school. The present socioeconomic position of all the members who did not attend school was marginal. Five males were state supported. Eight members lived on the street (seven males; one female). Two members supported themselves through low wage dishwashing jobs (one male; one female) and one member lived on her own but did not disclose how she supported herself.

The members' school histories have revealed that there are problems that members experience within the system. The responses to questions concerning school provide further insight into members attitudes. Three types of answers emerged from the data. Some felt school did not satisfy their needs to gain future employment (n=12). These members believed the present curriculum was inadequate. It failed to provide them with job skills. To these group members school was a waste of their time since it did not provide them with anything marketable.

Eight of these twelve who felt school was a waste of time came from blue collar backgrounds (six males; two females). Three were from white collar backgrounds (one male; two females) and one male from an unknown background. Study of present class location of members in this type showed two members

Table 3.6: School Histories and Class of Origin by Sex

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>Class of Origin</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Expelled	Blue Collar	4	0	4
	White Collar	4	2	6
	TOTAL	8	2	10
Quit	Blue Collar	5	3	8
	White Collar	2	5	7
	Unknown	2	0	2
	TOTAL	9	8	17
Failed	Blue Collar	0	1	1
	TOTAL	0	1	1
Clean History	BlueCollar	2	3	5
	White Collar	2	0	2
	TOTAL	4	3	7

living at home (one male; one female). Seven members lived in their own apartments. One male managed this through parental support, one female supported herself through low wage employment, four males received state assistance and one female did not reveal her means of subsistence. The last three male members placed into this type lived on the street. Only three of the members actually attended school (one male; two females).

The data reveal that it is males (especially those from blue collar backgrounds and marginal socioeconomic conditions) that dominate this category. The following are examples of the responses from members placed into this type:

Table 3.7: Present School Circumstances and Class of Origin by Sex

<u>Attendance</u>	<u>Class of Origin</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Attending	Blue Collar	4	6	9
	White Collar	4	6	10
	TOTAL	8	11	19
Not Attending	Blue Collar	7	1	8
	White Collar	4	2	6
	Unknown	2	0	2
	TOTAL	13	3	16

Table 3.8: Present School Circumstances and Present Class Location by Sex

<u>Attendance</u>	<u>Present Class Location</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Attending	Blue Collar Home	2	3	5
	White Collar Home	2	5	7
	Parental Support	2	1	3
	Low Wage Employment	0	1	1
	State Support	2	0	2
	Street	0	1	1
	TOTAL	8	11	19
Not Attending	Low Wage Employment	1	1	2
	State Support	5	0	5
	Street	7	1	8
	Unknown	0	1	1
TOTAL	13	3	16	

The school system is garbage. They don't teach you what you need

to know. (Ben)

It teaches you how to be an educated bum. Your chances are about thirty percent that you're just as much a bum now as you were then. No one needs school anyway. They just teach you how to read and write and if you want more you do more school. (Ernie)

I don't think that there's enough kids interested in school. They don't offer what kids want. There is so many drop outs. There's nothing in school....I know when I get out of school I won't have to know anything about dead pigs or anything like that. I don't understand why I have to learn it. The courses they are coming out with now, like work experience courses are really good. You get work experience. They should offer more courses like that and maybe courses that allow kids to get into a field. (Rhonda)

There's so many people in a classroom and you can't learn. I mean thirty people to a teacher. I mean a very basic shallow teaching. I personally didn't learn anything in school. I go to Warehouse now and there's ten people to a classroom and you learn a lot more. There individual things instead of like the teacher never really knows your name. (Farrah)

Well it's just the way they run things, it sucks. They don't offer enough and they're passing people they shouldn't be passing and stuff like that. You don't do any work and they still pass you. You go to the next grade and they fail you or something like that. (Bob)

They don't have their shit together. It's not what you're capable of doing, it's what you know. If you don't do well on an exam, you're a loser right. You don't get to go anywhere. You get to fail. That kind of bullshit right. I've no desire to deal with Geography and that kind of crap. They really don't set it up to teach you anything in school. They don't care what you learn. If you fail, they don't care. (Tom)

Others felt that the school system attempts to form their opinions and behaviors (n=5). These views were usually held in conjunction with those regarding the school's poor curriculum, as above. The members of this second group saw the education system as an effort to condition them to behave and train them for low paying, dull jobs. Three of these five were from blue collar backgrounds (two males; one female). One male placed in this type was from a white collar background and one other from an unknown background. The present

class location of these members showed that one male lived at home, two males lived in their own apartments (one supported by parents, one self supported through low wage employment) and the two remaining members lived on the street (one male; one female). Two males of this type attended school. Again males are predominate. The following are examples of their responses:

I hated it. Teaching you useless stuff. It sucks. You really don't learn anything, all you learn is how to follow orders. They don't teach you how to think and survive. They just try to mold you into their little working part of society. (Stan)

I'm not really interested in what they've got to tell you. You know I like to find out about people and stuff. School is like conditioning. You do what they tell you, then you're ready for the jobs they give you. (Mr.x)

Basically I think the school system is just to teach the kids how to be good followers. Like your taught all the stuff you're learning is what other people have to say and repeating it back. You're not supposed to think, you're supposed to say yes ma'am, yes sir. The law has been decreed by their standards. (Hal).

I thought it was complete brainwashing because they don't tell you the truth. And half of it you don't need anyways when you get out of school. (Naomi)

The final group expressed the feeling that their school education would aid them in gaining employment (n=10). Therefore, continued attendance was important. The members placed into this type were not uncritical of the school system. However, they felt that even with its faults, the chances of gaining employment without education were slim. It is interesting to note that of the ten, eight attended school.

Six of the ten supporting education were from white collar backgrounds (four males; two females); four were from blue collar backgrounds (two males; two females). Five of these members still lived "at home" (two males; three females).

One male lived in a foster home, one was supported by parents and one was state supported. The last two members lived on the street (one male; one female).

Again these data tend to show that the achievement ideology has been internalized by some respondents from all economic strata. It is also noteworthy that although eight of these ten members were in school at the time of the research (including one of the members who lived on the street), seven had been expelled or quit at some point. Even though they support education, these students did indeed experience difficulties in the school system. The following are examples of their responses:

I think that it will help because I think just having a grade twelve education, because he or she has enough will power, I don't know, to get an education, to go to school. (Heather)

It doesn't make you intelligent. It teaches you what you have to know later in life (to get a job), intelligence is what you know from experience. (Janet)

Well I don't like it but I put up with it. If I want to be intelligent I go to school. There's no such things as iron workers. There's computers and stuff and you got to use your brain. Well the way I see it if we didn't go to school, no one could read or write. Nobody would know how to read or write. You wouldn't know mathematics. We need mathematics now, or we will. (Carl)

In general I think it sucks shit because in the regular school I can't stand to be told what to do six hours a day; told what to do every single minute of it. But it'll help you get a job because you'll know stuff. You'll be able to prove you can do it. (Illie)

The conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is that the subculture is quite diversified and that there is support for both the structural functional theory and the neo-Marxist perspective. Some members believe that school is an avenue to achieve goals and most who gave this response were attending school. However, these same members also expressed criticism towards the education

Table 3.9: Class of Origin and School Attitudes by Sex

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>Class of Origin</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
No Employment Skills	Blue Collar	6	2	8
	White Collar	1	2	3
	Unknown	1	0	1
	TOTAL	8	4	12
Shapes Consciousness	Blue Collar	2	1	3
	White Collar	1	0	1
	Unknown	1	0	1
	TOTAL	4	1	5
Need for Employment	Blue Collar	2	2	4
	White Collar	4	2	6
	TOTAL	6	4	10

system and had a history of school problems. This suggests that these members have experienced blockage and seek a subcultural solution.

As neo-Marxists would predict, some members are questioning the ideological nature of the institution (although many times not in a conscious manner), and resist through behavior that causes their dismissal or an exit of their own accord. The members are resisting an education that only qualifies them for menial low wage employment. Some are resisting education as a shaper of consciousness. Only five of the seventeen members who gave these responses were attending school. These members resist hegemony by refusing to assimilate the dominant ideology. Their resistance is displayed by their absence and rebellious behavior.

Table 3.10: Present Class Location and School Attitudes by Sex

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>Present Class Location</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
No Employment Skills	Parents Home	1	1	2
	Parental Support	0	1	1
	Low Wage Employment	0	1	1
	State Support	4	0	4
	Street	3	0	3
	Unknown	0	1	1
	TOTAL		8	4
Shaper of Consciousness	Parent's Home	1	0	1
	Parental Support	1	0	1
	Low Wage Employment	1	0	1
	Street	1	1	2
	TOTAL		4	1
Need For Employment	Parent's Home	2	3	5
	State Support	2	0	2
	Street	2	1	3
	TOTAL		6	4

The formation of these attitudes may lead youths to enter the subculture or they may be developed after entry. Within the subculture there may be a counter-ideology that encourages, reinforces and supports the resistance towards school.

The rebellion seems to be more prevalent among those from blue collar backgrounds, marginal present class locations and among males. It may be that the "male stream" success ideology is being resisted. Under pressure to succeed, these youth come to realize the contradictions of their school experience and

rebel. The subculture offers an alternative route to status through masculinity. The result of this rebellion is often the adoption of a low socioeconomic position. Members live on the the streets or survive through state income assistance. They have no skills to gain employment, restricting their alternatives

The school attendance of females might be portrayed by neo-Marxists as resistance to the dominant order in that they are attempting to gain access to nontraditional occupations. Success in school may allow them avenues into male dominated occupations. The nonattendance of females may be better explained through functionalist theory: those who do not attend school or have encountered difficulties in school enter the subculture after they encounter routes to male dominated occupations blocked.

The examination of members views on education imply that neither theory provides an adequate explanation of entry into the subculture. Some members responses follow functionalist theory, others neo-Marxist theory. The diversity of the responses also suggest that there are levels of resistance within the subculture. Some members attend school, others with more severe judgements do not. This suggests that further refinement is needed to explain the role of school, and responses to it, as variables in the formation of youth subcultures.

3.4 Parent/Child Relationships

Neo-Marxist theorists contend that the problems encountered by youth within the family also lead to subcultural participation. These theorists outline the way in which the family relays ideological codes. They predict that youth come to question these codes because the codes contradict their own experience outside of the family. The result is friction between youths and parents.

I asked members questions pertaining to their family relations to examine the family aspect of the theory. Many of the members were reluctant to talk about their family problems. There was a sense of uneasiness when the question was posed. The members relayed the information in short, sometimes hostile answers I took this as a cue not to pursue questioning in the area in detail. In fact some of the information was gathered by listening to members' conversations with each other. The data gathered can be usefully organized in terms of nonfriction, friction and violence.

Nine members were placed into the nonfriction type. These members were able to discuss their problems and their subcultural membership with parents. Their parents were apparently sympathetic and for the most part did not question their participation. These parents also enjoyed the close friends of their children.

Seven of this group came from blue collar backgrounds (three males; four females); two were from white collar backgrounds (one male; one female). The fact that seven of the nine were from blue collar backgrounds might suggest that members with blue collar parents may be more sympathetic to a somewhat deviant experience, perhaps having been exposed to similar experiences themselves.

Six of the nine reporting good parental relationships were still residing in their parents homes. Three lived on their own. One female was supported by her parents and two males were supported by the state. The following are examples of the types of child/parent in the respondent's own words.

If I didn't want to live at home, they go well we'd rather you didn't (leave) but we're not going to let you starve to death or nothing, or so you have no money. So they half support me. Not enough to make me comfortable, but enough. They think right on...and I'm happy. For some people I know its caused problems. Problems like

you don't fit into society so you're screwed so go away. Like I know a lot of people have been kicked out of the house because they wouldn't conform to what their parents wanted. (Heather)

She loves it. She loves my friends. Like Farrah, my best friend, my mom enjoys talking to her. (Janet)

Well my parents can be classified as sort of sixties you know. And when I first came home thrashed out of my brain they were pissed off for a couple until I went and talked to them. I went I have my right to dress the way I want and act the way I want right, so there. So that's cool. (Ulrich)

I get along with her quite well. I still do. It's not like some of these people, "oh my fuckin' parents kicked me out". (Mark)

Sixteen members were placed into the "friction" category. They reported that their relationships with their parents were characterized by "conflict" -i.e. parents questioning members about school work, attitudes, friends, involvement in illegal activities, style, as well as other behaviors. These conflicts, in many cases, drove the group members out of their parents' residences and on to the street.

Half of the sixteen reporting "friction" with parents were from blue collar backgrounds (five males; three females); the others had white collar backgrounds (two males; six females). Perhaps the best indicator of the seriousness of the friction is that ten of the sixteen did not live "at home" (six males; four females).

Some of their responses:

Actually, my family relationship, I tried for years to get it close together. It just died and I just gave up...and the last straw was just a little while ago. So I just went wow, I tried and I tried and I tried. Now if they want to come to me I'll try again, but I'm not going to talk to them. It has to be their turn. (Jack)

I just couldn't handle living with them. They're hard to live with. Bugging me about coming in late, about the way I look, 'get your hair cut, change your clothes'. Ragging at me because I don't get A's. (Ernie)

Money, my going out, my school, my attitude, my friends. But now she's all over that. But she has curfew and rules. (Fay)

I just didn't want to live with them anymore. They were trying to lay down too many rules I thought were just bullshit. So I left (Farrah)

The way I was dressing was conflicting with their views and they didn't like my art much. My dad said it was unnatural because I draw weird things and I have a ferret and a rat. My parents must have been real yuckie because I was a real mellow kid. I didn't do any rebelling but then I had to get out all of a sudden. I said I had to go. They said no you don't. I said yes I do and left. (Geraldine)

Like problems with my friends. Gary is not allowed in because he smells bad. Ben is nonproductive so he's a bad influence (Stan)

Well we brought a bunch of friends over, staying over all the time. We weren't eating her food or anything or causing any hassles or making much noise. She fucking says everyone has to leave, but you and Zak can stay cause we're allowed to live there. And I said fuck you mom I can have friends over anytime. This basement is mine. So fuck you, you're just a god damn landlord, nothing else. "No you can't have any friends over and if you have any friends over I'll call the police." So I decided well fuck you, I'm not going back again. (Yuri).

The "violence" type contained seven members. The parents resort to violence in an attempt to punish or discipline their children, resulting in the children leaving to avoid the violence. The incidence of violence may be greater than these data indicate. Some of those reporting "friction" may have been involved in violence and not reported it. All seven members who fell into this category were males. Four were from white collar backgrounds, three from blue collar backgrounds. Six of these members no longer lived in their parent's homes. There is no clear trend in class backgrounds but gender is obviously an important factor. Consider the following responses:

My dad once hit me, broke my nose, and I fell into the closet and broke the door. So he beats me up for breaking the door and getting blood on the carpet. Once he beat me and took me to the hospital and told them I fell down the stairs. Meanwhile there's like knuckle prints on my face. He used to tell me never to hit girls, so when he'd get mad at my mom he'd hit me. Oh oh, dad's mad at mom better leave. So one night I locked myself in my room, came out at night with a baseball bat, beat him, stole his wallet and ran away. (Walt)

Like you get busted and your dad is sitting there. You don't get charged or nothing, you just get tossed around the police station a bit. Then get belted around for humiliating your father. Other than that, he was o.k.. (Zak)

Kids go "yeah my parents are assholes" and you go over there and they're fine. But my parents, when I say that, the people come over and go "your dad is an asshole." He's the thirty year army man who's built like a wrestler, who thinks he's tough and always has to prove it. He's the main, the only reason I left. (Tom)

Well I'm two weeks from nineteen now and I got kicked out when I was fifteen. My mother's thirty four and she's obese and my stepfather is about sixty three or sixty four. We get along o.k. now because I'm not in the house. My stepfather is this old decrepit thing and he's an alcoholic. Well he's not anymore...so up until pretty close to when I left home he was drinking all the time. I watched him beat my mother up a few times and I got beat up once. So this sucks, families don't really work. (Ben)

Last night my dad threw me through a door. Well not like right through, but you know, knocking it open. He was yelling at my brother like he yells at me calling him a fucking asshole and he's only four. So I told him to quit it and he beat me up and threw me through the door. (Alan).

The data once more show a diversity of responses from the members. These range from those who have good relationships with their parents to those whose relationships are quite unstable and volatile.

This friction may arise from the child's resistance to views parents are expressing. As neo-Marxist theorists suggest, the child questions these views because they contradict his/her experience. The questions surrounding points of friction can be seen to be related to many of the qualities that were discussed earlier by Cohen. Cohen described certain qualities as essential for success and in some cases reflecting success. Parents who have assimilated the dominant ideology and have spent time passing it on to their children react strongly to their children's disregard for these values and ideas. The child's behavior is not

Table 3.11: Member/Parent Relationship and Class of Origin by Sex

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>Class of Origin</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Nonfriction	Blue Collar	3	4	7
	White Collar	1	1	2
	TOTAL	4	5	9
Friction	Blue Collar	5	3	8
	White Collar	2	6	8
	TOTAL	7	9	16
Violence	Blue Collar	3	0	3
	White Collar	4	0	4
	TOTAL	7	0	7

conducive to “getting ahead”. In fact their blatant deviations make it difficult to succeed. Appearance, types of friends, school grades, leisure, and illegal activities each may lead the parent to feel that the child’s behavior was unsuitable. The result of this friction is that many children feel they have no alternative but to leave home.

A number of the points of friction concern, as neo-Marxists believe, the subordinate relationship the youths hold in the family. For the youth it is a time when interest in a number of areas is restricted, and when attempting to assert some of this individuality undermines parental authority. In the hierarchy of family authority, youths are at the bottom. Their challenge to this authority in an attempt to assert their own identity, whatever form it takes, produces friction. This friction

Table 3.12: Member/Parent Relationship and Present Living Arrangements by Sex

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
NonFriction	Parents' Residence	2	4	6
	Own Residence	2	1	3
	TOTAL	4	5	9
Friction	Parents' Residence	1	5	6
	Own Residence	3	2	5
	Street	3	2	5
	TOTAL	7	9	16
Violence	Parents' Residence	1	0	1
	Foster Home	1	0	1
	Own Residence	3	0	3
	Street	2	0	2
	TOTAL	7	0	7

may lead members to enter the subculture. Alternatively, subcultural participation may itself be a source of friction. The subculture provides an environment in which the youth does have status. Furthermore, it allow members to assert and test their own identities.

As mentioned, one consequence of this friction is that members tend to leave home. Members may be encouraged to leave home by other subcultural members or their leaving home may result in participation in the subculture. In total twenty three members did not live in parents' residences. Those who did not live in their parents' residences tended to adopt a marginal socioeconomic existence. This

suggests that many of these young people are willing to adopt a marginal existence in an attempt to retreat and resist. In some cases they have no choice. It is males who were most likely to have this experience which again suggests the male domination of the subculture. To them, the street provides the only alternative. The street is viable because of the knowledge gained vicariously through the experiences of subculture members.

The data reveal a different pattern for females. While they did experience friction within the family they did not adopt, for the most part, the street option. The subculture might not provide support for females living on the street. The males in the subculture may discourage this option, or make it difficult. Another possible reason is that females may engage in a different type of resistance than males. As a result they may be less likely to be expelled from parents' homes.

There is resistance among those members who live at home as well. Half of those who lived "at home" experienced friction with their parents. Those members who did have good relationships with their parents generally had their parent's support and understanding. The neo-Marxist theory may also explain the presence of those youth who had not experienced serious problems with their parents. The parents of these youth may support their participation because they hold similar views concerning the dominant order. Therefore, they may have provided their children with views that encourage this form of resistance. However, this situation seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

3.5 Entry into the Subculture

Cohen postulated that when a youth encounters problems with the school system, s/he may unconsciously seek out a group made up of others with similar problems. Cohen felt that this group would provide an environment in which the members could test new ideas and attempt to solve the problem. The neo-Marxists describe the structural problems youth encounter and their use of the subculture as a vehicle to address these problems. It has been suggested that a number of the members did in fact encounter problems concerning future goals, school and their family. Many of their responses can be interpreted as resistance to the dominant order. Therefore, these youth were prime candidates for entry into a subculture. The data pointed to four ways in which members entered the subculture.

Members placed into the first type became involved in the subculture through "social proximity". These people had a friend or an acquaintance involved in the subculture (n=14). The person who becomes involved in this manner is persuaded or drawn into the subculture. The new member will likely be similar to the recruiting member. Due to the fact that they are friends, they will likely have similar interests and views. This will make the transition into the subculture a relatively easy process. Ten females and four males became involved in this manner. Consider these comments:

My best friend turned punk. I started hanging around with him and he changed, I just stayed normal and I just hung around with the same people that he did. (Ernie)

I got involved through this guy that I knew, my ex best friend. Like he was a rockabilly and he hung out downtown and he introduced me to people. (Fay)

I used to talk to a friend of mine. He used to hang around here. I used to go out with (him) four years ago. I kept bumping into, hi how are you doing. And I went to a party at Kathy's place and he was there and I met him and we started going out for coffee. (Heather)

Well I was going to Central, and in my calligraphy class Farrah was sitting next to me and I thought she was the greatest thing on two feet. The first time she met me she wanted to punch me out because I was sitting in her seat. But she took me to my first gig and I was hooked and since then I've been involved. (Janet)

Others became involved through physical proximity and practical necessity (n=12). These people began to spend time in the downtown core and met various members of the subculture, often through activities of a practical sort such as panhandling and "squatting" (Squatting refers to living in abandoned buildings). Often these youth had run away from home. Others were having problems at home that encouraged them to spend time downtown away from the conflicts. In fact both of the new members who entered the subculture during the research, "appeared" downtown and were living on the streets. Both were subsequently invited to squat by other members.

The physical proximity process of entry appears to work in two ways. First, youths seek out membership because of perceived similarities with subculture members; members likely have the same problems and will be sympathetic. Second, members may contact prospective members who are "hanging out" on the streets. Males were more likely to enter the subculture in this manner as ten of the twelve placed in this type were male. The following are examples of this type of recruitment:

I just got in hanging out with my dog panhandling. You meet somebody, then you meet somebody else. Next thing you know, you know everybody right. It's real easy in this city. You got to get hooked up with somebody or else you know you go insane. These guys are just as good as anybody else. (Kip)

Well I ran away and I first started hanging out downtown with some friends of mine, and I started to meeting these guys and it just went from there. And they invited me to stay at their squat, or whatever. I stayed the night there. Thats the way it started. (Oliver)

I ran away one day and I didn't know where to go, so I came downtown and I met somebody and I've been here ever since. (Illie)

The third type of entry emphasizes the subculture's cultural content. Members reported they became involved because of the style or music of the subculture (n=4). One would anticipate that both the style and the music would provide many potential members. However, for the most part, an interest in the music will not lead to an adoption of the subcultural lifestyle. Furthermore, an interest in the music does not guarantee entry. This applies to the style as well. The adoption of the punk style does not secure membership in the subculture. In fact, as will be discussed later, those who seek entry because of style are subject to much scrutinization.

Those members who became involved in the subculture through music first attended punk gigs out of curiosity. This attendance created further interest resulting in these youths seeking and gaining subculture membership. Below are the entry scenarios of the two males that became involved via this route:

D.O.A. was my first gig seven years ago. "The Wake Up Its Time to Die Tour". It sounded so funny that Tony and I wanted to see what it was all about. That's what started it all. Then I went to a Day Glow Abortions gig two years ago at New Years, and I really liked the music. (Alan)

I got into it, I guess I was about fourteen and I had long hair and I was into Motorhead right. Sort of really fast type music right...so a friend of mine, we went to this gig right, a Really Red gig right, this was a long time ago, and after that I just got into it. (Ulrich)

Those members who entered the subculture because of the style did so because they found the style pleasing. This leads these youth to begin to develop

their own style. In the process of developing a unique style the youth seeks and acquires membership in the subculture. Two males became involved in this manner. Below are their discussions about entry:

Prince inspired me. I went to Purple Rain, I liked his style, his hair, his moves. (Bob)

I met Bob at a tennis court. I was watching him skateboarding. I liked the way he dressed. One day he came down, he was wearing all black and his hair was all black and he had this hat on and these gloves on. He looked really cool. So I like it. My attitude is sort of rebellious, so I got into it. It helped me. (Carl)

The fourth entry type was based on the members' need to either rebel or segregate themselves (n=3). They seek out the subculture because they believe it will reinforce their own rebellious attitudes. Two males and one female became involved in the subculture for this reason. The following are examples of this:

I got myself into it. I had a need to rebel against everything. I see it not as an escape, but as a release or a vent for release. (Farrah)

Its the only thing I can identify with. I fucking hate people. I don't like people so I segregate myself as much as I can. (Ben)

Table 3.13: Method of Entry by Sex

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Social Proximity	4	10	14
Physical Proximity	10	2	12
Style	4	0	4
Rebel	2	0	2
TOTAL	20	13	33

These four types of entry mechanisms provide still more evidence of the diversity of the subculture. There is no single way that a member becomes involved in the subculture.

Entry appears to be accomplished via gender-specific methods. Females tended to be recruited into the subculture by friends or acquaintances. Male recruitment, to a great extent, was based on physical proximity and practical necessity. This demonstrates further the way resistance affects the sexes differently. Males are engaging in a resistance that leads them to the street where they seek entry, or are recruited, into the subculture. Females tended to be recruited by friends which may demonstrate the social aspect of the subculture referred to in the literature. This would be consistent with the views that females do not use the subculture in the same manner as males.

The relative infrequencies of "style/music" and "rebellion" entries is surprising. One might expect that more would have been in each of these types. However, the friction with parents reported by some respondents may have resulted from rebellion or over music and style. The fact that they were downtown may be a manifestation of this rebellion. The connection between types is difficult to make since most members responded to the questions with references to method of entry rather than reason.

3.6 Initiation

There are a number of youth wishing to enter the subculture. The small number in the subculture suggests that there is some control over entry. I discovered that the members had adopted a method that allows for normative

control of new members. It reflected the discussion provided by the Sherifs concerning group standards used to regulate what is acceptable and desirable in the attitudes and behaviors of members. The Sherifs see the negative sanctions involved as the clearest evidence of groups norms (Sherif et al. 1964 p.53). The local subculture's control revolved around a selective initiation to the subculture whereby youths deemed unsuitable were screened out and discouraged. The criteria were rather diffuse, but for the most part revolved around coolness, certain skills such as fighting and the correct qualities of a "punk". The initiation subjected the membership candidate to verbal and physical abuse. Below are comments that members made about the entry process:

There used to be like a bunch of tests almost that everybody went through. Not really tests, but you know what I mean. Everybody that came into the subculture went through a lot of shit. Like every female that ever came into the subculture was like, all the guys would try to take her to bed to see if she was a slut or not. All kinds of shit...like everybody gives you shit and if you stick around through that shit, you can o.k., you're cool. (Farrah)

If there is someone who we really think is a good person, it will take a few months before we accept him into our circle of friends, before we'll treat him like a regular person. (Tom)

I got put through a lot of shit. A fuckin lot. Like Walt beating on me. Like sending me to do things. (Illie)

I think they are given a hard time. Because they could be trendies. I guess that's what a lot of them are. I guess that's what I was when I started going out with him. You know I just came and waited. (Heather)

Yeah, oh yeah. Well it depends whether you're an idiot or not. Some are just natural born idiots and others aren't right. I never had an initiation. (Kip)

I've never seen them treat anyone like shit except people who are shit. I don't know. They don't treat me like anything. They just treat me like a person. (Oliver)

Oh yeah, I go downtown, I see the people in front of Macdonald's, they're bound to be twelve or thirteen. Then again that's how old I was when I entered the scene. And everyone puts them down. "You little shits. You little nothing". I've seen them go up and almost rape people. It's a test to see this. They bug them. (Mark)

Those possessing acceptable qualities find it the least difficult to enter the subculture; those lacking these qualities must somehow adopt and adapt. This is difficult since there are no concrete clues as to what changes to make, aside from style. The person can acquire the clothes and cut their hair but the other qualities are harder to acquire. If a potential member is unable to change a decision must be made. The person can continue to "hang around" and be continually harassed or they can withdraw. This normative control over membership keeps the subculture much smaller than it could potentially be but it also serves to enhance the prestige of the subculture for those who are members. As Clarke argues, it creates boundaries defined by the type of person that is in and that being in is important (Clarke 1974 p.433). The presence of group norms demonstrates the complexity of the subculture. An examination of the attitudes that members hold towards outsiders will demonstrate this further.

3.7 Group Views

The initiation process discussed earlier is an example of the boundaries that are set up by subcultural members. To the members of the punk rock subculture these boundaries represent a process by which they define both themselves and others. It is not surprising that because of the amount of time members spend downtown, their main reference groups are the other subcultures that also congregate downtown. The members of these subcultures are viewed in a

stereotypical fashion by the punks. These stereotypes portray the other subcultures in an undesirable light.

There are three other subcultures that can be clearly recognized in the downtown core of Victoria. The first is the skater subculture. The skaters' style included skateboards, shorts, high top runners and a hair style worn short with long bangs. They tended to congregate in front of same fast food restaurant as the punks. Furthermore, they listened to the same types of music as the punks and attended the same concerts. The punks viewed the skaters as possessing few redeeming qualities. The most frequent comments concerned the skaters' lack of intelligence. It was reported that the skaters occupied the lowest level of the subculture hierarchy in downtown Victoria. The membership of the skater subculture also appeared to be the youngest of the subcultures. The punks tended to physically and verbally abuse the skaters. In fact all of the other subcultures did so. The skaters incorporated this into their subculture by defining battle scars as badges of courage. Examples of the attitudes held by the punks towards the skaters follow:

Everybody hates skaters, cops hate them, rockers hate them, preps hate them. Everybody hates them. (Alan)

Skaters have long bangs to cover up their lobotomy scars. (Norm)

Skaters? They're ridiculous. They're idiots. (Ernie)

In Victoria most of them are real fuckheads. (Stan)

The rockers were the second subculture prominent downtown during the research. Again the style identified the rocker subculture. Rockers wore their hair long and "feathered" and dressed in black t-shirts (emblazoned with a picture of

their favorite band), jeans and black leather jackets. The rockers were by far the largest subculture in the downtown core, consisting of a number of groups that seemed to be separated by age. Their ages varied considerably. There were rockers who appeared to be in their late twenties, early thirties. Others appeared to be in their early teens. The rockers "turf" was along Yates and Douglas Streets. The outside locations of the punk subculture were both about a block from the rocker territory.

Some rockers shared with the punks an affinity for "speed metal" and there was some intermingling at speed metal concerts. Speed metal can be best described as a cross between heavy metal and punk. The combination makes for a loud, extremely fast type of music (sometimes referred to as thrash or speed core) that encourages slam dancing. Slam dancing (also referred to as thrashing, slamming or skanking) is a form of dance in which participants run into and rebound off of each other. The intensity and viciousness of the "slam" depends on the speed of the music. A slow paced music leads to a sway among participants. As speed increases so does the amount of slamming. Participants are rarely injured dancing (excluding minor cuts, bruises, bleeding noses). If a participant falls or is knocked down, he/she is helped back to his/her feet. These concerts also provided arenas for potential conflict between the rockers and the punks. In fact, on a number of occasions violence broke out after the researcher had left.

The punks reported that the rockers were violent, macho and unintelligent. This is not surprising since much of this violence is directed towards the punks. The punks tended to avoid rocker territory although there were some rockers who frequented punk "turf". The following are some of the comments that members made about rockers:

Rockers are ignorant. Rockers are fucking ignorant. I really hate rockers. I really hate them. They've got shit for brains. (Stan)

Rockers are pretty stupid. Mentally they are pretty low. (Ernie).

To be a rocker, you've got to be a total idiot. Like its thirty degrees below out and they have a t-shirt and a leather jacket wide open. (Issac)

I think rockers are really egotistical. You get to be a rocker and you gain quite the big ego and they've got your Mr.Tough Guy. (Oliver)

The third subcultural group that existed downtown were the skinheads. This group could be identified by their shaved heads, flight jackets, jeans, suspenders, Doc Marten English work boots and array of tattoos. This subculture seemed to be on the decline as membership diminished due to various serious legal problems; that is, a number of members were in institutions or were awaiting trial. The punks were of the opinion that the skinheads were very violent and anti-social. The skinheads that the researcher interviewed were proud of their violent reputation. Even the initiation to enter the skinhead subculture involved several members beating the candidate. The various legal problems were a direct result of this violence. Although the skinheads congregated at "the alley" as did the punks, and tended to listen to the same types of music, it was the violent behavior and the style that separated them from the punks. The following are examples of members' views on the skinheads:

Skinheads are more violent and antisocial. They're more into like if you're another skin then you're blood. If you're not, you're nothing. (Walt)

They're different. A different attitude, a different head space. They like to kick the shit out of people. (Bob)

There aren't many skinheads around anymore because they're all awaiting trial or left for Toronto or Vancouver. Except they come over here to beat up a bunch of rockers. (Hal)

To be a skinhead you have to be big; really, really big. And like to kick the shit out of everybody (Issac)

The above negative stereotypes of the other subcultures help to contextualize punks' beliefs about themselves while validating the choice of subculture that members have made. The opinions that the punks have of themselves are very positive. They choose to see themselves as intelligent, politically aware, and creative. These qualities are the same qualities that are lacking in their images of the other subcultures. The following are comments that members' made about the rest of the punks:

Most of the people that are into it are intelligent. I find that punks are the most politically aware and intelligent people in this city. But you wouldn't think that right. You know ignorant scum...but most punks are really aware of world situations and political situations, religious situations. Just really aware of what's happening now. (Stan)

Most of them don't have that great an education but they are more imaginative, are nicer to talk to and know whats going on more than most people. (Walt)

Most of the people have more to say, like more intellectual. (Geraldine).

Most of the people that tend to hang around are artistic in some way, and tend to be intelligent, and are lazy bastards that don't want to do fuck all except smoke drugs, drink and make money. (Yuri)

The images that the punks hold of themselves may give further evidence as to criteria for entry. On the one hand, these images reflect members' reasons for entering the subculture. On the other, these images may have been assimilated once entry into the subculture has been gained. In either case, the members may use these criteria as a standard for potential candidates to meet. It may be that along with fighting skills, style and coolness these influence decisions to submit the candidate to an initiation. For a person who already possesses these qualities,

entry can take place much easier. These views of themselves and other subcultures also reflect the work of functionalist theorists. They predict a development of norms to protect members from the feelings other groups may have for them. These views tend to add to the prestige of membership and validate the choice of membership.

3.8 Political Views

The political element of the punk rock subculture has been debated in the literature. Some researchers have argued that punk serves to raise the consciousness of its members. These same researchers have also argued that the political element of punk failed to confront the problems of its members (Brake 1985; Frith 1983; Laing 1985; Marsh 1977; Muncie 1981). Earlier in the chapter this study's subjects described themselves as more politically aware than the other subcultures that gathered downtown. These responses led to further questions regarding political views. This questioning was designed to determine if there was conscious resistance to the dominant order taking place within the subculture.

The results reveal that the "political element" of the punk rock subculture in Victoria did not include all the members. Those members who did voice political opinions and beliefs tended not to answer in great detail. At a minimum, the members were very critical of the present federal and provincial governments, but most were unable to articulate their reasons. An explanation for this type of criticism may lie in the amount of knowledge these youth have of politics. The trend appears to be for them to use their available knowledge, based in everyday experience, to form criticism against targets they believe to be the source of their

problems. This results in responses that do not address the complexity of the problem because there is no awareness of the complexity.

Three distinct groupings emerged from the data. The first consists of those who expressed anti-government opinions (n=23). For many, this amounted to the defamation of political leaders through name calling. By my measures of class, this group is of varying socioeconomic circumstances. Twelve of the twenty-three were from blue collar backgrounds (eight males; four females); the remaining eleven came from white collar backgrounds (seven males; four females). The present living circumstances of the members of this type revealed five members still living with their parents (three males; two females), three with their own residences but supported by their parents (two males; one female), three who lived in their own apartments and supported themselves through low wage employment (one male; two females), five males who were supported by state assistance, and six other members who lived on the street (four males; two females). One female lived on her own but did not disclose her means of subsistence.

Anti-government attitudes tended to vary. Since I did not limit the scope of the question, a number of different types of responses emerged. These types were not mutually exclusive as certain members espoused more than one view. In many cases members responded with opinions that were contradictory, suggesting an extremely fragmentary social consciousness.

For example, five members espoused anti-statist attitudes (three males; two females). One of the five identified himself as an anarchist. The other four may be described as unarticulated anarchists because they view solutions as stemming from an abolition of government. For example:

Politically I'm an anarchist because I believe that the government that governs the best, doesn't govern at all. Socialism is a good idea but you have to go through a dictatorship of the proletariat. You get that and the group in power aren't going to give that up. Like look at Russia. Its been 70 odd years. I mean I'm sure capitalism has been abolished in Russia by now. (Hal)

I think all governments are kind of fucked. You know, like if this government was to topple, they'd just pick it up with something equally corrupt. Governments don't work period. If you're not making much money, some might help you if you've got a couple hundred thousand dollar a year job or even a one hundred thousand dollar a year job, maybe the government will help you if you make enough. But if you're collecting welfare and stuff, you're not going anywhere. The older you get, the less chance you have. (Kip)

Like we really don't have free speech. Like they'll shut you up whether you want to say it or not, they'll shut you up. Like you have no personal things, like they don't say you can't think this way, they try to brainwash you, but its not easy. (Farrah)

I think Mulroney is a posuer controled by Reagan. I think Canada is going to be a fascist state by the end of the century. Its set up, cops control everything. Like they can stop you on the street, search you, hold you for twenty-four hours release you without ever telling you why. That's legal. (Ben)

Others voiced displeasure with the present government and advocated its replacement with a reform party. Although critical of the government, this endorsement of a reform party indicates a certain faith in an enlightened state. Five members offered this opinion when questioned about their political views (three males; two females):

Vander Zalm is an idiot...Mulroney is an idiot, what can I say. There's nothing I can do about it, I'm not the legal age to vote yet. I think the N.D.P should get in. (Illie)

I think it would be cool if the N.D.P. got in. They're a little bit more mellow than the others. (Heather)

Others expressed a nationalistic sentiment (six males; four females). In particular, there was criticism of the United States' involvement in Canada's political

and economic affairs. Members were of the opinion that Canada should attempt to break away from this influence and develop its own economy and foreign policy.

Much of the criticism in this type came in the form of name calling:

Well I think that Brian Mulroney is a stooge to the Americans. Brian Mulroney just basically kisses ass to the Americans completely. The American corporations are going to buy Canada up with that free trade crap. Free trade is like a pipe dream. Like if we got it, we'd be like a state. (Hal)

I hate the Canadian politics. They are wimps. They suck Reagan's dick. Vander Zalm would do it if he thought he could get two by four's out of it. And Reagan is a senile retard. I think the Canadian government is an embarrassment. They do whatever the Americans tell them to do. The things they do are ridiculous. (Alan)

A few favoured socialism. These members felt that many of the problems they were experiencing were a result of the present economic system. Yet all made it clear that communism was not a positive alternative (four males; one female).

Socialism is good, communism isn't. Socialism is good at least what I've heard of it. I didn't study it, well...because I'm not a political type person. But what I've heard of it and read the books and that, it seems like the idea of it, the principle of it all is very very good. I mean free enterprise is a very important thing I think. To get right to the basis, we all hate each other. There are all these barriers and differences. It originates when you're young in teen groups and then when you grow older, just because they have basically the same suits on, they just hate each other basically. Like everyone just hates each other's guts and that's the wrong way to do it and that's the way its going to be until man learns he's not an animal. (Mark)

Socialism...its the way to go. Everyone gets a job, everyone gets the same wage so there's no upper class/lower class. (Ernie)

Socialism is all right. Communism is no good because as we've seen in the past it ends up the same as capitalism anyways. (Geraldine)

A few expressed criticism of the government and its bureaucracy. Three male members expressed the view that because of the bureaucracy in government, many solutions that exist do not come to fruition. These members felt the red tape involved in decisions distorted solutions. As a result of this bureaucratic process solutions ended up being impotent. All three members expressing these views were state supported. Thus, their attitudes may reflect in part their direct experience with bureaucracy:

It could be a lot better. It's the system. Too many people that could stop the right thing from happening. An idea that starts off really good, by the time it gets through is so distorted, people look at it and go, 'what no way'. (Jack)

Whenever you hear something about an election, or you hear something about what they're saying, you think there's a way. There could be a better way to do that if they didn't have to go through so many people to do things. An idea comes up and it gets pushed into the thing and it disappears and like I've wondered whatever happened to all these great ideas...If you go through one person, that person has to go through a million other people for any idea he has. And they're not going to come true unless they are silly things that are just surface things. (Mark)

Five members expressed views that current economic problems were a result of mismanagement of the economy by the governments (four males; one female). These comments support the remarks of Brake (1985) who suggested that in Canada there is no hegemonic crisis at present as evidenced by the widespread belief that the economy is merely being mismanaged. The following are examples of this type of response.

They've just wasted so much. They could be using so much. They could be the richest and most powerful country in the world if we wanted, no problem but we're going deeper and deeper into debt or whatever we're doing. I don't know. Just the way they're doing, like stupid things, like internal combustion engines (referring to corporations buying patents). The only way we can get ourselves out of this by thinking about everyone instead of ourselves. I think it's great that they're creating jobs and things. But they shouldn't

create useless jobs. They should start, look we need this to make our country better and its going to create jobs at the same time instead of 'we need jobs, build it, deconstruction crew to get rid of it.' Create jobs, right on! Move rocks around the country. (Jack)

I think the Canadian government could use some brains as far as that goes. They do things like sell off our lumber to Japan for whatever, fifteen dollars a log, whatever, right. And then sell it back for a couple hundred. Why can't we do that right here? We can be better off that way. That's what we should be doing. We shouldn't be selling off our resources to other countries to sell them back to us. We've got enough people right, enough people that we could do it, or be taught to do it that are unemployed right now, so why not do something like that? Why be doing it the other way? (Tom)

Generally, little sympathy was expressed for politicians and the tasks that they faced. However, three members felt that others should not be so quick to judge since the job was difficult (one male; two females). They were of mixed socioeconomic status. One member lived with his parents; one supported herself through low wage employment, and the last member did not disclose how she supported herself.

I think its hard for any politician to do a good job no matter what the country unless they're really savvy and there's not many normal people out there like that so there's not much hope. (Geraldine)

I think that people are too hard on politicians. I don't like Mulroney, I think someone else would be better but it's hard, but everyone says they could do a better job. But you don't know unless you're there. (Norm)

Some simply expressed disinterest with politics when the question was posed. These ten members were politically apathetic (six males; four females). These members did not want to involve themselves in politics, perhaps feeling there was little they could do to foster change. Their experience in the home and the school may have shown them that such resistance can be easily dealt with. In any case, they make no attempt to change anything. Again, they are of mixed

socioeconomic background. Four lived on the street; two others received state support; the remaining four lived with their parents.

I don't know. It doesn't matter. I don't pay much attention, I haven't got a t.v.. (Walt)

I really don't get involved in politics. I try to stay away from it. I figure if you get tied into it...I don't like to preach to people. (Mr.X)

In school today we talked about the Canadian goverment and the people who don't vote are those who bitch the most about what's going on in politics but if I don't vote, I won't care, so I'm not going to vote... I don't give a shit about worldly issues like I told you before. (Janet).

Table 3.14: Class of Origin and Political Orientations by Sex

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>Class of Origin</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Critical	Blue Collar	7	4	11
	White Collar	8	4	12
	TOTAL	15	8	23
Apathetic	Blue Collar	2	2	4
	White Collar	2	2	4
	Unknown	2	0	2
	TOTAL	6	4	10
Sympathetic	Blue Collar	0	1	1
	White Collar	1	1	2
	TOTAL	1	2	3

This analysis of the political content of the subculture has demonstrated that there is no coherent group ideology that would allow organized political resistance

Table 3.15: Present Class Location and Political Orientations by Sex

<u>AREA</u>	<u>Present Class Location</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Critical	Blue Collar Home	1	0	1
	White Collar Home	2	2	4
	Parental Support	2	1	3
	Low Wage Employment	1	2	3
	State Support	5	0	5
	Street	4	2	6
	Unknown	0	1	1
	TOTAL	15	8	23
Apathetic	Blue Collar Home	1	1	2
	White Collar Home	0	2	2
	State Support	2	0	2
	Street	3	1	4
	TOTAL	6	4	10
Sympathetic	White Collar Home	1	0	1
	Low Wage Employment	0	1	1
	Unknown	0	1	1
	TOTAL	1	2	3

to take place. There is a diversity amongst the members as to the opinions and views that they hold. The subculture seems to encourage members to be critical of governments, to formulate their own criticism which may be influenced by their own backgrounds, experiences and depth of knowledge. Furthermore, because there is no group ideology, and those views expressed rest on a limited knowledge, the criticisms do not provide possible targets for action. Thus, the political resistance of the subculture in practical terms is muted. Throughout the

analysis, there were members who formulated more developed critiques but they did not seek to mobilize or address issues they deemed important. The inability of members to act upon their critiques may reflect their exclusion from, and lack of participation in, the institutions through which political mobilization and change can take place.

The reason for the lack of a group ideology may lie in the libertarian stance of the subculture. A group ideology would inhibit this libertarianism; in fact, much of the resistance members do engage in reflects this libertarianism. Those most critical withdraw from the institutions that attempt to restrict behavior and attitudes, especially the family and school. There is also an avoidance of and cynicism towards other state institutions that members encounter (eg. the police, various government ministries).

Throughout the responses to the question, the depth and sophistication of the responses seems to correlate with socioeconomic outcomes: those less well off are more expressive. Perhaps because of personal experience they have more to criticize. On the other hand their resistance may have led to their current circumstances. Those members who expressed "apathetic" responses also experienced poor socioeconomic circumstances. Yet in this case, an adoption of this attitude may result from the futile perceptions these members hold for change. Again causality is difficult to specify, but the attitude may result from either subculture membership and living circumstances or experiences that led to subcultural entry. Those members whose responses were not as strong still had economic ties to their parents. They have not yet experienced the conditions of the others that led to critique or apathy.

These results demonstrate the political disappointment of punk that is referred to in the literature. The middle class participation and its libertarian connection are cited by Brake as possible reasons for this disappointment. This explanation may also apply to the local subculture. It may be that the classless ideology in Canada encourages all members to adopt a "middle class" resistance. There are no perceptions of class problems; only individual problems that actually have their source in the class structure. This reveals the limitation of Victoria punk resistance. The members have a fragmented political consciousness. However, while they are not part of a struggle for power, their resistance in the home and school demonstrate a recognition of their position within the dominant order and an attempt to negotiate more space in it. This negotiation allows members to leave behind their problems but not solve them. Subcultural membership is a symbolic or what British researchers term "magical" solution. Membership allows them to escape concerns to do with class and occupation for a period of time.

3.9 Style as Resistance

The preceding discussion of members' political views showed much criticism but little active resistance. Instead the resistance took a symbolic route. The previous sections have outlined the many ways that the members have taken to resist the dominant order. They have quit school, left families and denounced ideological goals. Evidence of this type of resistance is quite evident if one engages in discussion with members. However, most of this resistance is not obvious to the general public. The neo-Marxist theorists suggest that adolescent subcultures demonstrate their resistance to the dominant order through style

(clothes and hair). These theorists argue that the subculture's style allows members to display their opposition in "visual" terms. It is a form of resistance that the general public can witness. At the same time it creates a boundary between subcultural members and the general public.

Members were questioned about style to ascertain its importance within the Victoria subculture. This information was difficult to obtain. The members appeared uncomfortable with the question. Many responded with hostility; others did not respond at all. Those members who did respond felt their style was an individual creation, a representation of their feelings and attitudes. There was no admission of imitation.

The punks were very serious about the lifestyle that they adopted. Style was not something to be embraced and discarded at certain times of the day, but represented an extension of the member while s/he participated in the subculture. It became clear from the observation of members discussing objects they would like to obtain for their style, and the excitement members displayed as they showed off new objects, that considerable thought was put into the making of the style.

It's the only thing that I can identify with. I fucking hate people. I don't like people so I segregate myself as much as I can. The only way I feel comfortable about myself is the way I dress. If I dressed like a preppie I'd feel like a goof because I wouldn't be dressing the way that I believe. (Ben)

I'd say mainly individuality but it's not that I really want to stick out or anything...If anybody cares, I want to show them I don't care about you know. I don't like preppies. I don't like yuppies so I won't dress like that. (Heather)

Be what you want to be, dress how you want. People are wrapped up in themselves and what people think of them. (Bob)

I dress the way I want to dress and do the things that I want to do. I've got lots of friends and they don't care. (Janet)

Well the main thing is they don't care what you look like. What counts is inside. There is more about me than what I wear. It's an expression of personality. Punks are what they wear. (Geraldine)

Look at the people. Look at the people. That's creative, as silly as they might look, even though some of them might have opened a book and started dressing like that. But that's still creative. It may not be original but it's creative because it's a bit different than everyone else is doing. You can tell if people are nervous about it; it's original. (Mark)

The most creative and intellectual people I've found, and artsy people, are the people that dress differently. Like it reflects their personality... I've found there's more expression in the friends I've chosen around here. (Jack)

These responses demonstrate the importance of individuality to the members. Their responses reflect the libertarian outlook, the freedom to "do your own thing" that also appeared in their political attitudes. This sense of individuality discourages any group action and ideology among members. Thus, the stylistic resistance put forth by the punks serves to divide their political consciousness.

Even with this lack of cohesion, resistance still occurs. By refusing to dress in a certain manner, members attack the dominant order. The above responses reveal a dislike for "preppies" (youths who are well groomed and well dressed). Preppies are perhaps the prototype of the successful child described by Cohen. The punk style has developed in opposition to the preppie style. The punks are not "dressing for success". In fact, their style disqualifies them from even the low wage, menial labour for which most are qualified for. They refuse to fulfill the requirements outlined in the dominant ideology. In doing so, they resist the dominant order.

The homologous nature of the subculture discussed by the neo-Marxist theorists also reflects resistance. Recall that "homology" refers to the adoption of objects that correspond, reflect or "possess" the values of the members. The members outlined the self representation of the style. The style was an extension of attitudes and feelings. Therefore, the feelings members have expressed regarding school, the family and politics can be displayed by their style. Since the very libertarian nature of the subculture mutes any group ideology, the style best provides the means for individual resistance.

The style only offered a symbolic resistance. Again it could not solve the problems that the members encountered outside the subculture. Like the subcultural participation itself the solution was as British theorists argue, "magical". The style allowed members to escape their structural locations for a period, but offered no real solution to structural problems.

Discovery of the importance of style to members came through descriptions of subcultural change. It also reflected many of the neutralizing aspects referred to by neo-Marxist theorists. Members characterized the subculture as becoming "trendy". They felt the style of the subculture was becoming a fashion. However, when questioned if they were "trendy", the response was always negative.

There was much criticism from members about "outsiders" who had adopted the punk style. These "outsiders" were referred to as "trendies" or "poseurs". "Poseurs" were criticized for adopting the style without adopting the accompanying attitudes. The "poseurs" were seen by those in the subculture as adopting the style for reasons of social status rather than commitment to being a "real" punk. In real terms, "poseurs" are a result of the sanitization of the subculture through

popular culture as was discussed by Gottdeiner (1985). The products enable youth to adopt the style without adopting the subcultural lifestyle. At the same time the products also prevent these same youth from participating in the subculture since those who have adopted the sanitized style and wished to participate in the subculture were labelled as "poseurs" and denied membership. The sanitized style made them targets for abuse from subcultural members.

The neo-Marxists also portray this sanitization and marketing process as an attempt to dilute the oppositional nature of the subculture. They also discuss the failure of this method when dealing with the core element of subcultures. The local subculture is an example of this core element. The members have "turned the tables" on the dominant order by refusing to allow their oppositional nature be diluted. As Muncie notes, it is here that the essence of political protest lies (Muncie 1981 p. 57).

The poseurs and stuff like that kind of bother me. They go yeah, like I'm a punk rocker, go home to mommy and daddy and have dinner, come downtown, change my clothes and be a punk rocker until 9:30 until I have to catch my bus right. I don't know, they miss the whole point of what it's supposed to be. (Walt)

Most of them are chateau punks. You know, Dead Kennedys on their jacket. Pretty soon they'll sell them at Bus Stop. I saw this button once. It was a mirror and had punk on it with a little safety pin drawn on it. I can't imagine wearing one. (Ben)

Then there's the people out here on the street who sit around today, with a haircare. They're there for attention. Oh that's real cool man. They cause shit for everyone else...I mean nobody knows them...on the whole they don't have any idea what they are doing. (Tom)

The poseurs, they don't know anything, they haven't been around. (Bob)

This idea of commitment and subcultural lifestyle has led to some animosity between groups within the subculture. Those members who met in the restaurant

often expressed the view that the group in front of the fast food restaurant were "poseurs". The restaurant group felt the later group were taking the subculture to an extreme. That is, the group in front of the restaurant were "poseurs" because they lived on the street. The criticism went the other direction as well. The fast food restaurant group labelled the restaurant group as "poseurs" because they had not adopted a "hard core" lifestyle.

3.10 The Construction of Style

The manner in which subcultural style is acquired is very important to neo-Marxist theorists. The way members define objects of their style points to another aspect of resistance to hegemony.

The local punk style was made up of a number of objects including clothing, foot wear, jewelery, and weapons. The majority of these objects were either purchased at second hand clothing stores or received at no cost through various social agencies. For those members who were state supported or lived on the streets, these establishments provided cheap clothing. This acquisition of style displayed the poverty of the subculture in real and visual terms. This adoption of cast-off garments demonstrated the sentiment of being discarded that many members articulate.

The punk style was anti-fashion. Much of the clothing assimilated into members' styles was no longer "in fashion". Members took objects that were no longer fashionable and derived a style from them. The practise of taking clothes for free took the punks out of the consumer market. In this sense punks have opted out of the mass culture that in Gottdiener's analysis plays a key role in

bourgeois hegemony. They do not form definitions of their style based on the meanings given new products by the producer. Rather, the meaning is based on the producer's definition that the product is no longer useful in the sense of being profitably marketable. For the producer, this redefinition takes place to clear the way for new products. The punks' reaction to this is to take the products that are no longer deemed useful and redefine them as useful. This can be seen as an example of oppositional decoding.

The females of the subculture tended to favour a motley array of skirts, dresses and slacks. Added to these basics were a variety of rings, necklaces and earrings. Some females had also taken to creating designs on their faces with makeup. Many of the females wore heavy black eyeliner and black or dark purple lipstick. The females tended to have a large wardrobe that changed frequently during the research. The females also exchanged clothes amongst themselves. This enabled them to combine various garments in numerous ways to create a new image daily. This went for makeup as well.

Twelve of the fourteen female members had dyed hair. Ten of the twelve had dyed their hair black. One female bleached her hair blond and another dyed her hair orange. There were also a few who had streaked various colors into their hair. Female members tended to wear their hair long and unkempt. In hairstyle terms, there was no style. The hair had long grown out of any style. Their bangs usually fell across their faces so their eyes could not be seen. There were three female members who had shorter hair but they were exceptions.

The males had adopted the color black as a background for their style. They wore black jeans, a contradiction in the style since they must be purchased in

department stores. The jeans were acquired in one of three ways: (1) Members had parents purchase them, (2) members stole them, (3) members made "deals" to have them stolen.

The male members had also adopted boots into their style. These boots in most cases could be obtained cheaply. They served as weapons as well as fulfilling the stylistic requirement. There was a hierarchy of boot types for the members. On the bottom rung were steel-toed work boots or square toed cowboy-boots blackened with shoe polish. Next were parade boots and combat boots respectively. Both of these types were cheaply purchased at army surplus stores. The next type up were jungle boots. Jungle boots were combat boots designed for use by American troops in Vietnam. At the top of the hierarchy were Doc Marten's English work boots. "Doc's " as they were referred to by members, were very expensive. As a result of the cost, only five members had Doc's. Doc's were also valued by the skinheads. Those punks who chose to wear this type of boot risked being "rolled" by the skinheads for their boots. Members often switched footwear to high top running shoes, but spent most of their time in boots.

The male members usually wore work shirts with t-shirts underneath. The t-shirts (usually black) were emblazoned with band names or slogans on them. Many of the male members wore jackets with band names and slogans. The graffiti on the jackets was painted or drawn by the members themselves. Due to the poverty of the subculture, the stereotype leather jacket was not prominent; only five of the male members had leather jackets. Many members favoured cheaper jean jackets that were then torn and decorated, or long dark overcoats.

Male hairstyles ranged from mohawks to dread locks to shaggy spikes. Sixteen of the twenty-one male members dyed their hair. Like the females, black was the color of choice; fourteen chose this color. The two others had dyed their hair orange.

There were a number of male members in the subculture who sported tattoos. These are more important to the style in the summer months when they can be displayed prominently. Four members had the same tattoo. This was a set of crossed canes over a bowler hat. Over top of this drawing were the initials F.T.W. (standing for "Fate to Win"). These four members copied these tattoos from the movie "A Clockwork Orange". This tattoo signified these members as part of a sub-group at one time, but its significance had lessened. The other members who sported tattoos had also done the work themselves. Examples of tattoos included the anarchy symbol and a mutant "Mickey Mouse" with crossed swords underneath. The results were not spectacular in comparison with some of the epics that could be seen on rockers and skinheads arms, but the punks displayed their tattoos with pride.

The male style did not allow members to be as creative as the female members. However, the different hairstyles, t-shirts and decorative jackets allowed each male member to carve out his own unique style. Males in general had fewer clothes than females and did not make frequent changes in their wardrobes. Some females had adopted a style similar to the males. They would wear black jeans, t-shirts and black boots. The females who did adopt this style would alternate between it and the female style described earlier.

To the untrained observer the style appeared to be similar to that of the British punks. This is misleading. It is the meaning that the style has for each individual, and their experience, which influences the meaning and distinguishes it from the British style.

This description of style suggests interpretations that can only be speculative because of the lack of in-depth data. For example, the color black that dominates many members' styles is the color of anarchy. The adoption of this color may represent the bleak, dark future that members may believe exists for them if there is not drastic change. It is also a color that is commonly associated with evil and depression. This may serve to help create a stylistic boundary while at the same time communicating members emotional sentiments. The slogans and band names on members' shirts and jackets may be interpreted as an attempt to shock and offend people or as a plea for attention to their problems. The members' boots may represent a cast-off army engaging in a battle of resistance against hegemonic forces. The work shirts parody their unemployment.

The local style echoes many of the neo-Marxists' sentiments. There is bricolage taking place. Bricolage remember, refers to the transference of meaning that must occur before an object can be assimilated into the style. The style is homologous with members' attitudes. Style does offer resistance by the display of members' attitudes and by their refusal to assimilate the dominant ideology. However, this stylistic resistance, not unlike their political resistance, is muted by individuality. Furthermore, it is not a sphere of resistance where change can take place. The style can only solve problems symbolically. It allows members to escape the their structural locations and various institutions. Furthermore, it is a

better method of resistance because it displays the problems. Due to their age, and their libertarian outlook it may be the best way to engage in resistance.

3.11 Music

An important part of the style of the subculture is the music that the members have chosen to listen to. Lyrically, punk rock or "hard core" describes the problems and expresses the anger of youth while at the same time offering a critique of the dominant order. The music itself appears to represent the anger and frustration of its listeners. It is loud and fast. Neo-Marxist theorists point to punk music as an important element in raising the political consciousness of youth.

Members of the local subculture also listened to speed metal and death rock. The former has already been described as a hybrid between punk and heavy metal sometimes referred to as "thrash" or "speed core". Like punk it is loud and fast, although lyrically it dwells on satanic themes. These themes, as with those in punk, can be seen as an attempt to offend, shock and attack the mainstream. Death rock is slower and dwells on more melancholy themes. It is sometimes referred to as "funeral music" because of its sound and lyrics.

Bands that local members mentioned they enjoyed included Blag Flag, the Butthole Surfers, S.N.F.U., Jesus and the Mary Chain, D.O.A., Sonic Youth, Motorhead, Metallica, Megadeth, Possessed, Slayer, Joy Division, and Bauhaus. Some of the bands that appeared in the city during the field study include D.I.G, the Spores, Desparate Minds, Clown Alley, Unatural Silence, Fratricide, Deja Voodoo, Inner Anger and the Edge. Some of the local bands that regularly "backed

up" headliners included the Day Glow Abortions, Mission of Christ, NOMEANSNO, Section 46, Red Tide and the Resistance.

Every member of the subculture responded that they had a great interest in music. They also felt that music was a central aspect of the subculture.

I like the music but some of it is also kind of dumb. I like it when I can understand it, when it has meaning. Sort of intelligible music. It used to be like that, like protest music. Like the Exploited. I hate the Exploited. They're so stupid, you can't understand anything they say. They sing songs like sex and violence, sex and violence for half an hour. Stuff like that. That's just dumb ass religious shit. If they sing something intelligent, like Vander Zalm's a geek and stuff like that, then that's good. (Alan)

Well it's really powerful and straight forward. It's got something to say, most of it. I mean if it doesn't have something to say then it's humourous or stupid. I'm pissed off everyone listens to hardcore now. They don't know what it's about. (Stan)

I like hard core a lot...I don't like idiotic stuff though, like Venom and stuff. I like lyrics that actually say something and music that makes you want to beat up somebody. (Yuri)

A lot of it relates. People relate to it because it relates their feelings. (Heather)

The responses indicate that the punk music was homologous with members' attitudes. This also implies that although music may be able to raise or reflect political consciousness, it is insufficient as a means of political action.

3.12 Creativity

During the course of the study, I became aware of the various creative elements that existed among members of the subculture. Most of the members were involved in some sort of creative activity, including music, art, poetry and short stories. These activities were seen as a means of expressing feelings to others both within the subculture and outside of the subculture. This creativity

develops individuality while engaging in nonalienated labour; therefore, creativity can be seen as another form of resistance. It allows members to display their displeasure. Again, it is an individual resistance that does not allow mobilization and change to take place. Each member tackles his/her experience his/her own way. This again results in a muted resistance expressed almost exclusively to other members. However, creativity can serve to display and expose ideology to some extent:

culture creators probe central tensions, irrationalities and sources of potential variation of which they are working. These symbolic resources are usually composed in good part of the life, the values and fantasies of the society in which they are working. (Lewis 1982 p. 86; Held 1980 p. 81)

This emphasis on creativity also fits with Gottdeiner's analysis: members of the subculture are not principally consumers of mass-culture commodities via the dominant code, but tend to be producers of their own cultural activities, in noncommodified form. Below are comments made by members concerning the importance of creativity to the subculture:

Because we all have something in common, we all like music, and just the fact that we don't want to be a run of the mill person. We don't want to look like anybody else because you lose yourself being everybody else. We have a relationship, like a real respect of how people think, right. You have the biggest meanest looking people out there being a punk and they end up being the best people that you could ever know. They're not two-faced shallow people. They have an outlet I can relate to. I may not be able to do it, like art, but I can relate to it because its an outlet of what someone is trying to say and thats why people are so tight. We do have a family because everyone is showing what they're feeling inside by their art work or their music or whatever, right. (Tom)

I think a lot of it comes out more. I figure a lot of the people that hang out here have problems in their life or you know. Or feel they have problems and it's a way of getting rid of them or explaining them by drawing or writing music or whatever. (Heather)

It is very important. The most important thing because the whole subculture revolves around music and partying. Everybody has something to do like play guitar or bass or keyboards or sing or draw. (Geraldine)

It's part of expression. If you have a creative mind you're going to be an interesting person. Like everyone's got to be more individual; create themselves. (Farrah)

On the face of it a "creative" aspect would seem to support the notion that part of the punk phenomenon is "bohemian" in nature as has been suggested by some of the British researchers. Frith, Brake and Muncie argue that part of the punk subculture is made up of middle class art students. These students' leisure is lower class (the leisure of the streets) not their class location. For Brake this artist membership explains the presence of a libertarian resistance. He argues that a cultural rebellion by artists cannot be seen as political because artists have always been considered rebellious. Furthermore, artists are seldom organized and are libertarian rather than Leninist.

The members of the Victoria subculture do resort to a libertarian resistance. However, as we have seen, the Victoria subculture is mixed in terms of social class. Furthermore, members are not artists in the sense that the British researchers describe. These members do not go to art school and do not attempt to sell their work. Rather the work is done for personal satisfaction and for display to other members. Furthermore, for many of the members, the street is, or has been, their home. This is not leisure. Thus their resistance seems more genuine than merely an artistic rebellion.

Chapter 4

CONSEQUENCES OF RESISTANCE

4.1 The Subcultural "Hang-outs"

This paper has thus far dealt with the attitudes, experiences and feelings of subculture members. Each section provides evidence of resistance to hegemony. Many members showed resistance to cultural goals, school, and the family. All members displayed resistance through subcultural style. These responses can all be viewed as negotiations for space within the dominant order.

The overall lifestyle that members lead is related to their resistance. The lifestyle is a form, and in some cases a result, of resistance. An examination of daily activities will help to demonstrate another facet of members' resistance and some of its consequences. Furthermore, it will provide a setting in which to place other material discussed so far.

The members of the subculture gathered at three main locations. There were no boundaries or restrictions on members, hence, there was a great deal of movement between the locations. The first is "the alley". "The alley" has historical importance for the subculture, since the subculture began to take form there. Once the main gathering place for members, the "alley" had lost much of its appeal. Members felt that in the winter months it was too cold. Furthermore, the relationship with merchants in the vicinity was unstable. Merchants contended that members frightened potential customers; others suspected members of

mischief. As a result, a number of members had been barred from entering the stores in the area. The combination of the cold and the merchant's harassment had led many of the punks to move to other locations. While less popular, the "alley" still served as a meeting place for the older members of the subculture. Perhaps the greatest attraction of "the alley" was its distance from the rockers who gathered one block away.

I like the alley better. It's more peaceful, more laidback, less rockers to deal with. (Walt)

Thirteen members of the subculture consistently gathered at the "alley" (eight males; five females). This location was favoured by those members who had experienced living on the street (seven males; four females). The present residences revealed four members still residing on the street (two males; two females), two females living at home, six state supported males in their own apartments and one female who failed to disclose how she survived. Two of the males who lived in apartments were living on the street during the field study but gained income assistance and secured apartments before research ended. The majority of members in this group did not attend school. Only one male and three females attended school and all had quit of their own accord at some point in time.

The second location where members gathered was in front of a local fast food restaurant. The choice of this location was credited to Hal:

Well I came down here to get away from the dinks. That was before we were allowed into ...but then we were. Then all the boppers started hanging around and now we're not allowed in.

Again, many of the members have been barred from entering the restaurant because of past exploits. The prime positive feature of this location was its

panhandling potential, otherwise it was despised by all. It was because of the panhandling success that this location was favoured by those punks who lived on the streets:

I hate it here but you can sometimes make money. (Stan)

There's more people here and a chance to get money. (Walt)

I don't know it, fuckin' sucks. It used to be a good place to panhandle before the skate beddys became real skate beddys. Now all there is, is old ladies and people you try and pan everyday. (Yuri)

I don't know, I don't hang out here, I fucking hate it. I guess its because it has the cheapest coffee. (Geraldine)

The fast-food restaurant was the "hang-out" choice of eleven members (nine males; two females). Nine of the eleven members had lived on the street (seven males; two females) and seven of the male members that gathered at this location were living on the street as research began. However, two of these males later secured apartments. An examination of the present residences of the other members revealed that one of the remaining males lived in a foster home, and the other lived with his parents. Both the females had returned home to live with their parents. Only five of these eleven attended school. Only one member in this group did not have a school history involving dismissal or departure.

The third location where members gathered was inside a local restaurant. Like the move to the fast food restaurant, this move had been quite recent. The restaurant provided shelter from the elements and was favoured by those who used to locate themselves at the "alley". It was also favoured by females and those who attended school. Members were attracted to this location because of its cheap coffee and the jukebox.

It's less stupid than hanging out at the alley. I like it here it has nice music. (Alan)

It's got good music and a good atmosphere. (Geraldine)

I like the music and the atmosphere. (Farrah)

Eleven members of the subculture gathered at the local restaurant on a consistent basis (four males; seven females). Seven of these members lived in their parents residences (three males; four females). Four members rented their own residences (one male; three females). Two of these were supported by their parents. In contrast to the other locations only one of these eleven members had ever lived on the street and ten of the eleven attended school.

Table 4.1: "Hang-Out" and Present Class Location by Sex

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
FastFood Restaurant	Blue Collar Home	1	0	1
	White Collar Home	0	2	2
	Parental Support	1	0	1
	Low Wage Employment	1	0	1
	State Support	1	0	1
	Street	5	0	5
	TOTAL		9	2
Alley	White Collar Home	0	2	2
	State Support	6	0	6
	Street	2	2	4
	Unknown	0	1	1
	TOTAL		8	5
Restaurant	Blue Collar Home	1	4	5
	White Collar Home	2	1	3
	Parental Support	1	1	2
	Low Wage Employment	0	1	1
	TOTAL		4	7

Table 4.2: "Hang-Out" and School Attendance by Sex

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>Attendance</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Fastfood Restaurant	Attended	3	2	5
	Did not Attend	6	0	6
	TOTAL	9	2	11
Alley	Attended	1	3	4
	Did not Attend	7	2	9
	TOTAL	8	5	13
Restaurant	Attended	4	6	10
	Did not Attend	0	1	1
	TOTAL	4	7	11

The locations where members choose to "hang-out" does not appear to be haphazard. Those who lived, or once lived, on the streets favoured the street locations. Twenty of the twenty-one members who had experienced living on the street, chose to assemble at one of the street locations. These locations also attracted those members who did not attend school. Only nine of the twenty-four members who gathered outside attended school. All but one had histories of dismissal or departure. These outside gatherings were also dominated by the male members. Seventeen of the twenty-one male members assembled outside. These findings suggest that the street locations are where the members who engage in the severe resistance "hang-out".

In contrast, only one of the members who met inside the local restaurant had ever lived on the streets and only one did not attend school. Furthermore, half of the female membership gathered inside of the restaurant.

There are a number of possible explanations for the groupings of members gathering at certain locations and their characteristics. First, members who gather on the street may be influenced by an anti-school ideology which leads them to leave school and spend their time on the street. On the other hand, these members may have left school and then spend time on the street with other drop-outs who support their decision.

The members on the street were also the current or ex-squatters. Spending time on the street may have exposed these members to this type of resistance. On the street they may be encouraged to leave home and take to squatting with the other members. An alternative pattern may be that these members leave home and are recruited into the subculture. It has been shown that the latter is a major entry pattern. Once on the street the members are given support by the other members who already reside on the street. In all the above cases, once relationships develop, it may be difficult to leave the street scene since the street is where social support lies. Furthermore, the state support and low wage employment that allows members to leave the street, does not provide any alternative leisure. The members have no extra funds to engage in other activities.

Males were more likely to resist school and parents and to adopt marginal socioeconomic positions. The small number of females demonstrates that they do not engage in the same type of resistance as males. If the subculture surrounds masculinity, as theorists suggest, then females have no support for adopting this type of resistance. The males in the subculture discourage it.

Those who gather at the inside location may be less committed to resistance. In this group there may be no ideology that supports members quitting school or leaving home to live in the streets. Since there are few members in the inside location that have this experience, it may be difficult to learn these methods of resistance. These members have an alternative to the street and perhaps choose to meet elsewhere for this reason. An alternative explanation may lie in the dominance of females at this location. For females, the subculture may have more of a social focus. They can gather inside the warm confines of the restaurant to socialize.

These explanations reiterate those provided by neo-Marxist theorists. They believe it is males who use the subculture to express resistance. For females their participation is marginal and has more of a social focus. However, these theorists have overlooked the severity of the resistance. These theorists argue that the street is where resistance of the punk subculture is demonstrated through their leisure on the street. In the local subculture there is no leisure because they have no school or work to have leisure from. They show resistance through the marginal lifestyle they adopt or are forced into. This suggests that the resistance and its results are more serious than theorists predict.

The patterns also show the importance of interaction in the resistance. Those who have adopted similar resistance, "hang-out" together. While the causality is difficult to predict, the patterns suggest that different groups support and encourage different types of resistance.

4.2 Daily Activities.

The preceding discussion reported patterns in the way members assembled. The following will describe the daily activities of the members at these locations. The daily activities not only represent resistance, but are in many cases a result of resistance.

The day did not usually begin for members until after two p.m.. At this time those who attended school began to appear downtown and those who squatted began to emerge. The members in most cases proceeded to one of the three locations. There was movement between the three "hang-outs" as members checked for each other at each location. However, most chose to migrate between two of the locations. The foci of these migrations were the restaurant and the "alley" and the fastfood restaurant and the "alley". It was very rare to see members move through all three locations, although this did happen on occasion.

The punks' main activity was to sit or stand around and talk and wait for something to happen. As Hall et al. note the main activity of the subculture is in fact "doing nothing". There is talking, joking, and the exchange of "weird ideas". The street is the place where there is the greatest chance that something will happen (Hall et al. p. 103). The topics of discussion included sexual activities, music, parties, school, parents, money, squats, food, clothes, hairstyles, and fights (both occurrences and techniques).

Each member entering a location experienced requests for money and cigarettes. The entering member was then either informed of or quizzed about major events affecting subcultural members. If a new object had been obtained it was displayed with excitement. This occurred every time a different member entered a location.

The members who gathered inside the restaurant drank coffee, smoked and talked. The coffee cost seventy cents and refills were free; it was not uncommon for members to drink up to ten cups of this coffee. There were a number of members who used the time and environment to create, drawing in note pads, writing poetry or composing song lyrics. Members rarely bought food since few had more than the money required to buy a coffee. The members were required to leave the restaurant at 4:30 at which point many moved to the "alley". Others left for home, their subcultural activities lasting only two and one half hours a day. This suggests that the subculture was not a dominant focus for these members.

For the subcultural members who "hung out" at the outside locations, activities were somewhat different. Cigarettes were "borrowed" from passersby as well as from other members. Members engaged in activities designed to amuse both themselves and the others. Examples include trying to keep a plastic bag in the air with their feet, walking backwards besides passersby, handing out religious pamphlets, attempting to trick people into eating laxatives and balancing their canes.

I can balance this cane on every finger, rightside up, or the other way and on the back of my hand. One time I balanced it from the alley all the way to Eaton's. Everyone just got out of the way (Walt).

Panhandling was also a major activity. There were contests between members to see who could raise the largest amounts of money. Further fun was to be had by trying various lines on passersby.

Do you have any change to spare to a down and out, useless street urchin or do you have any spare change to spare to support a totally useless cause or my mom is caught behind lines in Cambodia, can you spare some change to help me get her out? (Walt)

That's my new one, may the sun shine on you. It's better than have a nice day, it's suckier.(Yuri)

I think bless your children, that's a good one. (Issac)

Most members attempted to panhandle younger people. The researcher got the impression that members did this because the younger people were easier to intimidate. Senior citizens were to be avoided because "they never give you anything except a lecture on how you're going to hell" (Yuri).

Although it can be made into a game, panhandling was the major source of income for those members who lived on the streets. For those on state assistance or with low wage employment, panhandling supplemented their income. Members who lived at home also engaged in the practice to fulfill their needs. However, this was cause for dissension:

One thing I couldn't stand when I was living in the squats and things, the people that were living on the street panhandle for food and bring it back to the squat like a family at the squat right, and do whatever with it. You've got the people who live at home that get money or don't get money or whatever, but have enough that can go home and eat, and they panhandle as much as the other guys, cutting down the business for the people who need it right. And then staying in the squats over night, wrecking it. Or even worse, breaking in somewhere and bringing the stuff back to the squat and then having the whole squat get busted by the police, then all the people who needed a home getting kicked out, that really pissed me off. (Jack)

On most days, the members panhandled until they had enough money to purchase a hamburger or some other fast food item. Members who wished to participate in other activities (ie. attend a "gig" or party) collected funds for tickets and alcohol. Some members bragged to the researcher of making large amounts of money panhandling.

My record is \$13.65 in ten minutes although a guy handed me a twenty dollar bill once (Issac).

I have less money now then I did when I was panhandling. I'd panhandle, get something that was really filling. Like I would go to a restaurant that was having a deal happening and pig out. (Olga)

Some members resorted to scams in order to gain money for food. Others stole food when they had no funds. The front of the fast food restaurant was also a good location to obtain free food. Members requested bites of hamburgers, some french fries or a drink of a soft drink from passersby.

If the day had been slow and there was no money to purchase food, members would go to soup kitchens. These agencies were disliked because of the religious overtones and stigma attached. Those members who did use the soup kitchens on a semi-regular basis enjoyed Saturday's because of the "extras" (junk food). For one innocent acquaintance who asked what was served, the reply was "I think today is lobster tail, because yesterday was prime rib". This amused the punks who then added comments as to what was on the menu in the weeks to come.

4.3 Living on the Street

Twenty-one members of the subculture had experienced living on the street. These members were on the street because of their resistance in various institutions. As a result the members did not live at home and did not receive any monetary assistance from either their parents or the government. These members had to survive without any income. The above has outlined how members were able to feed themselves. However, members also required shelter at no cost, usually accomplished by squatting, in abandoned buildings, under stairwells, or in other sheltered areas:

Library, parkades, all over the place, all kinds of places. You've never seen the best squats. The last squat we had was the ----- Hotel. We were fucking living in it. It's like all marble staircase. We had real cool rooms. We cross the fence, climb over the barbed wire, cross this ledge. It's easy to get there. (Kathy)

In the street. I sleep in places over by Beacon Hill Park where it's dry out in the open so when I wake up in the morning I can see a tree. (Gary)

Finding places to squat was a chore that had to be undertaken constantly.

Members were regularly on the move since they were removed from each squat.

They used several methods of locating, entering and inhabiting squats:

You just go up and down the street looking until you find an abandoned building and you go this is where I'll sleep tonight. (Ernie)

When you get a squat it's best to go in it at night so no one sees you. It doesn't really matter when you leave. When we have a squat we usually leave our stuff there. We've got a new one right downtown, two floors, carpeting, it's real nice (Issac)

We found a new squat last night. It's a house that's been abandoned for years. We took our hammocks in there. It's got a bed and a couch upstairs we're going to bring down to make into a bedroom. We just undo the boards, then board it up when we're inside. (Walt)

When members had a squat, personal belongings were left at the squat. If there was no squat available, belongings were carried and used as a "seat" during the day, left at other members' apartments or left at the residences of other members' parents. The squats were usually not heated and had no electricity or water. This meant cold nights for those members squatting in the winter months:

It's not that fun. It's usually really cold at night, you never know who'll walk in and beat you up or steal something from you. (Oliver)

The squat they used to have was really cool. It had electricity and everything; furniture and that stuff. It was a building that wasn't finished yet. But it was cold, that was the only thing. It was in the winter when it was really cold. But they all got busted because they had stolen stuff there. (Bob)

Since the members had no permission to squat in the buildings there was the threat of being charged with trespassing:

Once they board up the squat, if you go in there they can charge you with willful damage and trespassing. Before that they just kick you out. (Oliver)

When we get busted in squats nothing usually happens because they're just abandoned buildings and we don't wreck them or nothing. (Walt)

Our squat got busted this morning. They took us down to the cop shop for fifteen minutes and then let us go. I dreamt I was crying and then when we got busted I did cry. (Issac)

They usually just kick you out. It depends on how many times you go back in. (Zak)

I think the neighbours usually turn us in. It depends on who it is. This one dude doesn't really mind and they won't say anything. There are some owners who'll let us stay there for a while and then some kick us out and board it up. (Naomi).

The members tended to squat in groups. When a squat was located, the other members living on the street were informed. The squats were also available to any other punks who needed places to stay if the need arose. Some members preferred to squat by themselves or in smaller groups. One member squatted with a group but also had a small squat by himself when he felt the need for privacy:

I really don't like living with that many people because so many people are coming over all the time and it just gets messier and messier and really disgusting to live in. It's nice to squat with about three people in a small place so you can get lots of good things for it. (Yuri)

When I squat I usually squat by myself. I have squatted with other people but I prefer to squat by myself. I like my privacy. (Kip)

For the member living on the street such everyday taken for granted conveniences as washing were troublesome to come by. The members usually waited until they were downtown to use the facilities of the various stores and

restaurants. In these establishments they could wash their hair and engage in other hygienic practices.

I use the handicapped washroom in MacDonalds because it has a lock on it so the security guard can't get in. (Issac)

Some members had a key to the washroom in a local office building. The origin of this key was unknown. As time passes the establishments become aware of the punks using their facilities and usually take great exception.

That guy just told me never to go into MacDonald's again. I said 'why?' He said because he saw me washing my hair in there the other day. (Ernie)

When questioned by the researcher as to where he would wash now Ernie responded, "I guess I'll go to Eatons." As a punk became known by the business, s/he was banned and forced to go farther from the meeting place(s) in order to clean up. Of course, just the reputation of others got some banned and they moved on.

The daily activities of the subculture represent members' resistance. As neo-Marxist theory suggests, the assembly of groups displays to the public their resistance. However, the resistance also creates a new set of problems for members. While they escape the institutions that restrict their individuality, they become faced with more fundamental problems of food and shelter. The consequences of resistance have been overlooked by neo-Marxist theorists. They have failed to consider the seriousness and extreme means of resistance that members of the local subculture have adopted. It points to a shortcoming in theory that will have to be addressed by theorists in the future. While the street allows the members to display their resistance to the dominant order, it is not, as the neo-Marxists argue, a location where any real solutions can take place. It is

not a sphere in which they can solve problems of unemployment, poverty, and prospects of alienated labour. The resistance does not solve the problems as much as it distances members from the problems.

4.4 Relations with the Public

The style of the subculture makes members very visible to the public. The large groups also amplify this exposure. This visibility allows the members to show their resistance. However, the style also provokes confrontation with those outside of the subculture. Wherever the punks were, they were subjected to remarks from passersby. People tended to stare and make comments under their breath. A small number of brave ones who spoke aloud:

The other day when I was going through the museum, twenty-four people made comments about me. I felt as if I was black or my skin was falling off. (Tom)

Today these guys go driving by in this red jeep and start yelling at me get a haircut you fag. I go yes sir, right away sir. They go you better you fag. (Yuri)

These three guys come up to me and go why don't you grow some hair you fag. (Walt)

On a number of occasions the researcher, walking with an individual member, sensed tension on the punk's part as we made our way through groups of people. The member tended not to look at people. Rather s/he would look straight ahead. When members were questioned about the public's reaction to the subculture, most felt it came with the territory. Many replied that if the verbal abuse troubled them, they would not be punks:

I don't give a shit, it doesn't bother me. Why do people dress like this if it bothers them. You sure won't be a punk for long. (Hal)

No it doesn't bother me, I don't give a shit. I mean I look at people and think yeah its cheaper than a movie. I've noticed when people get involved they're worried about other people staring at them. If they're worried about being stared at, they shouldn't be dressing like this. I think, who gives a shit, let them look. (Walt)

I'm at the point where if people tell me I'm weird looking, I tell them to fuck off. I'm very comfortable with myself right now. (Gary)

The style of the subculture had generated critical responses from the general public. In particular, the image created by the style had led to the development of a negative stereotype. However, the punks' images of themselves were much different than those held by much of the general public. The boundaries constructed to protect the subculture had served as a hindrance to popular understanding of the subculture. The members criticized the general public for the formation of the negative stereotype:

I don't know, people are really ignorant, they think that just because their lives are all nice and wonderful that everyone else's lives are wonderful. When in fact people are struggling everyday just to get a little bit of food in their stomach. (Oliver)

I don't appreciate people's attitudes towards me. Like it's really hard to get a job, it's really hard to get a job, hard to get food, it's hard to even get people to talk to you, you'd be surprised. Not so much anymore but I used to wear my hair up and shit and shave the sides and shit right. Then no one will talk. (Stan)

People think that we're loud and obnoxious. That's not what we're all about. Like shopkeepers. I was working as a receptionist, but up until then I was an asshole to them. I was just scum off the street. Then I got a job. Now I haven't changed except for the fact that I have a job. Now I'm one of the sweetest guys, they all talk to me. I haven't changed one little bit. Doesn't make sense to me at all. They're busy coming down on people, they're really coming down on people for what they look like not what they are. I don't care what people look like as long as they're not idiots right. I don't dish it out because I get it and I know what it's like to get it. That's crap right. That's the problem with punks getting beat up by rockers right. Unless they mouth off or something. If they talk to me and find out what I'm about and hate me then that's alright, it's their opinion. It's not right to beat us up because they don't like our dress or don't like our music because that's the way we are right. You don't judge a person by his music and how he looks right. (Tom)

Having said this, I should stress that not all interaction with the public was negative:

This guy comes up to me last night and gives me this sleeping bag. It's totally cool. It's one of those mummy bags, you know, no zipper and this thing that goes over your head. It's the warmest. (Issac)

Today in front of Munro's Books, this lady goes in then she comes out and sort of hands me a folded up five dollar bill. And this guy he walks by me, pulls all these bills out of his wallet and crumples up a two and throws it at me. That was pretty cool. (Oliver)

The attitudes that the public hold are likely based on the labelling process described earlier in the paper. The subculture has been depicted by the media in an extremely negative fashion. Those outside the subculture assimilate this information and treat members accordingly. The neo-Marxist theorists suggest that this will neutralize the oppositional nature of the subculture because relations outside the subculture will be difficult. These theorists also suggest that this will not affect the core of the subculture. The responses of local members reveal a core element. Like their fight against stylistic dilution, the members have battled public condemnation and continued their resistance.

4.5 Subcultural Violence

Not long after entering the field, it became apparent that the punks were involved in a great deal of violence. This violence usually occurred with the rockers. Violence between the punks and other groups (including other subcultures and members of the general public) was less frequent. The violence that the punks were involved in was usually, by their account, perpetrated by these other groups (rockers, general public, etc.). The violence stemmed from the style of the punk subculture. The members of the rocker subculture view the punkers

as different and therefore as targets for abuse. I did not witness any violence. Instead, the information was gathered from members' discussions. The researcher believes the information to be accurate since the events were rarely enhanced when repeated to other members. Below are some descriptions of violence between punks and rockers that occurred while the researcher was in the field:

I was standing in front of MacDonalds a couple of days ago and this guy comes up and gives me a roundhouse to the face and gives me three punches and recites a poem while he punches my face in. He goes 'I'll kick you in the head, I'll punch you in the face, you'll fall to the ground, you'll feel real down'. (Issac)

At the last gig I was passed out on the couch and this rocker comes up and punches me in the head. Then he goes "punk sucks". So I get up and I'm taking my coat off and he hits me again, then Mike takes him outside and beats the shit out of him, then he's screaming that he got jumped by ten punks, but it was like one on one. We all laughed. (Walt)

These three rockers were bugging this chick and then they went after Damien which is stupid right. So three guys jump him. So me and Alan jump in and beat the shit out of them and they run away and get into a cab and we throw a rock at the cab and it breaks the back window so it stops and we haul them out and like a riot almost breaks out. (Carl)

These two guys were chasing me and they got me cornered. Then one guy starts to take off his jacket so I bend this aluminum siding and rip it off and I swing it at him and they both take off. (Carl)

They went after this rocker chick, she ran into the bathroom so we all kicked the door down and started kicking her and then we left. (Patty)

As mentioned rockers were not the only people to perpetrate violence against the punks. There were also fights with members of the general public. Again, the punks were made targets because of their style:

This old guy comes up and pushes some of the chicks around and hits one of them. And I said 'do you like hitting my friends', and my friend Zak who is walking up now comes up and he says, 'oh you wimps does it take two of you'. I was pissed and I got annoyed and I said 'nope, come on lets go'. He asked for it. I mean you don't hit chicks. (Walt)

I was standing outside the soup kitchen and this guy starts hassling me. Then he starts doing this martial arts stuff. So I think to myself this guy is going to kill me, the only chance I have is to kick him in the balls, which he may block. So I kick him in the balls and he goes down so I keep kicking him. Then when I go inside the soup kitchen I notice I've got skin on my boots. (Walt)

We beat up these pongos right. They came after us and Dan goes 'come on I'll take you all on. It doesn't matter if I get it. I'll take one of your heads with me'. And Carl had this knife and they were freakin out 'he has a knife'. So they took off.(Alan)

The members of the punk subculture seemed willing to engage in violence and in some instances be severely beaten. The threat of, and participation in, violence strengthened members' allegiance for the subculture. It made being a member even more prestigious. It added another requirement for membership. Furthermore, this violence tended to solidify the negative opinions members held of the rocker subculture.

This illustrates a point raised by Fine. He writes:

Public identification and treatment of particular groups or subcultural segments sometimes affect the subcultural content of the interlocking group network. (Fine p. 14)

All of these explanations would echo functionalist theory. The violence does not appear to be a result of a "go to hell" attitude that neo-Marxist theorists might predict. Members did not like to be beaten and did not usually initiate violence. Instead violence was another result of resistance and the continued involvement in violence suggests a commitment to resistance. Members were willing to fight for what they believed in.

Fighting may also be a display of the masculinity referred to by the neo-Marxist theorists. The violence may provide the status to members they cannot get through occupational success. During the course of the research a main topic

of discussion among the males consisted of fighting techniques and self-defense, suggesting that violence was indeed on the group's mind. Furthermore, many of the males seemed to have to prove their skills to the other members. They did this by play fighting with one another and by abusing members of the skater subculture. Most carried weapons, usually knives or canes which they reported were for protection purposes. However, it was common knowledge that some members used them to threaten people. I also became aware of members "rolling" people for articles. "Rolling" is a term used to describe beating people and robbing them. Again this is a result of their resistance. They robbed people so they could survive.

Members usually denied a violent characterization the subculture. This denial may be based on comparisons members make between themselves and members of other more violent subcultures such as the rockers and the skinheads. Further, most of the violence that involved the punks was started by either rockers or members of the general public. Thus, a combination of actual events and comparisons allows the members to dismiss their violence as self-defense. Perhaps another explanation for this denial lies in the sheer amount of violence in the members lives. Their lifestyles and the style they adopted increased their chances of encountering violent situations. This allowed members to reduce the significance of violence:

They think we're all violent and shit. I'm not violent. (Stan)

Like it's not violent, I'm like mellow all the time. (Ernie)

I usually don't get into fights. I try to avoid it. You get good at it, like on the street there's no chance if it's five on one. You have to be smart enough to get away. Life is short, do what you can because you haven't got much time. (Ben)

I'll go out of my way to avoid fights. I'm not looking for fights. I stay away, keep my nose clean. I'll go to jail. I'm old enough where I'll go to jail if I fuck up, plus I've fucked up in the past which means other charges will come up. (Jack)

The point is to avoid fighting, even if you back down its no big deal, but I won't be humiliated. But I'll let a guy punch me a couple times. I mean he goes away happy and I get a bloody nose and will recover in a few days. Unless you become a beating bag, then you have to do something about it. (Tom)

4.6 Interaction with the Law

While in the field I soon became aware of the attention that the punks drew from the local police. The police were always entering the outside subcultural locations and questioning members. Some of the uniformed officers were friendly, interacting with members with whom they had previous contact, asking if they were staying out of trouble. Others were more official questioning members about various things.

During the research the members informed me that there was a drive to clean up the downtown core. As part of this a number of plain clothes officers from other cities had been brought in.

I know there's a change with the narcs. They traded with some place in Quebec ten guys and some new guys from Toronto. They're trying to clean up downtown; the street people. (Walt)

As a result, plain clothes policemen regularly entered the locations attempting to purchase drugs. The members usually recognized these officers and gave negative replies.

There was also a rumour among the members that cameras had been placed on buildings across the street to keep them under surveillance. If anything happened, officers on the street were radioed and were on the scene in a matter

of seconds. I could not verify this but suspect it might have been a story circulated to amuse themselves and add to their prestige.

Any interaction with the police was a source of conversation for members. If a member was "busted" the news spread quickly. The police also provided amusement for members. On one occasion a male member showed me how he drew "heat" by pretending to hand another member something as a police car drove by. The car immediately stopped and the officer questioned the two members. On another occasion two members were playing with a toy gun and were stopped by the police who confiscated the gun. The two members came running up to me laughing:

We just about got busted. We got guns pulled on us. I was playing with that toy gun and there was just a bank robbery so they thought it was us. These cops come up to us right, because I have this gun. It was kinda scary, they took my gun away. (Ben)

When plain clothes police left the "hang-outs" they were laughed at for trying to pass themselves off as "hip".

Like as if we don't know he's a narc. Maybe if disco was still around. (Yuri)

There were these guys like in jean pants and jean jackets and Journey shirts. I think they were trying to be rockers. (Bob)

Members had varying views concerning the police. Some felt that they were just doing their job. Others felt that they came down too hard on the punks.

They let us hang around. They let us look like we do. I mean I know most of them by name. (Walt)

They're all idiots. They're the same evrywhere. What can you do? They hassle me for no reason at all, because I have weird hair. (Issac)

Well you know, they're alright. They have to uphold the law but they come down too hard on us; more than they come down on the rockers. (Bob)

They're nothing but big fat old men. They don't know anything but how to deal with pure force not anyone who's smart. Like if there was a cop killer here like in L.A. or somewhere, they'd probably lose half the force before they'd catch them. (Alan)

Well they're assholes, especially the ones from Oak Bay and a couple from downtown. You have to be an asshole to want to become a cop. (Ben)

The neo-Marxist theorists have argued that the various means used by the dominant order to dilute the oppositional content of youth subcultures are not always successful. This study has shown that the public harassment and the fashion of outsiders have failed to weaken the subculture. Thus, the control of the subculture is left to more overt means, mainly the police. Again, this attempt at control is not very successful. They may keep members from becoming a political force but they do not stop their symbolic protest. Some members had been institutionalized only to resume membership upon release. Furthermore, I was informed by members that the courts tended to give them diversion because of the trouble between punks and rockers in Juvenile Detention. Diversion is a system that allows guilty persons to engage in other activities (eg. community hours) instead of a sentence. This sentence usually goes along with a probation period. Therefore, by keeping the punks out of institutions, the system inhibited its own control processes.

4.7 Interaction with Street Workers

While in the field I also met some street workers from various organizations. Most members were polite to these people but they did not really want to interact with them. The street worker I interviewed noted:

At first you couldn't talk to them. You just introduce yourself and tell them what you're doing. After a while they open up. They're all

good people. It's a lot different than I thought. I mean I was scared. I thought I was going to get beat up. But these guys are all characters. Also you never really know them. Just when you think you know them they pull something and are totally different. (Street Worker)

The street worker informed me that their goal was to get members off the street and back in school or at least get them funding so they could feed themselves. Members seem to speak with the street workers until the topic of getting off the streets came up. Then there was polite breaking off of the conversation. One street worker who continued to press the subject ended up being avoided totally except to be asked the time.

Theorists have not discussed the role of social agencies in relation to youth subcultures. Perhaps this is because of their failure to realize the severity of resistance. One might categorize social agencies as another attempt at diluting the oppositional nature of the subculture because they are essentially attempting to dismantle the core. In the local case their efforts have been resisted so far. Two members did enroll in the job training programs offered by local agencies, but both continued to participate in the subculture. The street worker informed me that "it's basically the same people as when I started. The same people hanging around". He also noted that he was surprised at the strength of the friendships in the subculture. He felt that these friendships enabled members to survive without outside help. The friendships provide the support to stay on the street. They did not offer the support to get off. Thus, social agencies are resisted because the youth can get many of the things (money, food, shelter) offered by the social agencies from the other subculture members.

4.8 Day to Day Survival

The structural functional theorists have postulated that the youth subculture allows members to explore solutions to their problems. The neo-Marxist theorists state that subcultural membership enables members to address problems resulting from class membership. The preceding discussion has demonstrated that the problems, objectively rooted at a macro level, cannot ultimately be solved by members because of their individual, often idiosyncratic methods of resistance. The problems are addressed only at the "magical" level. That is, members do not attempt to address their problems in a manner in which change could be fostered. Instead they address the problems symbolically through their resistance. However, it can be argued that within the subculture, discussions take place concerning day-to-day survival. Accordingly, I questioned members about its place within the subculture.

One solution to day-to-day problems lies with other members of the subculture. Many felt that there was always another member that could "help them out". This usually encompassed discussions of personal problems and in general, achieving relaxed interactions with other members. The subculture also helped the members deal with many of the problems created by resistance thereby offering a support for resistance. Members helped each other to survive. It was not uncommon for those members who received money to use it to feed the others. When members moved into residences of their own, this usually meant a number of guests (members) sleeping on their floor when other places to sleep could not be found. The members also provided mutual physical protection for each other.

All but five members of the subculture felt that the subculture was beneficial in this sense of social and economic support. Among other things, this type of support (and the knowledge gained) enabled members to leave home at any time for short or long periods. Below are some other responses that members gave to this question:

These people listen to what you have to say and are interested in what you have to say. I'm comfortable and I can say what I want and I don't give a shit. (Geraldine)

They come here to hear what other people have to say. They can get their own way of thinking instead of their school's or their mom's or whatever. (Heather)

People here know where I come from, they're honest. We all come from the same things. We've become a family and you end up living with them and if you have troubles you can talk to them. All of my friends are punks I ended up living with. Instead of going to your parents with your problems, you can go to your friends and go 'here's what's wrong, what do you say about it.' You're experiencing the same thing. What happens to you happens to them much of the time. (Tom)

You've always got friends and shit. You've always got someone to help you out and shit. (Walt)

I'm dealing with everyone else's problems, and everyone else makes me aware of their problems obviously and I learn and I get wiser for it. (Jack)

Some members felt the subculture assisted them in some areas, yet reported a reluctance to share personal problems with other members. These others provided support for day-to-day existence, but personal problems were private:

Well I don't like to talk about my personal problems with anyone. (Norm)

You don't talk about family stuff because family stuff is stuff you deal with yourself. Everything else you can share with everybody else. (Ernie)

Others expressed negative aspects of subcultural membership. Rather than providing support, the subculture contributed to their problems. Nevertheless, these members continued to participate in the subculture. One member voiced her intentions to withdraw because of the subculture's negative effects, but she continued to participate. The researcher could not establish why this participation continued. Some examples of negative outcomes:

Well yeah, I'm sort of getting out of it. I'm not into it at all. It doesn't do you any good. It certainly doesn't do you any good.
(Olga)

Actually being here kind of fucked me up, cause I was sort of a hippie before,...and the next thing you know I'm walking around doing all kinds of things. (Yuri)

Well I couldn't get into sitting on the street corner going "yeah you got any spare change." I mean there's a lot of things in life to do than shit like that. I mean like four or five years from now, they'll look back and go, 'gee, I could have been in school learning something. Now I have to go back to school.' (Rhonda).

The data reveal that the subculture does not help all of the members, nor is the help uniform across members. The problems that tend to be dealt with inside of the subculture are those concerned with school, relationships with parents and others, and problems concerning housing and funds. Members could count on others for shelter and money. It was apparent that it was easier to live in groups than to survive by oneself.

Membership also provides support for resistance. Throughout this chapter the causality of resistance in relation to membership has been discussed. Each mode of resistance examined provided two possible directions of causality. One direction suggested that members were recruited, or sought entry, into the subculture based on resistance; the other suggested the subculture encouraged

resistance. In either case the subculture provided an environment where there was support for these decisions. Furthermore, the libertarian aspect of the subculture allowed members to develop and test identities without fear of rejection. These interpretations are consistent with those provided by both the functional and neo-Marxist approach.

Although many of the problems the subculture dealt with were basic to survival, it could not deal with macro problems, such as unemployment and the prospects of life-long alienated labour. The means by which to solve these problems were out of the sphere of the subculture. Like the political and stylistic elements of the subculture, the problems were never addressed directly. The members could only solve these problems at a "magical" level. The subculture did not allow members to tackle problems. It provided an avenue of retreat from problems, a support for resistance against problems. However, the problems were only attacked symbolically therefore limiting the potential for change. The members did not participate in the institutions where real changes could be made. Members could share common outlooks, interact comfortably and discuss solutions but their problems could not be solved at a subcultural level.

4.9 An Examination of Individuals

Throughout this study, a composite portrait has been painted of the various backgrounds, attitudes and practices that characterize the subculture. Each member structured his/her experience within the subculture from his/her past personal experiences. The subculture had different meanings for each member.

As interviews were conducted and the data analyzed, it became clear that members were often not consistent in their responses across questions, reflecting the fragmented nature of the subculture's ideology. The purpose of this section will be to demonstrate the diversity and inconsistencies of members' responses. This section will also allow some of the members to be examined in greater detail. It is hoped that this will reveal the sorts of individuals that were involved in the subculture. All steps have been taken to preserve the anonymity of the people described.

4.10 White Collar Males

4.10.1 Walt

Walt was a seventeen year old male who came from a white collar background. His father was the manager of a large food firm and his mother owned her own small business. Walt had not lived with his parents for four and one half years. He had been forced to leave home because of a violent relationship with his father. Since leaving home he had not had much contact with his parents. He told me that he had not seen his father for "a couple years, he has a picture of me from a couple years ago when I had a red mohawk."

Walt became involved in the subculture immediately after leaving home. He gained entry by "hanging" around downtown. Since entry, Walt had spent most of his time living on the street and in squats. There had been brief periods off the street, usually in juvenile detention as a result of various charges ranging from armed robbery to drug trafficking. Walt supported himself on the street with the one hundred fifty dollars a month he received from his father through his mother.

However, his mother usually withheld this money because of his habit of spending it immediately on food and other items for himself and the members that he squatted with. As a result of his mother's actions, Walt was forced to panhandle to survive. He did this daily in front of the fast food restaurant.

Walt had not attended school for three and one half years. He had continued to attend school for a year after he left home, but he found it difficult to exist on the street and attend school at the same time. When asked how he managed to continue for that long he responded "alarm clock, stuff like that". However, it was not his absence that resulted in dismissal, but a fist fight with the principal. Walt had no intention of returning to school. He felt that school failed to provide the skills necessary to gain employment.

Walt informed me that it was his ambition to locate a job that would provide him with large amounts of money. He also saw a sports car in his future. However, because he had not completed school and had no marketable skills, his goals seemed unrealistic.

Walt was politically apathetic. He told me that such matters did not interest him because he did not possess a television. However, he contradicted himself by offering his opinion about the positive aspects of a social reform party. Later in the research he expressed his views on Marxism.

Due to the length of time that he has spent on the street, Walt had been involved in many violent altercations. At one point during the research, he made it known to me that he had been involved in fights with most of the members of the rocker subculture. Walt was also one member of the subculture who had been in a number of fights with members of the general public.

Walt played the drums and was involved in art, having taught art at a local community centre earlier in his life. Although living on the street had limited these activities, he still aspired to play in a speed metal band. Walt was one member that could be counted on to attend the punk rock concerts that occurred regularly, and to participate in the "slamming", "thrashing" or "skanking" (synonyms for slam dancing).

Walt's style was comprised of black jeans, black Doc Marten boots, a t-shirt with the arms cut off and a black flight jacket or a long black jacket. He had short dyed black hair with a blonde streak in the front that he wore in various styles throughout the time the researcher was in the field. Often he wore a bandana or a plaid cap, backwards on his head. He had tattoos that he created himself on his arms and hands and was rarely seen without his cane.

4.10.2 Alan

Alan was a fifteen year old male from a white collar background. Both of his parents owned small businesses. His father a consulting agency and his mother a videography firm. Alan did not live at home. He had an apartment that was paid for by his father, who gave him fifty dollars a week for food and transportation. Alan and his parents did not have a good relationship. He had been involved in a number of violent incidents with both parents that precipitated his renting the apartment. Alan resented his parents criticizing his school grades, his attitude and his behavior when both had been "hippies" and had behaved in a similar fashion in their youth. A fight on a visit home that occurred towards the end of the study led Alan's father to cut his support, and meant that Alan would have to find other means of survival.

Alan entered the subculture two years prior to my fieldwork out of an interest in the music. He had attended a concert out of curiosity and enjoyed it to such an extent that he actively pursued membership in the subculture.

Alan attended a regular school but was expelled during the research for arguing with the principal. The argument culminated in the school administrator being called "a fascist". This was not the first time that Alan found himself in trouble with the school authorities. His behavior at other schools had also led to dismissal. Alan was considering attending an alternative school, even though he felt they were for "retardo's". He also remarked that school made students into "docile robots". However, he believed that school was needed in order to secure a future. But Alan also considered school too much of an investment in time and effort and, as a result, he was undecided about his long term plans.

Alan offered a number of views concerning politics. Many of these took the form of name calling. He distrusted all politicians and felt that they were too old to understand the problems of youth. Alan's criticisms also revealed a strong nationalist sentiment.

Alan chose to express his resistance through a local theatre group in which he participated. As well, he was involved in the martial arts through a program that was being paid for by his parents. He was thus well equipped for and heavily involved in the violence of the subculture. Alan was also known to have a large knife collection and prided himself on being a weapons expert.

Near the end of the research Alan was hired to pick daffodils. His job lasted less than two days when he was fired for throwing knives at the foreman. This altercation seemed to stem from Alan's strong individualism and unwillingness to take orders.

Alan's style consisted of black pants, black boots, a black leather jacket and cut off t-shirt over which he wore a dark sweater. His hair was blonde but contained fading black streaks throughout. He wore his hair collar-length all around so that his bangs covered his face. He told the researcher that he intended to get a tattoo of two theatre masks on his back when he had enough money.

4.11 White Collar Females

4.11.1 Heather

Heather was a seventeen year old female from a white collar background. Her father was a university professor and her mother a housewife. Heather lived with her parents but on a number of occasions she had left home and squatted with her boyfriend. She informed the researcher that she had a strong relationship with her parents and that they understood her rationale for leaving. She discussed the fact that her parents were sympathetic to her membership and supported her in the decisions that she made although they did not always agree with them. In fact her parents gave her some money to survive when she had lived on the streets.

Heather had been participating in the subculture for approximately one and one half years. Friends she knew had encouraged her to become involved. Reluctant at first, her participation was peripheral until her relationship with one of the male members drew her in more completely.

Heather expressed the opinion that school was a vehicle by which she could become economically successful. She believed this even though she felt it really didn't provide the skills to be successful. School was an endurance test to show

“will power”. Her goal was to gain employment to fund a university education. However, Heather attended an alternative school and had a history of leaving school. This would make it difficult for her to reach her desired goals.

Politically, Heather was apathetic. She told the researcher that she had no time or interest for such matters because she had her own problems to contend with. However, later in the research she showed no qualms about expressing her views that a reform party might provide some solutions. For Heather the subculture was an environment where she could hear other members’ troubles and views. She also informed the researcher that the creativity of the subculture reflected and expressed the troubles that many of the members were having. For these reasons she was beginning to draw again.

Heather had adopted a style that was quite similar to the style of most males. She wore black jeans, a black flight jacket, black pointed Doc Marten shoes, and a yellow sweater. She wore her hair long, with long bangs that covered her face. Her hair had been dyed black with a blonde streak dyed in the front. She also tended to wear heavy black eye make-up around her eyes. Heather was one of the few females who was not constantly changing her wardrobe. She tended to wear the same clothes over a long period of time.

4.11.2 Mary

Mary was a seventeen year old female from a white collar family. Her parents owned a small restaurant in the city. Mary’s relationship with her parents was unstable. They disliked the way she dressed and her attitudes towards school were unsatisfactory. As a result of these disagreements Mary lived in an apartment with three other females. She was able to support herself through

employment at her parents' restaurant. However, because of the volatile nature of her relationship with her parents, Mary had lost her job on a number of occasions. When the research was coming to a close Mary had lost both her job and her apartment. As a result, she was "crashing" at other friends hoping to find both a job and a place to live.

Mary had become involved in the subculture four and one half years earlier through friends. She told the researcher that she had always been accepted in the subculture even though she had not cut her hair or adopted the punk style immediately.

Mary attended an alternative school. She had decided to withdraw from regular school because her attendance had been so sporadic. However, her first two attempts at alternative schools had also failed. She informed the researcher that she wanted to finish school but was not "trying too hard". Mary wanted to be an artist or a marine biologist. However, she felt that the investment of time and effort through education was more than she was willing to sacrifice. Thus, perhaps her experience within the school system is reflected in her reluctance to view attaining success even though she desires it.

Politically Mary was very critical of governments and was an anarchist. She was very active in nuclear demonstrations and women's issues. She was one of the few punks who was active in local political movements. She also had a reputation amongst both male and female members as a feminist. This was cause for both admiration and scorn. Mary was also very active creatively. The only classes in school she attended consistently were her art and drama classes and she spent much of her time in the local restaurant drawing, writing poetry and conversing with friends.

Mary's style was made up of many skirts, sweaters, shoes, boots, and costume jewels. Over this she wore a black jean jacket. She wore her hair collar length with long bangs. Her hair was dyed black but it was beginning to grow out.

4.12 Blue Collar Males

4.12.1 Tom

Tom was a nineteen year old male from a blue collar family. His father was a retired career army petty officer and his mother worked as a clerk in a department store. Tom did not have a good relationship with his father. He portrayed his father as a man who always had to have his own way, a man that others were afraid of. Tom described the violence that surrounded this relationship, which ended with Tom leaving home to live on the street.

After surviving on the street for six months Tom gained employment as a receptionist at a local hairdressing establishment. This employment allowed Tom to move into an apartment with his girl friend. However, the circumstances changed when the company he worked for went out of business and he was forced to survive on unemployment insurance. With no job to occupy his time, Tom began to spend a great deal of time downtown at the "alley" as he had before finding employment.

Tom had entered the subculture five years earlier. He had been a punk in England and kept his style when his family immigrated. Tom found it difficult to make friends in his new home. The introduction to another punk at the school he was attending was a welcome occurrence. This new friend encouraged him to meet the others who gathered downtown and in a short time Tom was a central

member of the subculture. Many times Tom talked of the glory days of the subculture. He felt that it was better because the members shared more experiences and were less concerned about fashion trends.

Tom had high hopes for his future. It was his goal to translate books from English into German for profit. He had this planned out quite elaborately and criticized other members of the subculture for wasting their time. Tom planned to gain the necessary skills for his venture by attending college. He had been dismissed from school when he was younger when school authorities deemed him "a bad influence." He had no regrets since he believed that school failed to provide the necessary skills required to gain employment. Tom felt that school dwelled on what you know, and not on what you can do.

Tom offered the researcher a number of thoughts concerning politics. He expressed the view that the economy was being mismanaged. He felt that a possible solution to this might be a socialist economy. He also complained of bureaucracy. However, throughout his political comments a nationalist outlook pervaded. His comments were directed at problems that encompassed the country, not only himself.

Tom played guitar in two bands and felt that his music provided him with an outlet to express his feelings and views. He also had a background in the martial arts. Although Tom described himself in non-violent, he had gained a reputation within the subculture as an excellent fighter who could "waste" any rocker. Tom's style was comprised of black jeans, a black dress shirt, black square toed boots and a long black jacket. He also wore a large black belt which he removed and used as a weapon during fights. He wore his black dyed hair long with a point jelled from each side of his head.

4.12.2 Bob

Bob was a sixteen year old male from a blue collar background. His father worked on the docks and his mother was a nurse. His parents were separated so Bob lived with his father. Bob told me that he had a strong relationship with his father. His father did not mind his style. In fact Bob described his father as "flexible". However, at one point during the research Bob's father suggested to Bob that he move out and fend for himself. This was a central issue in Bob's life during the the research. He could not get income assistance because of his age and his father's large income. These factors led Bob's father to reconsider his suggestion.

Bob had become interested in the punk subculture because of the style. He thought it was "cool" and would help him be different. Taking a cue from a popular music idol, Bob developed his style and then began to meet members of the subculture. After a while he began to spend time downtown, slowly becoming more involved in the subculture.

Bob attended an alternative school because he had been expelled from regular school for not getting his work done. During the research he rarely attended school and was dismissed on a number of occasions only to be given more chances. Bob felt that school failed to provide students with job skills, that the system pushed people through, and that no one cared. Although he discussed opening a restaurant with another member, Bob informed the researcher that it was purposeless to form goals because "we're all going to be dead in ten years, that's why." Bob's bleak view of the future left him politically apathetic as well. He did not care about such matters. However, he did express his concern about the lack of jobs and the direction young people would take in the future.

In an attempt to counteract his nihilistic views, Bob played drums in a band . He felt the subculture helped him become an individual. More recently he gained employment at a local restaurant but quit in a fury, clearing the owner's desk in a demand to be paid.

Bob's style was comprised of black jeans, black Doc Marten boots, a black leather jacket, and a black t-shirt with the sleeves cut off. Over his t-shirt he wore a blue or red flannel work shirt. He wore his hair in a mohawk, although the sides were not clean shaven. His hair was dyed black and came down across his face.

4.13 Blue Collar Females

4.13.1 Naomi

Naomi was a seventeen year old female from a blue collar background. Her father drove a cement truck and her mother worked part-time in a post office. Naomi had left home because she could not live by the rules her parents had established. She informed the researcher that her mother deliberately attempted to upset her. As a result, Naomi lived on the street. It was the second time that she had lived on the street. The first ended with an attempted reconciliation with her parents that failed.

Naomi had been involved in the subculture for approximately a year and a half. She had been recruited by two friends who were already participating in the subculture. Her participation increased when she began to live on the streets.

Naomi did not attend school. When she decided to leave home she also made the decision to leave school. For her this was an easy decision. Naomi believed

that school was "brain washing" and without it stood the same chances of gaining employment. She told me that if she should could enroll in a course that would enable her to gain employment as a cook, she would attend. She also had aspirations to be an artist and a poet.

Politically, Naomi expressed nationalist views. She also criticised the government for interfering with her freedoms. These feelings were a direct result of her squatting experience. She was disillusioned about being continually thrown out of abandoned buildings. Naomi supported herself by panhandling out in front of the fast food restaurant or at the "alley". She disliked this because male targets harassed her about "tricks". She told the researcher that she did not attempt to apply for income assistance because she was too young and the authorities would likely try to send her home.

Naomi's style was made up of dresses and black pants that she wore underneath. She wore a number of sweaters, a brown buckskin jacket, and black boots that were different from any of the boots worn by male members. She had bleached blond hair that she wore pinned up at the back, with bangs that fell across her face. She also wore a number of hats. She was constantly browsing through thrift shops adding to her style. Her large wardrobe allowed her to change her style daily.

4.13.2 Farrah

Farrah was a fifteen year old female from a blue collar background. Her father repaired boats and her mother was a housewife. Farrah encountered problems with her parents when they began to lay down rules that "were complete shit". The tension was serious enough for her to leave. She felt that the tension had subsided since doing so and the relationship was now much better. Farrah lived in an apartment with three other members of the subculture. She supported herself with the two hundred dollars a month that she received from her parents. She informed the researcher that this money was a "bribe" to keep her in school. She felt like she was paid to go to school. Although not a large amount, it was sufficient to pay her rent and purchase food.

Farrah had become involved in the subculture by her own accord two and one half years earlier. She was spending time downtown "hanging out" with the rockers. However, she felt that this group stifled her individuality and sought out the punks. The punk subculture provided a "vent for release" of her rebellion.

Farrah attended an alternative school, failing the previous year at a regular school. She planned to further her education and attend a post secondary institution in the United States. She felt that it was at the post secondary level that job skills were learned, not at her present level of education. She described the "shallow" teaching methods used in school and complained of class sizes where "the teacher never really knows your name." Farrah hoped to become a photographer with her post secondary skills and was very confident that she would be successful.

Politically Farrah voiced nationalistic views. She also described the government's attempt to "brain wash" citizens. However, she felt that the resistance put forward by people like herself could counteract these forces. She noted that the political system of a country did not matter because the people never have the power.

Farrah spent most of her time at the local restaurant, drawing and writing poetry. She also played guitar. On the occasions when another member brought a guitar downtown Farrah would sit outside and play the instrument.

Farrah's style was made up of mini-skirts and flimsy see through blouses. Her hair had been dyed black but the color was beginning to wash out. She wore her hair many different ways over the course of the research. She also wore various designs on her face.

4.14 Summary of Individuals

The above descriptions illustrate the diversity of backgrounds and attitudes among the subcultural membership. The subculture, it would seem, enables these people to discuss their problems and resist the dominant order in a variety of ways. Perhaps this is why the libertarian aspect of the subculture is so important. People from diverse backgrounds and experiences view the subculture as serving different purposes. Yet there is the commonality that allows them to explore themselves without the constraint of family or school.

Thus, the problems that the youth experience in these institutions are resisted in the subculture at an individual level because it is this individuality that is prohibited to a certain extent within the institutions of the broader society. There

is no group ideology for resistance because this impedes the individuality that members value. This need for individuality can be seen as resistance against the dominant order because it frees members from the constraints of the dominant order and allows them to form their own norms. The individuality that is advocated by the dominant order serves to deflect criticism away from itself. In the case of the subculture, the individuality is a result of the criticism towards the dominant order. The result is a subculture in which members believe that they are similar to each other. However, at closer examination the members are much more diverse than they realize.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

This study set out to test a number of issues concerning youth subcultures as postulated by both structural functionalist and neo-Marxist theory. The results have provided mixed support for each while at the same time pointing to the need for theoretical reformulation.

Both theories postulate that youth subcultural membership is dominated by working or lower class youth. The present study revealed mixed class affiliation when "class" is measured by parents occupational status (white collar; blue collar). There are at least two possible explanations for this. One is that the classless ideology of Canada allows youth of varying class backgrounds to participate in the same subculture. The other is that the present economic crisis has permeated all socioeconomic strata, exposing all youth to strain which can lead to the adoption of a subcultural solution.

The weakness of conventional theory concerning class was further amplified when it was discovered that many of the members no longer lived in the homes of their parents, but were in a class position of their own. In most of these cases their position was marginal. This unexpected finding may be a result of conditions that have evolved since the development of the initial theories. Manifestation of marginal, but independent socioeconomic status such as squatting and living on the street could be a recent phenomenon. Another possible scenario is that

theorists originally underestimated the extent, the modes and the consequences of resistance that lead to squatting and street life.

The study set out to test if the members participating in the subculture had assimilated the dominant ideology discussed by Cohen and others. The diverse responses of members revealed that not all members had assimilated the ideology. Those who did hold the goals suggested by the dominant ideology did so regardless of class position. However, the fact that members continued to hold such goals during subcultural participation contradicts an important element of functional theory. The subculture also contained a number of members who were alienated from the dominant ideology. These members better fit the functionalist description of a likely subcultural participant. Nonetheless, members could be placed in all of the types offered by functional theorists. It would seem that functional theorists have underestimated the diversity of youth subculture.

Concerning these same questions, data on those who retreat and rebel also support neo-Marxist theory in part. As with functionalist theory however, this theory failed to anticipate the substantial portion of the membership who still cling to conventional goals.

Both the neo-Marxist and the functionalist theorists view the school as an area where subcultural members will resist the dominant order. The findings of this study point out that neither theory fully explains the resistance in school. The neo-Marxist theory accounted for the responses of those members who felt that school failed to provide them with marketable skills and attempted to shape their consciousness. The functionalist theory provided an explanation for those who felt school was an avenue for success in which they were experiencing difficulties.

This example of partial explanation on the part of each theory points to the need for a combination process –a theoretical “synthesis”– that will more fully explain youth subcultures as far as school is concerned. Rather than developing two theories which have many anomalies, it might be more constructive for theorists to examine those parts of each theory that help explain subcultures and merge them into one theory.

The family is another institution that the neo-Marxist theorists outline as an arena of resistance. As they would predict, many members of the subculture experienced friction in the family. This friction stemmed from the questioning of parental authority and parental views on issues concerning the dominant order. However, there were also a number who had strong relationships with their parents. Here again, the expectations of the original theory were only partially accurate.

A conceptualization which may help make sense of these diverse findings is “levels of resistance”. Some members were totally committed to the lifestyle while others were less so. Some members displayed resistance in the family, the school and in their alienation from dominant goals. At the other end of the spectrum were those who displayed resistance in only one of these areas or displayed a less severe resistance. This finding of degrees of resistance is a complexity not anticipated by the original theories. The subculture is an environment that allows various types of resistance to take place.

The source of resistance to the dominant order, according to the theorists, is rooted in members’ class locations. The local case does not provide support for this assertion. Considering the mixed class makeup of the subculture one could

not argue that the resistance was based on class. Furthermore, the members possessed fragmented political consciousness. There was no awareness that their problems were rooted in the social structure. The members were only aware of their individual problems. The members exhibited a "do my own thing" stance. It was this stance that caused them problems in school and in the family. It was this individuality that was so important in the development of the subcultural style. Consequently, it appears that the resistance stemmed from what might be termed "libertarian consciousness" as opposed to "class consciousness".

This stance also served to mute the very efficacy of the resistance of the subculture. Libertarianism discouraged a group ideology. A group ideology would restrict their individuality. Without a group ideology they had no basis on which to act collectively. Therefore any political potential was lost.

There have been suggestions in the literature that this libertarianism may evolve from the presence of middle-class members. This is questionable in the case of Victoria. On the one hand, the members are not the bohemian artists discussed in the literature and their resistance does not seem postured. Furthermore, class of origin seems to be unrelated to ideology/consciousness. Consequently, it seems reasonable to speculate that the classless ideology of Canada may promote a middle class form of resistance. It may mystify the sources of the class based problems.

The way that resistance developed is difficult to discern. Some members may have held attitudes of resistance before subcultural participation. Other members may have been influenced by other members to adopt such resistance. It is likely that both directions of causality are at work depending on each member.

The style of the subculture is viewed by theorists as one way that youth can display their resistance in visual terms. The study found support for this view. The members felt that their style was a reflection of their personality. It was homologous with their attitudes. The music of the subculture also displayed this. Since members did not participate in institutions where change could be made, the style was the most effective way to display resistance.

Neo-Marxist theory points to the assembly of youth as displaying resistance to the dominant order. However, it seems to have failed to predict both the variety of modes of resistance and the extreme means that members will adopt to exhibit resistance. Furthermore, the theory underestimated the new problems that resistance creates. Some members are engaging in a resistance that allows them to continue school and family membership while participating in the subculture. Others exhibit more extreme signs of resistance. They do not attend school and do not live in parents homes. They live on the street.

The resistance that this study described led to the adoption of marginal socioeconomic circumstances. Members lived in squats, received state support, or worked at low wage employment. They begged, stole, robbed, and scammed to survive. They were exposed to negative interaction with the public, violence with other subcultures, and attention from the police and other social agencies. Many of the reactions and attention the subculture received were an assault on its oppositional nature. However, the core of the subculture failed to be coopted. Part of this can be explained by the defence mechanisms erected by the subculture to endure the attack from the outside. They refused the stylistic cooptation by establishing criteria for membership that kept out sanitized

“poseurs”. Members ignored public harassment, fought other subcultures, created humor out of interaction with the law, and avoided the social agencies that threatened to dismantle the subculture. Any group that goes to these extents to show resistance must be serious about resistance. It is just such examples that theory needs in order to strengthen itself. The consequences, and levels of subcultural resistance must be incorporated into subcultural theory if one is to better understand them.

Both theories pointed to the helping aspect of the subculture. The functionalists argued that the subculture enabled members to achieve status via alternative criteria. The neo-Marxists felt the subculture enabled members to leave their class and occupations to symbolically solve their problems. Again both theories provided explanation for different aspects of the solution. The data did point to areas where the subculture did help members achieve status through other means as functionalists predict. These included actual membership, and violence as an alternative route to status. However, the study revealed, as neo-Marxist theorists suggest, that the problems of members could not be solved within the subculture. It was not a sphere where change could take place. Members did not participate in the institutions that controlled change. The subculture could not address the problems of unemployment, low wages and alienating labour. The subculture could only solve problems emanating from the dominant order in a symbolic fashion.

The problems that the subculture could address were issues of basic survival that were a result of resistance. The members depended on each other for food, shelter, money and protection. It allowed members to engage in warm interaction

and to develop their own views. It supported and encouraged the development of their individuality.

The study was also concerned with the different ways that the genders used the subculture. The results support the literature that the males tended to be the "hard-core" members in that they were more likely to quit school, be alienated from goals, have friction in the family, and live and assemble on the streets. Females tended to remain or return to school, live at home and gather in an inside location. This suggests that for females the subculture had more of a social focus. The recruiting patterns displayed this further. Males tended to be recruited by physical proximity, females by social proximity. Nonetheless, there were a number of females that did have characteristics similar to those of the typical male. This also points to the need for some theoretical elaboration.

5.1 Future Questions

The preceding discussion has pointed out a number of unexpected findings that point to the need for theoretical reformulation. The major unanticipated findings include mixed class membership, the existence of conventional goals, the differing levels and consequences of resistance, the existence of "libertarian consciousness", and the partial explanatory power of each theory.

Subcultural theory has not kept up with current conditions. Strain theory had its genesis in American sociology. Both Merton's and Cohen's books are over thirty years old. Cloward and Ohlin's is over twenty-five. The lower class youth explanation may have been applicable during this period in the United States but it does not apply in Victoria in the 1980's. Different national cultures, as well as different historical conditions, may influence this finding.

The neo-Marxist theory of subculture was developed in Britain. Again, differences in the national culture may account for the weakness of the theory in Canada. Furthermore, as a theory it was tested in the 1960's and has not been refined since. Theorists have tended to take what has been done and assume that it applies to current subcultures which may be influenced by different historical conditions. The theory had not been tested in North America. This study indicates that the North American case is sufficiently different than the British case to call for extensive theoretical revision.

The results of this research draw our attention to the lack of empirical testing of these theories. Furthermore, each theory seems to develop independently of the other. In many cases they explain different facets of the Victoria punk subculture membership. Many of these problems have been discussed by Rock (1980) in a different context. He points out that there is a division in the discipline that revolves around the lack of theoretical testing and refinement. He portrays the field as one consisting of "a sequence of relatively disconnected and underdeveloped analytical episodes" (Rock 1980 p.295). The field has not evolved and merged as it has developed. Instead, theories dominate the field for a period of time and then are replaced by others that try to establish analysis on a new base.

Rock outlines the succession of deviance theories and points out that "the half-life of publicly discussed theoretical developments would now seem to be about five years" (Rock 1980 p.296). Theories flourish, decline and resurface years later when it is realized they have never been fully explored. He argues that subcultural theory in particular has not been subject to "extensive amplification"

and where it has been extended it has been restricted to "Marxist regeneration". He goes so far as to state that subcultural theory has never really been tested.

Rock senses that part of the problem stems from the abandonment of ethnography as a method of studying deviance. He reasons that scientists are unimpressed "by formulations offered by common sense", "they refuse to recognize the authority of sensual evidence" (Rock 1980 p.299).

Merton himself stressed the need for theory to evolve, and to consolidate, thus giving rise to a comprehensive theory developed from middle range theories (Merton 1968 p.51). He also wrote of the needless discovery and rediscovery of theory (Merton 1968 p.13).

These comments suggest that the theoretical weaknesses exposed by this study are a result of a field that has developed without fully testing and then reformulating theory in light of new empirical evidence. This study has shown that in many cases the theories explain different features of the subculture. There is a need for a consolidation of explanatory variables if one is going to gain "progressively comprehensive sociological theory" (Merton 1968 p.51). To begin theoretical explanation by ignoring what has already been done can only damage the field as a whole. If theoretical development is going to take place in the field of subcultural studies, there must be synthesis and testing.

There are a number of other points that must also be addressed. The data reported do not provide a full description of the subculture. It was necessary to put ethical restrictions on the data reported in this thesis. Therefore, essential parts of the subculture have not been described and others left unexplored by the researcher. While this does leave a gap in the knowledge, it might be a method of

saying "thanks" to subjects. Many times researchers forget that their subjects are human and will remain in their environment long after the researcher is gone. It is not too much to ask to protect subjects from possible legal action by avoiding sensitive issues.

My experience in the field also sensitized me to the problems concerning the role of the social researcher. The studying of subcultures is difficult. However, it can be made more so by social researchers continually entering the field in quest of knowledge. A number of subjects in my study relayed the information that they had been approached on numerous occasions for interviews or pictures by excited students for a class project. These people did not spend more than a day in the field and never got to know the subjects. The punks gave me the impression that they felt used. The students did not care about subjects, but only wanted grades. Furthermore, they were only interested in the group because of their novelty or "freak" status. The members were surprised and happy that I was not just going to be "in and out".

These people are human and cannot be expected to be constantly asked to give information about their personal lives. Social scientists should not enter the field expecting that it is their divine right to get information. They should be aware of the potential saturation of groups. It should not be surprising that members should wish to decline interviews. Between researchers, social agencies, and newspaper reporters all out to sensationalize and satisfy their own needs, subculture members are stripped of their privacy. Social scientists are beginning to be resisted for the same reasons members resist school and family; we are infringing on their individuality. We ask questions like their teachers and their

parents. If we choose to saturate subcultures we may be shut out of the information we so desperately desire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alford, Robert R. Party Society: The Anglo-American Democracies Rand McNally, Chicago, 1963.
- Atkinson, Michael L. "The Perceptions of Social Categories: Implication for the Social Comparison Process," in Relative Deprivation a Social Comparison eds. James M. Olsen, C. Peter Herman, and Mark P. Zanna, Lawrence Erlboun Ass. Pub. Hillsdale, N.J. 1986, pp.117-134.
- Babbie, Earl. The Practice of Social Research 2nd ed., Wadsworth Pub.Co.Inc. Belmont Calif.1979.
- Bailey, Kenneth. Methods of Social Research 2nd ed. The Free Press, New York, 1982.
- Barbalet, J.M. "Limitations of Class Theory and the Disappearance of Status:The Problem of the New Middle Class," Sociology Vol.20 No.4, 1986, pp.557-575.
- Benston, Margaret. "Feminism and the Critique of the Scientific Method," Feminism in Canada, From Politics to Pressure Geraldine Finn and Angela Miles eds., Black Rose Books Montreal, 1982.
- Berger, Bennett M. "On The Youthfulness of Youth Cultures," Social Research Vol.30, No.2, 1963, pp.319-342.
- Bernardes, Jon. "Family Ideology: Identification and Exploration," Sociological Review Vol.33, 1985 pp.275-297.
- Bourne, Geoffry. "Meaning, Image and Ideology," Form and Meaning The Open University Press, 1981, pp.37-53.
- Brake, Mike. The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1980.
- Brake, Mike. Comparative Youth Culture Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1985.
- Burt, Ronald S. Towards a Structural Theory of Action Academic Press, Toronto, 1982.
- Burt, Ronald S. and Micheal J.Minor, Applied Network Analysis Sage Pub., Beverly Hills, Calif., 1983.

- Carchedi, Guglielmo. O On the Economic Identification of Social Classes Routledge, London, 1977.
- Cashmore, E.Ellis. No Future Biddles Ltd. Guildford, 1984.
- Chapman, Antony J. and Alan R. Williams. "Prestige effects and Aesthetic Experiences:Adolescents Reactions to Music," British Journal of Clinical Sociology Vol.5 No.1 1976, pp.61-72.
- Clarke, Micheal. "On the Concept of Subculture," British Journal of Sociology Vol.25 1974, pp.428-441.
- Cloward, Richard A. and Lloyd E. Ohlin. Delinquency and Opportunity The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1960.
- Cohen, Albert K. Delinquent Boys The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1955.
- Cohen, Stanley. Folk Devils and Moral Panics Macgibbon and Kee, London, 1972.
- Corrigan, Paul. Schooling the Smash Street Kids The Macmillian Press London, 1979.
- Curtis, Jim and Ed Grabb, Neil Guppy and Sid Gilbert. Social Inequality in Canada: Patterns, Problems and Policies Prentice-Hall, Scarbrough Ont., 1988.
- Dancis, Bruce. "Safety-pins and Class Struggle:Punk Rock and the Left," Socialist Review Vol.8 No.3, 1978, pp.58-83.
- Dees, David R. and Vera Herman. "Soundtracking Everyday Life:The Use of Music in Redefining Social Situations," Sociological Inquiry Vol.48 No.2, 1978, pp.133-141.
- Festinger, L. "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes," Human Relations Vol.7, 1954, pp.117-140.
- Fine, Gary Alan and Sherryl Kleinman. "Rethinking Subculture, An Interactionist Analysis," American Journal of Sociology Vol.85 No.1, 1979, pp.1-20.
- Fine, Gary Alan and Sherryl Kleinman. "Network and Meaning:An Interactionist Approach to Structure," Symbolic Interaction Vol.6 No.1 1983, pp.97-110.
- Fine, Gary Alan. "Popular Culture and Social Interaction:Production, Consumption and Usage," Journal of Popular Culture Vol.11 No.2, 1977, pp.453-464.
- Forcese, Dennis. The Canadian Class Structure 3rd ed. McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., Toronto, 1980.
- Fox, William S. and James D. Williams. "Political Orientation Music Preferences Among College Students," The Public Opinion Quarterly Vol.38 No.3 1974 pp.352-371.

- Frith, Simon. Sound Effects: Youth Leisure and the Politics of Rock Constable, London, 1983.
- Frith, Simon. The Sociology of Rock Constable, London, 1978.
- Frith, Simon. "The Punk Bohemians," New Society Vol.43 No, 805, 1978, pp.535-536.
- Giddens, Anthony. The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies 2nd ed. Hutchinson, London, 1980.
- Glaser, Barney and Anselm Strauss. The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research Aldine Pub. Co. New York, 1967.
- Gordon, Milton M. "The Concept of Subculture and Its Application," Social Forces Vol.26, 1947, pp.40-42.
- Gottdiener, M. "Hegemony and Mass Culture: A Semiotic Approach," American Journal of Sociology Vol.90 No.5, 1985, pp.979-1001.
- Goyder, John C. and Peter C. Pineo. "Social Class self identification," in Social Stratification: Canada 2nd ed. eds. J. Curtis and W. Scott, Prentice Hall, Scarborough, Ont., 1979.
- Gusfield, Joseph R. and Jerzy Micholowicz. "Secular Symbolism: Studies of Ritual, Ceremony and the Symbolic Order in Modern Life," Annual Review of Sociology Vol.10, 1984, pp.417-435.
- Hagedorn, R. and S. Labovitz An Introduction into Sociological Orientations Wiley and Sons, Toronto, 1973.
- Hall, Stuart. "Culture and State," State and Popular Culture The Open University Press, 1982, pp.7-18.
- Hall, Stuart. "Encoding/Decoding," Culture Media, Language eds. Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Wells, 1980, pp.128-138.
- Hall, Stuart and Tony Jefferson eds. Resistance Through Ritual: Youth Subcultures in Post War Britain Hutchinson in Assc. with The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1976.
- Hartmann, Donald and David Wood. "Observational Methods" in The International Handbook of Behavior Modification and Therapy eds. A.S. Bellock, Michel Hersen, A.E. Kazdin, Plenum Press, New York, 1982.
- Hebdige, Dick. Subculture: The Meaning of Style Methuen and Co. 1979.
- Held, David. "The Culture Industry: Theory and Aesthetics," Introduction to Critical Theory Hutchinson and Co. London, 1980, pp.77-109.

- Hendry, Leo. Growing Up and Going Out:Adolescents and Leisure Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen, 1983.
- Hunter, Alfred A. Class Tells: On Social Inequality in Canada 2nd ed. Buttersworth, Toronto, 1986.
- Jahoda, Maria, Morton Deutsch and Stuart Wood. Research Methods in Social Relations, Part Two, Selected Techniques The Dryden Press, New York, 1951.
- Johnson, John M. Doing Field Research The Free Press, New York, 1975.
- Kando, Thomas M. Leisure and Popular Culture in Transition C.V. Mosby Co. Toronto, 1980.
- Kane, Eilleen. Doing Your Own Research Marian Bayars Co. New York, 1983.
- Kendal, Denise B. "On Variations in Adolescent Subculture," Youth and Society Vol.19 No.4, 1978.
- Kilian, Crawford. School Wars, The Assault on B.C. Education New Star Books, Vancouver, 1985.
- Knoke, David and James H. Kuklinski. Network Analysis Sage Pub. Inc. Beverly Hills Calif. 1982.
- Laing, Dave. One Chord Wonders:Power and Meaning in Punk Rock Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1985.
- Lambert, R.D. and S.D. Brown, J.E. Curtis, B.J. Kay, and J.M. Wilson. 1984 Canadian National Election Study 1984.
- Leonard, Peter. Personality and Ideology MacMillan Educ. Ltd., London, 1984.
- Levine, Harold and Steven Stumpf. "Statements of Fear Through Cultural Symbols:Punk Rock as a Reflective Subculture," Youth and Society Vol.14 No.4, 1983 pp.417-435.
- Lewis, George H. "Between Consciousness and Existence:Popular Culture and the Sociological Imagination," Journal of Popular Culture Vol.15 No.4 1982, pp.81-93.
- Lewis, George H. "Trend Report:The Sociology of Popular Culture," Current Sociology Vol.26 No.3, 1978, pp.3-160.
- Lofland, John and Lyn H. Lofland. Analyzing Social Settings Wadsworth Inc., Belmont Calif. 1984.
- Lull, James. "Popular Music:Resistance to New Wave," Journal of Communication Vol.32 No.1 1982, pp.121-131.

- Mcrobbie, A. and J. Garber. "Girls and Subcultures- A Feminist Critique," in S. Hall et al Resistance Through Ritual: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain Hutchinson London, 1976.
- Marsh, Peter. "Dole Que Rock," New Society Vol.39.no.746 pp.112-115.
- Marshall, Gordon. "Some Remarks on the Study of Working-Class Consciousness," Politics and Society Vol. 12 No.3, 1983, pp.263-301.
- Mayntz, Renate, Kurt Holm and Roger Huebner. Introduction to Empirical Sociology Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press) Ltd. Bungay, 1969.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1957.
- Monday Magazine Vol.6 No.44, 1980, pp.8
- Monday Magazine Vol.8 No.8 1982 pp.14-15.
- Monday Magazine Vol.9 No.34 1983 pp.6.
- Monday Magazine Vol.10 No.5 1984 pp.7.
- Monday Magazine Vol.12 No.7 1986 pp.5.
- Monday Magazine Vol.12 No.43 1986 pp.7
- Monday Magazine Vol.12 No.44 1986 pp.5.
- Monday Magazine Vol.12 No.49 1987 pp.29.
- Monday Magazine Vol.13 No.19 1987 pp.3.
- Monday Magazine Vol.13 No.21 1987 pp.13-14.
- Muncie, John. Politics, Ideology and Popular Culture The Open University Press, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, 1981.
- Mungham, G. and G. Pearson. Working Class Youth Cultures Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976.
- Murdock, Graham and Robin Mccron. "Scoobies, Skins and Contemporary Pop," New Society Vol.26 No.547, 1973, pp.690-692.
- Parkin, Frank. Marxism and Class Theory: A Bourgeois Critique Tavistock, London, 1979.
- Philips, Bernard S. Social Science, Strategy and Tactics The Macmillian Co. New York, 1971.

- Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1965.
- Poulantzas, Nicos. Classes in Contemporary Capitalism New Left Books, London, 1975.
- Orman, John. The Politics of Rock Music Nelson Hall, Chicago, 1984.
- Philliber, S.G., Mary Schwab and G.Sam Sloss. Social Research:Guides to a Decision Making Process F.E. Peacock Pub. Inc. Ithasca Ill. 1980.
- Ramirez, Daniel M. "Ideology and the Subject of History in Marxian Semiotics," Insurgent Sociologist Vol.8 No.3, 1986, pp.97-102.
- Rock, Paul. "Has Deviance a Future," in Hubert Blalock Sociological Theory and ResearchThe Free Press, New York, 1980, pp.290-303.
- Sandeers, Clinton R. "Structural and Interactional Features of Popular Culture Production:An Introduction to the Production of Culture Perspective," Journal of Popular Culture Vol.16 No.2 1982, pp.66-75.
- Sellitz, Claire, Marie Jahota, Morton Duetsch, and Stuart W. Cook. Research Methods in Social Relations Henry Holt and Co. 1959.
- Shaffif, William B., Robert A.Stebbins and Alan Turowitz. Fieldwork Experience:Qualitative Approaches to Social Research St.Martins Press, New York, 1980
- Sherif, Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif. Reference Groups Harper and Row Pub. New York, 1964.
- Shibutani, Tamatsu. "Reference Groups as Perspectives," American Journal of Sociology Vol.60 No. 6 1955, pp.562-569.
- Singleton, Gregory H. "Popular Culture or the Culture of the Populace," Journal of Popular Culture Vol.11 No.1 1977, pp.254-266.
- Skipper, James K. "Musical Tastes of Canadian and American College Students:An Examination of the Massification and Americanization Thesis," Canadian Journal of Sociology Vol.1 No.1 1975, pp.46-61.
- Smythe, Dallas W. Dependency Road:Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness in Canada ABLEX Pub. Co. Norwood N.J. 1981.
- Streeter, Thomas. "An Alternative Approach to Television Research, Developments in British Cultural Studies at Birmingham," in Interpreting Television eds. W.B. Rowland and B. Watkins, London Sage, pp.74-97.

Tanner, Julian. "New Directions for Subcultural Theory, An Analysis of British Working Class Youth Culture," Youth and Society Vol.19 No.4, 1975, pp.343-373.

Tanner, Julian. "Youth Culture and the Canadian High School:An Empirical Analysis," Canadian Journal of Sociology Vol.3 No.1 1978, pp.89-102.

The Victoria Downtowner August, 1985 pp.8

Times Colonist Jan. 30,1986.

Times Colonist Sept.24,1986.

Times Colonist Oct.1986.

Whyte, W.F. Street Corner Society The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1943.

Wright, Eric Ohlin, David Hachen, Cynthia Costello and Joey Sprague. "The American Class Structure," American Sociological Review Vol.47 1982, pp.709-726.

Wright, Eric Ohlin. "A General Framework for the Analysis of Class Structure," Politics and Society Vol. 13 No.4, 1984, pp.383-423.

Wright, Eric Ohlin. Classes Versa, London, 1985.

Yinger, J. Milton. "Contraculture and Subculture," American Sociological Review Vol.25 1960.

VITA

Surname: Baron Given names: Stephen Wallace

Place of Birth: Salmon Arm, B.C. Date of Birth: Nov. 20, 1961

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

<u>Cariboo College, Kamloops, B.C.</u>	<u>1979</u> to <u>1982</u>
<u>University of Victoria, B.C.</u>	<u>1982</u> to <u>1984</u>
<u>University of Victoria, B.C.</u>	<u>1985</u> to <u>1988</u>

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded with Dates and Names of Institutions: B.A. 1984 University of Victoria

Honours and Awards: B.C. Scholarships, 1986/87 and 87/88

University of Victoria Supplement Award 1986/87


Publications:

Payne O' Connor, Josephine, Steve Baron, Liz Philipose, Deborah Taylor and Anne Macdonald. "Off the Street: The Conference Report", B.C. P.I.R.G., 1988.

Partial Copyright License

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a similar request from the Library of any other University, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis: THE PUNK ROCK SUBCULTURE IN VICTORIA: A
FIELD STUDY

Author: 

Stephen Wallace Baron

May 1, 1988

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-46512-3