

**Place and Punk: The heritage
significance of Grunge in the Pacific
North West**

William Kenneth Smith

MA By Research

University of York

Archaeology

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Abstract

Academic institutions and the heritage industry are now actively seeking to understand the wider social, cultural and economic processes which surround the production and consumption of popular music histories. Music is a local creation; it is created through a flux of internal and external influences, and is bound up in questions of economy, networks, art, identity and technology. In the early 1990s the Pacific North West of the United States of America gave birth to what became known as the musical genre of 'grunge'. It developed into a distinctive genre, presenting a style and sound which propagated within the confines of a specific time and place. As construction sites continue to emerge throughout the Pacific North West, the impact of music still provides an essential contribution to the regions character and culture. Despite this, countercultural pasts are vulnerable; not only to the passage of time but also the processes of development, gentrification and marginalization.

This research explores the heritage significance of the Pacific North West punk scene. It presents a historiography of punk and an appraisal of the scholarly discourse surrounding place. This study utilizes artifacts, sites and oral histories to explore countercultural material and memories as well as the form and function of punk. Themes such as geography and environment are enfranchised into the discussion as ethnography and multidisciplinary approaches are applied to make a unique contribution to what is an essential and timely discussion regarding people, culture, heritage and place.

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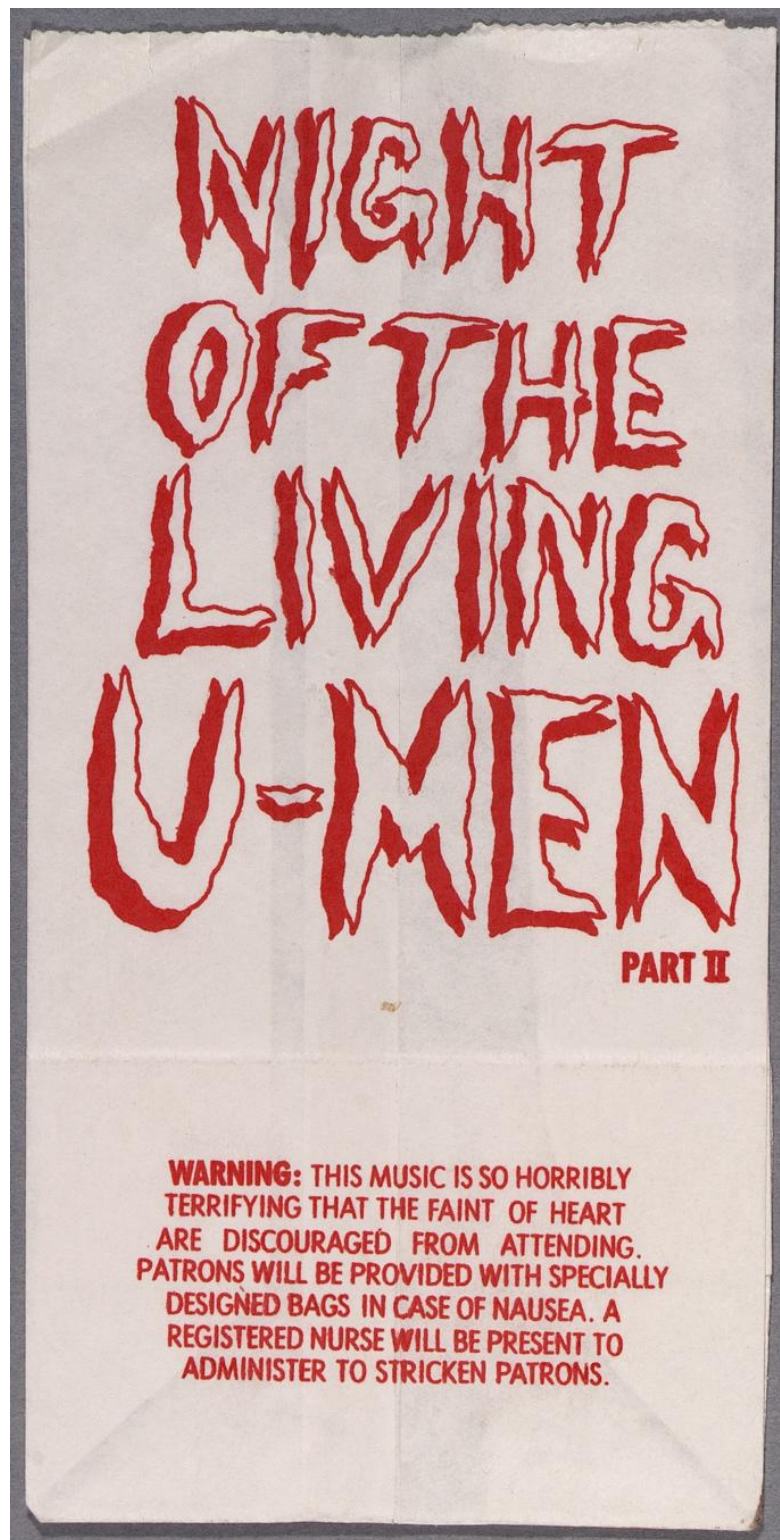


Figure 1: U-Men flyer (MoPop Archive, 2016)

Preface

For millennia, humans have left behind often ambiguous, puzzling and emotive testimonials to their feelings, thoughts and experiences. Around the world, in every human culture art is a unique window into the human mind, but it can present a huge challenge to interpret. Art is delivered in a range of formats - From dance to sculptures, architecture to painting, body modification to fashion, it comes as fluid, diverse and improvised as the messages and expressions it seeks to portray.

Some suggest that singing preceded speech, and that music has been important and influential over centuries, if not millennia (Schofield, 2013, 290). It is one of the first and last things a person will respond to in their life. For some, music can be the source of some of the most powerful and life affirming moments. Moving and imaginative, it can be confrontational and challenging. Throughout both the world today and its past, music making has remained as natural an activity as breathing and walking. The rocking of a baby to sleep, celebrations, prayer, marching off to war and funerals, whenever people come together, music is there (Levitin 2007).

Music can be deeply sensorial, involving small, intimate venues. Bands themselves exert a pull completely apart from music; indeed, from the first moment I picked up a copy of Nirvana's *Bleach* in Track Records, York, it quickly epitomized something much more than music to me. Saving my school lunch-money for a Saturday morning trip to Track Records, York was a common occurrence through my secondary schooling. I remember reaching up-to tack the top corners of a poster to my wall, the bindy-blonde haired, fringe-hidden Cobain frowning back at me. Chris Furber (2014) most concisely summed up a major part of the appeal of Cobain, in that "for someone who was consistently failing to rise from his bed with a jubilant, spring-heeled leap, and tended to instead towards a tardy lollop accompanied by a brow-beaten scowl, Cobain was bestowed with hero status in my eyes for being the patron saint of slackers" (Furber, 2014). Wide though this appeal was, his

music captured something personally for me at that point of my youth that few other artists did.

Today, like many who were, and remain involved in what can be described as a music scene; I followed many bands from small basement clubs to festival main stages. From my own experience growing up in the York and Leeds punk scene I know that these are whole worlds that have huge significance for the people associated with them. The punk scene influenced my world view, my political interests, my social life and to some extent my academic interest. It was deeply sensorial, involving small, dingy venues from York Fibbers, The Leeds Cockpit to larger festivals; Bands exerted a pull which was completely apart from music.

I collected material culture with meaning from ticket scrapbooks, festival wristbands, T-shirts to records and flyers. I remember notable graffiti and poster laden walls and monumental moments within certain venues; a punk heritage. Upon my arrival in the Pacific North West, I was fully aware that I was entering the origins of a significant musical genre of my youth. It was accompanied by a sensation that was both familiar and unfamiliar as I explored.

It is true that my experiences in music and my archaeological endeavors have acted as a major catalyst in forming this research. Despite such affection and sentimentality for musical culture, it is important for me to state that in studying this topic, I reserve the right to remain emotionally, and ethically unattached - driven by and passionate only; for the questions which intrigue me and which I feel progress the understanding of this period of the recent past, the significance of such heritage and the human experience it encapsulates.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor John Schofield. Johns approach to archaeology and heritage inspired the topic to which this work relates. The support received throughout this research and my time at the University of York has only furthered this interest.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Jacob McMurray from the Museum of Pop Culture, Seattle. His generosity, time and support have been integral to this research.

Ben Munat must be thanked for continually offering information, support and access to a vast array of music connections during my time in the United States of America. It is important to note that this research would not have been possible without the cooperation and enthusiasm of many people who generously allowed the project to have access to their memories of the Pacific North West scene, despite often busy schedules.

Lastly, I would like to thank my friends, my family and my partner for their infallible support, patience and encouragement throughout my degree. Without them, it wouldn't have been possible.

Declaration

This thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been submitted for an award at this, or any other University. All sources are acknowledged as References.



Figure 2: Nirvana flyer (MoPop Archive, 2016)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“Back then, there was a cultural chasm – If you were into punk rock, you were really weird”

Krist Novoselic - Nirvana (MoPop Archive, 2009)



Figure 3: Nirvana Promo shot by Charles Peterson for the debut LP Bleach (Charles Peterson, 1989)

1.1 Introduction

The heritage of pop-culture is becoming increasingly acknowledged for its significance. Both in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, institutions and the heritage industry are now exploring the “wider social, cultural and economic processes surrounding the production and consumption of popular music histories” (Roberts and Cohen 2014, 242). Examples include The Queens Museum in New York hosting the "Hey! Ho! Let's Go" exhibition celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Ramones self-titled first album. Similarly, the British Museum has explored Punk in London 1976-78. What both exhibitions highlight is the significance and interest in such cultural heritage as millions visited the events, learning about punk, observing the objects on display and experiencing the nostalgia.



Figure 4: Installation of the Queens Museum Ramones Exhibition (Image: Danielle Finkelstein

2016)



Figure 5: People viewing the Ramones exhibit at the Queens Museum (Image: CC.TV, 2016)

However, what fundamentally underpins each exhibition is place. Music scenes make an essential contribution to an area's character and identity. Such connections are understandable, given that music is a local creation, created through a flux of internal and external influences. Place is important to an artistic identity, a rootedness that gives both music and musician a context for being. This of course, can take on any kind of scale from a national one (the Americana of Bob Dylan, the Irishness of the Dubliners, the Scottishness of Big Country) to a more regional context (The Southernness of the Sex Pistols, The Northerness of the Arctic Monkeys). When reaching the order of place, the associations come all too easily: The Beatles and the Cavern Club, The Ramones and CBGB, New Order and the Hacienda. Some bands are synonymous with the places their music is performed, and the culture it in turn propagates.

Despite this rootedness and emerging significance debates emanate around countercultural heritage. Questions have emerged as to the social value of punk material.

How countercultural heritage should be commemorated and enfranchised into broader heritage discourse is an ongoing debate. Most prominently, conflicts of interest are raised by prominent punk memorabilia collector Joe Corr  the son of Sex Pistols manager Malcolm McLaren. Corr  has openly opposed what he sees as the museuification of punk, citing his "repulsion" at the prospect of seeing such material culture hung on the walls of corporate directors or in the hallways of museums. Despite the scholarly merit of such a stance, this was a view shared by a number of media voices and social commentators (Figure 7).



Figure 6: Sean O'Hagan Guardian Headline (Image: Screenshot from The Guardian Online, 2016)

Discussions and opinions on the official nature of the heritage industry and its capability to effectively display punk pasts are salient. McMahon (2010) for example states "I never thought punk rock was supposed to be about heritage, or monuments, or even bricks and mortar. It's a transcendent spirit". Yet, cities such as London; have lost 40% of music venues in recent years (Garvan 2015). Luxury apartments and amenities, as was the case with the Hacienda club in Manchester are now the economically preferred use of such prime, urban land.

Understandably, punk garners a range of interest - from authors, journalists to academia and more. However, punk can be deemed as a marginal heritage; a heritage which is too recent and not effectively enfranchised into mainstream heritage practice. But pop culture

itself is archaeology. It leaves an inescapable material trace as artifacts with an inherent capacity to evoke or embody contemporary pastness (Maldonado, 2015).

Archaeology and heritage are especially concerned with time and place. Identity formation, reinforcement and expression differ greatly place by place. Different people in different places accept and generate music in unique and diverse ways (Rhodes 2013, 3). Paul Graves-Brown (2010) has questioned music and place stating “while music may evoke places and things, it does not represent them ultimately”. But music is a local creation; it is created through a flux of internal and external influences, and is bound up in questions of economy, networks, art, identity and technology. As described by Wade (2000, 2) the way people think about identity and music is tied to the way they think about place.

Archaeology and heritage are two fields which remain ever closely related: archaeology as a methodology for recording and understanding places and things; and heritage as a framework for assessing the significance of those places and things to contemporary society (Schofield and Rellensmann, 2015, 113). Furthermore, such studies are not restricted to the material world, extending into the intangible - a trend reflected across the heritage sector.

Yet, it can be argued that punk by its very nature runs counter to the formal heritage discourse which seeks to protect, understand and display it. Consequently, this demonstrates the need to enfranchise fringe pasts, approaching such histories with a degree of nuance, elucidating the further potential such heritage holds and how best to conserve and understand it. As a music heritage resource the Pacific North West can be further elucidated and explored with regards to the relationship between sound and place and its association to a punk culture.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

In the early 1990s the Pacific North West of the United States of America gave birth to what would become known as the musical genre of ‘grunge’. It was a distinctive genre, presenting a style and sound which was propagated within the confines of a specific time and place. With its foundations firmly in punk, the raw, distorted sounds of an array of

artists would emerge, reaching out to those who were alienated by the saccharine smiles of the pre-packaged pop and stadium rock which blotted out almost everything else in the charts. Often viewed as a blend of punk and metal (Mazullo 2000, 719) the music showed a desire to challenge the status quo, to embrace and utilize societal frustration and challenge the increasingly hopeless norm.

This research utilizes ethnography and multidisciplinary approaches to make a unique contribution to what is an essential and timely discussion regarding people, culture, heritage and place. Through exploring the punk heritage of the Pacific North West this work analyzes the phenomena through the lens of archaeology and heritage exploring the relationship between punk and place and the heritage it invokes.

The Pacific North West punk culture remains a little researched region from a heritage perspective. With place in mind, it can be argued that the region can contribute to further understanding music worlds and the relationship to place. This research explores the regional punk scene as a contested rather than fixed space with music integral in the construction of particular narratives of places and the countercultural communities.

Through exploring people's memories and experiences, the complex place-making processes which aid the propagation of such culture is brought to the forefront. As well as contested spaces, the characterization of the heritage as ephemeral, impulsive and adaptive is viewed as fundamental in understanding the countercultural nature and comprehending the heritage of past communities in the present.

Within the confines of this research a full appraisal of the Pacific North West as a whole is not practical to study. A sufficient case study area has been identified. This consists of both the cities of Seattle Washington and Portland Oregon. The two cities allow for an analysis with greater resolution. This research will utilize and refer to alternative locations in reference to information provided through oral histories, historical sources or sites which compliment the two key case studies.

- What is the relationship between Sound and Place?

- Implications for understanding countercultural formation and function?
- To assess and explore the heritage significance of the Pacific North West Punk music scene
- Characterize the contentious existence of punk in the past and subsequently assess the heritage of its past in the present

To achieve placing the area into wider discourse; this research presents an overview and analysis of the current state of understanding in countercultural and subcultural studies. Chapter 2 discusses this subject setting the intellectual framework prior to bringing to the forefront the current state of understanding place - in Chapter 3. This chapter aims to review the literature, summarizing the discourse, yet explores broader disciplines which have also addressed place related themes and thus effectively illustrating the wider context.

In light of chapters 2 and 3, chapter 4 presents a chronology and brief historiography of the Pacific North West scene and the grunge movement. This chapter will introduce key names and aspects of its development and also provides perspectives on authenticity. Chapter 5 sets for the utilized methodology. This chapter offers a methodological context to the utilization of oral histories within this research. The results are then analyzed and presented in chapter 6 prior to putting forth a lengthy discussion of the findings in chapter 7. Lastly, conclusions of the study findings will be explained in chapter 8 which will reflect on the research and acknowledge further requirements to continue investigations within this region or elsewhere.

CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING PUNK



Figure 7: Punks hanging out on the Kings Road, London 1983 (Image: Ted Polhemus, 2015)

2.1 The Heritage Significance of Punk

In beginning this research, it is important to begin setting the intellectual framework, by looking at how formal organizations, concerned with heritage have approached punk heritage. Firstly, the 2005 Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society is important (see Schofield 2015). Within this framework the inclusiveness of heritage is viewed as central to the Value of Cultural Heritage. More commonly referred to as The Faro Convention, this document states the importance of stressing the need to involve everyone in society in the on-going process of defining and managing cultural heritage (Council of Europe 2005, 2). As described by Schofield and Rellensmann (2015) this is a framework which provides a development, both for the ways people consider heritage as a professional and academic community, but also in terms of public perception. It defines heritage as...

“A group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time”. (Council of Europe 2005)

Yet, what is important here is the concept of an on-going process; eluding to heritage as a shifting, changing and ever molding cultural resource which strives to promote a holistic and inclusive past. UNESCO (2003) (United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization) set forth a definition of the importance of the intangible heritage involving the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills and cultural spaces that are constantly recreated by groups in response to their environment and history. This document effectively emphasizes the significance of memories, intangible heritage and the fundamental role it holds in providing ‘a sense of identity and continuity’.

Therefore, two comprehensive definitions for heritage exist which show an ability to comfortably accommodate the punk past. Yet, both are personal, human driven definitions and as outlined in introducing this research, the heritage of music scenes has proven effective modes for tourism and economic stimulus. Projects such as 'Re-Branding

Detroit' have presented a prime example of how such heritage resources - not only act as an integral part of the cultural heritage but rather underpin a places character, identity and aesthetic. This point is illustrated as Rebranding Detroit aim to utilize its abandoned architecture and the heritage of its music scene as a catalyst for "identity preservation, social justice, and stable, networked communities through music" (Carman, 2014).

2.1.1 Scenes and Worlds

In acknowledging the heritage of a music scene, it is important to define and discuss how such entities have been comprehended. As stated by Connell and Gibson (2003, 90) the uniqueness of local music scenes is that music is made in a specific geographic, socio-economic and political contexts thus such creativity in lyrics, styles and sound are always likely to reflect the positions of writers and composers within such contexts. However, within this, It becomes clear that many forces and influences exist which this research shall further assess in light of the Pacific North West.

Notably scholars such as Milton M. Gordon have emphasized such degrees of complexity viewing regional differentiation like "sub-divisions of a national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations.... forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual" (Gordon: quoted in Gelder and Thornton, 1997, 41). A scene is portrayed either as an organic extension of particular localized communities (Cohen 1991, Shank 1994) or as a network of people with a common interest which 'actualize a particular state of relations between various populations and social groups, as these exist around specific coalitions of musical style (Bennett, 2002).

However, scholars such as Herbert Blumer (1986) have discussed the idea of a social world; promoting the concept of a music world. This is summarized by Crossley (2015) in that it shifts the idea of a social world to apply to the specifics of a music world. For Blumer the music world stresses an emphasis on meaning. Of course, meanings can and do vary to individuals, but collectively it is argued that the generation of shared meanings

through interactions is pivotal to creating a catalyst for further interaction. Such processes are argued as leading to a sense of collective and consequently a distinct world.

But Lena (2012) has demonstrated how music scenes are constructed in a spatially concentrated infrastructure, effectively portraying the nuances and forces which bind a scene. Such infrastructure could therefore be said as important when consideration is given to the objects, iconography and the behavioral language of a scene. But rather a music world as argued by Crossley (2015) is the space, social and physical entity made up of interaction and shared meanings, symbols, definitions, objects and practices generated, across time, by such interaction.

Worlds are not defined exclusively by reference to shared meanings. Meanings are the outcome of interaction which, in turn is motivated by the concerns and interests of those involved. In the course of interaction a world can generate 'internal goods' objects which may only have value within their world but not outside of it (Crossley and Bottero 2014). But within a scene the capacity to encapsulate such meaning also exists. After all, a scene has an 'organic' development, reflecting the social, economic, political and material aspects of the particular place in which it is created (Cohen 1997, 33).

The notion of an art world could be viewed as a concept which compartmentalizes the phenomena it tries to understand. This is because it detracts from the role of music and counterculture as the product of a broader socio-economic and socio-climate. In other words, detaching a counter-culture from the very society it runs counter to. However, such a notion provides a useful means to view the collective meanings and world view of the cohesive phenomena. However, it remains important to avoid compartmentalization viewing an art world as a part of the functioning broader culture. After all; counterculture is a reactionary phenomenon and the product of the broader society and environment.

2.2 Punk and Politics

What the concept of a music scene stresses, is the situationist nature of its emergence. The social, political and economic themes are integral to understanding punk. As an organic phenomenon, a music scene such as punk is consequently the product of a time

and place. Both subculture and counterculture are terms which have been and remain generally used in addressing youth culture or the cultures of subordinate classes (Fulcher and Scott 2007, 367). Thus such a definition encompasses punk. It could be said that punk is deeply political and rooted within the societal context in which it propagates. However, despite such emphasis upon a situationist approach; a full comprehension of punk demands acknowledgement of broader external and internal influences, especially when intending to invoke punk's relationship to place.

2.2.1 Punk Historiography

Punk can be identified as rooted within the economic and social strife of Britain through the mid-1970s. This is because it was a period of the recent past in which unemployment was high and a lack of jobs impacted upon the younger generations. Such social disparity and the broader struggles of communities are most epitomized by the number of strikes. In 1978 a culmination of strike action, today known as the "winter of discontent" began. Such strikes were an expression of anger at government policies and the neoliberal agenda; a growing disillusionment at how "jargonistic and non-committal leftwing politics had become" (Sabin, 1999).

Artists such as Debbie Harry have explained more specifically how the British punk movement responded to such social strife in that "everybody was very outwardly driven and politically minded and it was all in the music". Harry expands on this in that "It was really all about their economy because their economy had turned to shit. A great percentage of people were on the dole, and there really was no future for these kids. People forget what a wreck the place was in the early 70s" (Debbie Harry quoted in Blake, 2008). Music worlds provided a sense of purpose to people who were alienated and actively becoming lost in the mainstream culture (O'Hara 1999, 23). What this does effectively highlight is the burgeoning anti-establishment and countercultural political movement which had emerged.

It could be said that this was predominantly a theme within Britain, however similarly in the United States of America the political and social climate presented a strong

countercultural political discourse which underpinned much of the early punk movement. Punk clubs of the 1970s for example began to accommodate youth who were fighting for and motivated by the same things as Britain. Strongly politicized cultures flourished in San Francisco and The Bowery District of New York during the pre-Reagan period of the late 1970s. The punk scenes presented a very visible and dynamic social presentation, but radical politics were burgeoning in many areas as tenants were organizing for rent control in the wake of the violent eviction of the I-Hotel in 1977. As described by Stramskas (2012) strikes at local oil refineries, trucking operations, insurance offices, and restaurant chains dovetailed with a national coal miners' strike and president Jimmy Carter moved steadily rightward throughout his presidency increasingly seen in punk circles, as a deeply "reactionary tool of the military-industrial complex" (Stramskas, 2012).

A significant moment can be identified on January the 20th 1981 with the election of Ronald Reagan which shifted the political field. As President of the United States of America Reagan would become a figurehead for much discontent within the broader American underground culture - as Conservatism amplified its voice throughout mainstream society. The impact of Reagan on the American punk scene has most recently been described by Rettman (2016) in that Reagan inspired bands that actively were "rescuing and reinvigorating the protest song, which by the 80s had ossified into snore-worthy crap". The promise of endless economic and social mobility as well as security was increasingly questioned. With the election of Reagan in 1980, politics shifted towards free-market extremism and social conservatism that in part gave rise to emergence of punk subcultures which then articulated themselves as oppositional (Stramskas 2012, 117).

"I had a lot of personal issues that would have probably fuelled some of my attitudes and behaviors. No deep, dark secrets - just big, corny, Reagan era, state-of-the-world, teen angst, existential stuff" John Bigley, The U-Men (Yarm 1999, 19).



Figure 8: Rock Against Reagan Poster (Image: Houston Press, 2014)

Punk and hip-hop are often viewed as the only genres to be given the label political. Thomas Barnett of American Punk Band Strike Anywhere in an interview for Exclaim TV's Garageland (2009), suggests it's to do with the idea of alternative media, carrying on the pre-industrial folk traditions, such as "these people are screwing us over, here is our platform to talk about it and access solutions". Barnett goes on to explain "it's a dichotomy in that "you still get the cult of celebrity or personality, some superficial entertainment, but underneath punk is still very provocative and a personal outlay of information which is not mediated by the engineers of culture and content" (Barnett, 2009). It could be said that such cultures do not operate outside the realms of mainstream society, but rather under it. Therefore, to fully understand any political influences upon punk the impact of class is pivotal.

However, it is important to remember that a degree of diversity exists within the punk movement. As described by O'Hara (1999, 11) one major problem in trying to explain punk - is that it doesn't fit neatly into a box or category. Punk is something which made the

explicit aim of trying to destroy such boxes. It was often based on immediacy, shock and tactical assaults on culture. It merges and seeps into many fields; from the cultural to the social, the musical and sartorial (Strongman 2007, 11). As O'Hara (1999, 11) states "punk cannot be pigeonholed into some spiky-haired male [sic] wearing a leather jacket with a thousand metal spikes listening to music really loud".

2.2.2 Class or Classless

Drawing on the political connotations, major advancements on understanding subcultural and countercultural phenomena is class. To explore this, it is necessary to extrapolate to broader discourse surrounding subculture more specifically. Some of the earliest works which address subculture and counterculture emphasize the role of class. To Marx, in the nineteenth century – subculture in particular was a term applied to the lumpenproletariat: that is, groups of people below class-based identity and without class consciousness, self interested rather than class affiliated. Marx, along with scholars such as Engels stress internal contradictions of interest and conflicts between different classes as been prominent features of complex human societies (Trigger 2006, 332).

Punk has often remained viewed as predominantly working class. However, scholars such as Thornton (1995) describe class as worthy of consideration, yet views it as willfully obfuscated by subcultural distinctions. Through studying the London club scene for example Thornton (1995) argues that a "*fantasy of classlessness*" is played out. The notion of classlessness within a music world has previously been noted by Gelder (2007, 103) in arguing that a degree of diversity has often been prevalent. For instance, punk groups could be viewed as including individuals who attended "bohemian English art school" and grew up in middle class families yet such distinctions in class are lost within the music world.

It is important to acknowledge that a degree of self-determinism remains. An example of this is shown in the idea of self marginalization. This refers to the attempts of white Americans or British people to escape their dominant identity by literally or symbolically

aligning themselves with marginalized others. This can be an alignment with a society's poor or racial minority.

Within a music community such self-marginalization can be demonstrated in the Ska-Punk and Reggae of 1970s London. The notion of self marginalization is important in that it indicates a desire to leave behind structures of a society dominated by, for example, white privileged men. However, as highlighted by Butz (2008, 154) it often merely populates and reproduces such dominance, but within another community.

The experience of community, networks and the interaction this sparks within the music world is important. Regardless of class affiliation it is important to note scholars such as early work by Turner (1969) supports a more nuanced view. This is because such work sets forth the concept of “communitas” and “liminality”. This provides a focus on, not the socio-economic but rather the ritual performances of music. Music is seen as a transformative rite, where participants emerge from a musical experience, a venue or locale, assigned a new social identity or status such as punk regardless of class affiliation. Thornton (1995) describes this as a class-free solidarity and a sense of the collective. In binding the collective within a music world, it is important to acknowledge the importance of aesthetics and style.

2.3 Style

Yet despite class forces, one of the most striking aspects of punk is the procedure by which it is done. Punk primarily functioned on the expression of its visual, both collectively and individually. In considering style, Dick Hebdige (1979) has presented an analysis of subculture which focuses on style as its dominating trait. In siding with scholars such as Hall et al (1993) Hebdige maintains that a major facet of subculture remains its resistance to hegemony. In furthering this stance Hebdige argues that “the challenge to hegemony which subcultures represent is not issued directly by them. Rather, it is expressed obliquely, in style” (Hebdige 1979, 17).

Communities would act in what can be described as a tribalised form of expression, with style underpinning a unifying visual indicator. After all, styles exist with conventions,

symbols and distinctive designs which create an aesthetic. Such collective traits have been described by Willis (1978) as significant. This is because such traits inscribe a degree of 'homology' across the practices of a group. An example of this would be the Modculture which spread throughout Great Britain and its distinctive nature from punk. Each culture presents a uniform which speaks and is identifiable to those within a group, excluding those outside. Yet, despite such group behaviors Hebdige also effectively emphasizes the agency of individuals in decision making, stressing that a need exists to place more focus around the idea that a person's style is a "loaded choice" setting forth the example of fashion "directing attention to itself" (Hebdige, 1979, 101).

As stated by Hebdige (1979, 18) subculture often goes against an objects nature, and in altering material culture this challenges social norms as the principle of unity and cohesion, contradicts the "myth of consensus". Appropriation creates a major facet of the network by which such communities can communicate and send messages outside the realm of the hegemonic class and culture. This has been generally viewed as a 'bricolage', a practice in which previously unrelated elements are juxtaposed in a new form, subverting their original meanings through modification, fashion and redefining clothing and symbols.

An example of this can be seen in punk's adoption of the Nazi swastika, which was not used to express a Nazi ideology, but as a means to cause shock and outrage. As argued by Hebdige (1979) the meanings attached to particular commodities are intentionally distorted and personalized. Therefore, by distorting symbols, subcultures provide an opposition to mainstream culture (Figure 10).

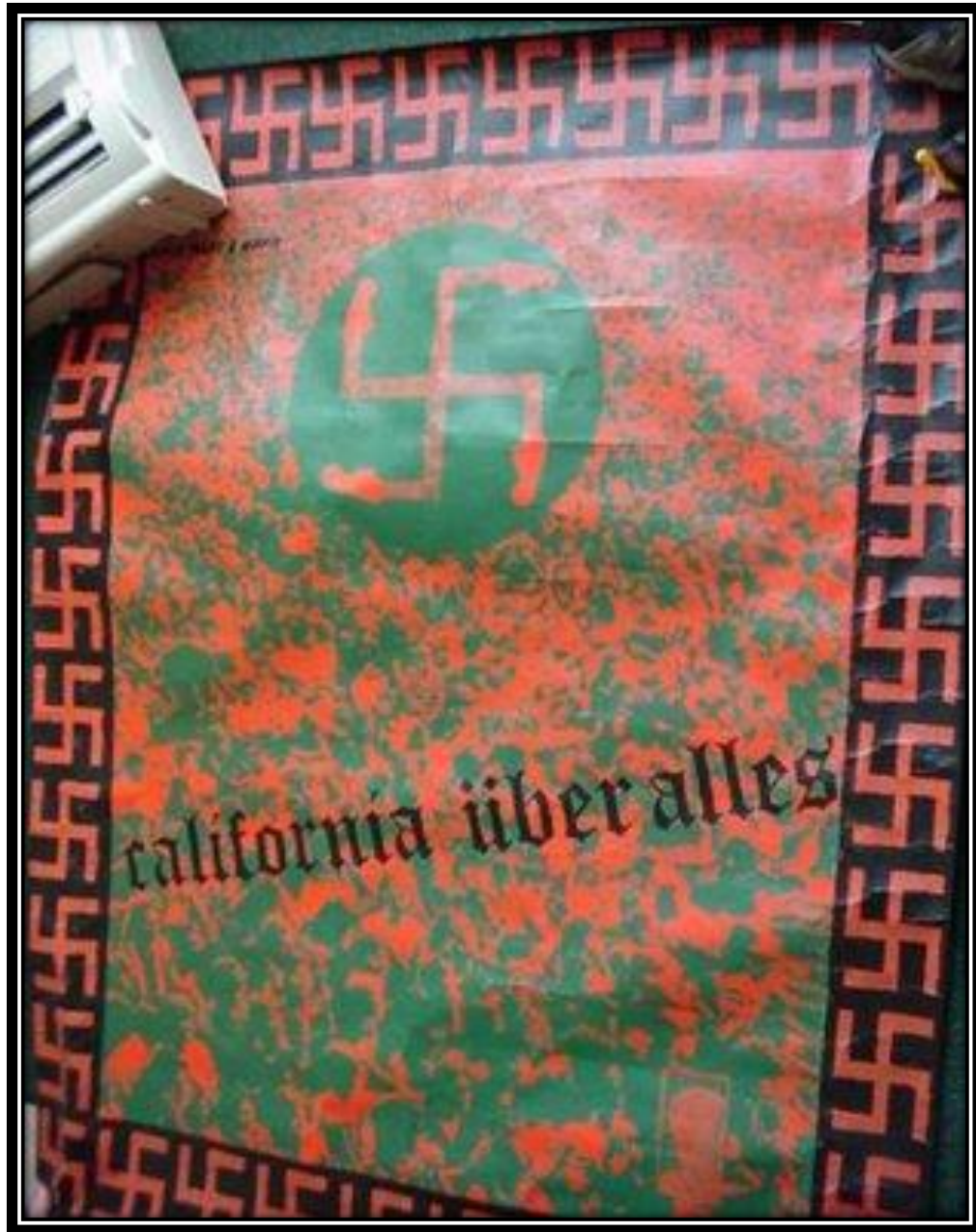


Figure 9: Promotional Poster for Dead Kennedys 1978 California Über Alles single (Image: Punk Rocker, No Date)

Furthermore, posters and artwork would often poke fun at popular culture, current affairs and politics. Material culture is hereby utilized to demonstrate a collectivity, an affiliation and an identity. As argued by Hebdige (1979) the meanings attached to particular commodities are intentionally distorted and personalized. Therefore, by distorting symbols, counterculture provides an opposition to mainstream culture.

2.4 The Punk Ecosystem

It could be argued that a degree of influence upon the propagation of punk is found in that of the environment and geology. The human-nature interface becomes clearer when considered in the context of urban ecosystems, and urban ecology. This is a field of study which has quickly become established within the broader ecological discipline (Grimm et al. 2013). This is because the integration of non-human agents is a theme prevalent within understanding culture and human life-ways.

Within the archaeological field, the work of scholars such as Walsh (2008) highlights post-processual approaches. This seeks to elucidate the complex relationships between culture and nature in the context of the ancient world. It is therefore necessary to go beyond the previously discussed impact of culture and note some important theoretical perspectives with regards to the role of landscape and the environment. Differing landscapes across areas that propagate punk would offer dramatically varying environmental processes and as a consequence would have seen human agents engage with these differently.

An early example is that of Sociologist Robert E Park. Park focused on Chicago ethnographically, building around the idea of social ecology, in other words, seeing a city as a kind of ecosystem, and through this responding in particular to the fortunes, and misfortunes, of particular groups. In Parks case immigrants and their social difference and the problem of cross-cultural contact. Park (1925) viewed the City as a place which is full of 'little worlds', but also as an enabler, an entity which would allow people to move through those worlds and to be transformed as a result. Park discusses these subcultures in amongst the dominant hegemony as a valuable component within the ecology of the cityscape.

"All this tends to give to a city life a superficial and adventitious character; it tends to complicate social relationships and to produce new and divergent individual types. It introduces, at the same time, an element of chance and adventure which adds to the stimulus of city life and gives it, for young and fresh nerves, a peculiar attractiveness" -

Park (1925 40-41)

Such an observation by Park (1925) is important. It is an idea that can be extrapolated upon as one considers the intimately linked themes such as economy, politics, climate and social disparity. It is necessary to stress those themes such as alienation and domination implies the view that cultures become the way they are because they have adapted or reacted to an external environment.

An ecosystem requires a certain set of parameters and balances for certain cultures and environments to exist. Yet, rather than exploring the role of environment the most common narrative about subculture and counterculture remains one that casts such groups as nonconformist and non-normative: different, dissenting, or (to use a term sometimes applied to subcultures by others) 'deviant'. Yet, as described by Tanner et al (2014, 578) the social political and economic structure of urban societies largely determines the way in which humans create the urban environment. Ecological thinking has a strong place in analyzing the dynamics of urban humans. As described by Connell and Gibson (2003, 27) traditional music is embedded within local culture, and inseparable from it: an expression of the ethos of small-scale society. After all; as Becker for has succinctly stated every art-worker 'has to be some place' (2004, 17).

2.5 Conclusion

Historically, some would suggest that punk is defined more by an attitude than by cultural production. Punk centers on music, records, fanzines and an aesthetic. It's a culture which always seeks to define itself against the mainstream and hegemonic elite. Neoliberal policies inspired an intimidating mix of hatred and contempt which fanned the flames of the American and British punk scene for years to come. Despite an apparent nihilism, punk is shown to be a movement which was born out of a particular sociological and political situ (Huxley 1999, 86).

Music and its associated cultures must happen somewhere and at some time. This succinctly sits punk within the remit of the concerns of archaeological and heritage discourse. Punk can be seen through the discourse outlined above as phenomena which

impacts how people use space, collectivize, interact and also seek social identities and status.

Political ideology and the following of a particular scene seep into material culture, style and how objects are used and created. Such behavior can be argued as bringing a degree of inclusiveness and homology across a group as meaning brings cohesiveness to a scene. Ecological thinking can prove to hold a range of potential for looking at punk in place. It could be argued that broader themes and forces interact, mediate and impact upon subculture and counterculture spanning the environmental, political and social.

Although, interpretations must not fall into an environmentally deterministic approach, it is becoming increasingly acknowledged that the role of a geological setting had a wide range of influence upon factors such as economy, connectivity and regional variation, as well as placing notable limitations and boundaries upon the propagation of culture and art. Punk could be seen as existing in balance within the urban and communicative network and such broader forces mediate, influence and shift such cultural phenomena in place.

CHAPTER 3: TO PLACE AND PUNK

Everybody loves us, Everybody loves our town

That's why I'm thinking lately, the time for leaving is now

– Mudhoney, “Overblown”

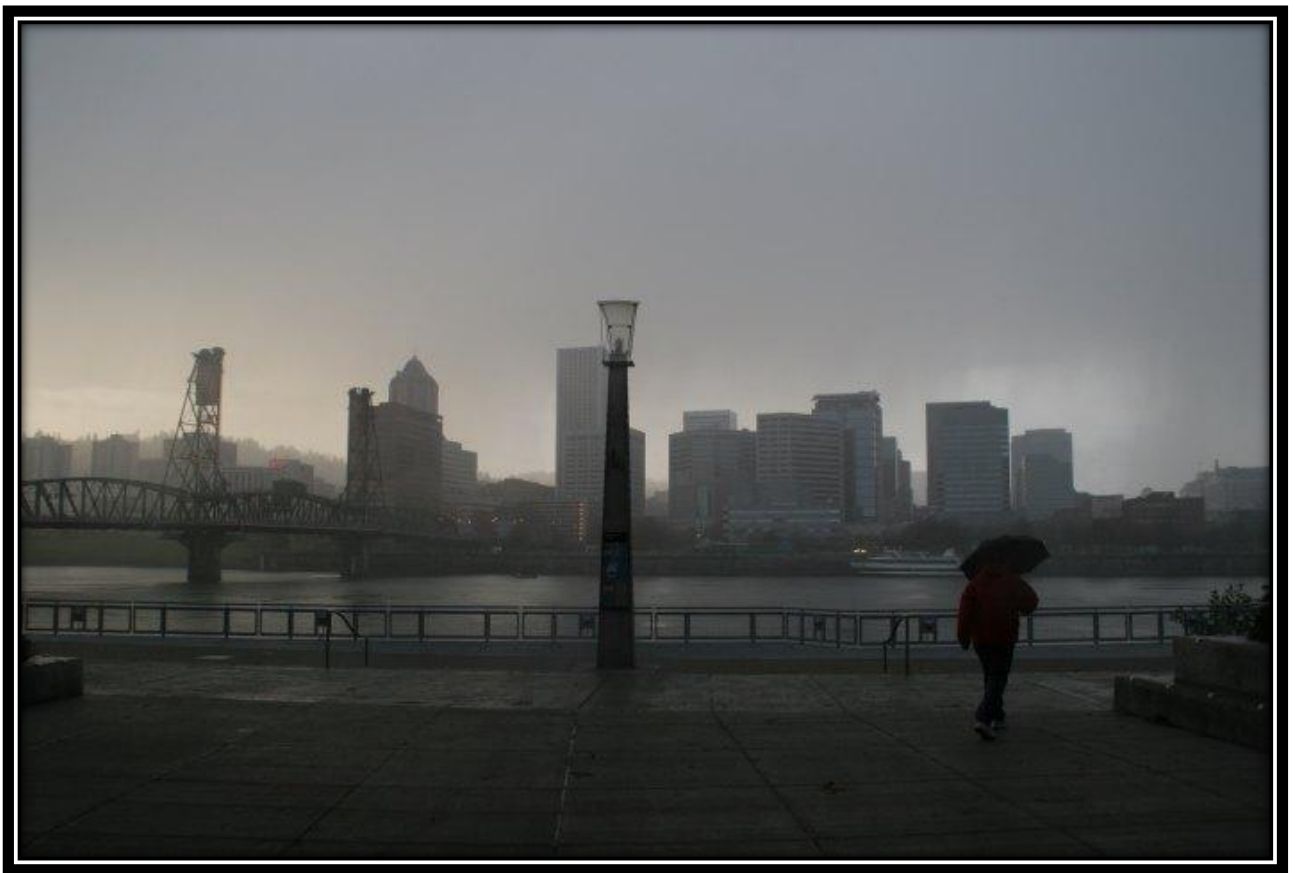


Figure 10: Overcast Portland Oregon (GameUtopia, 2011)

3.1 Introduction

As discussed above, subculture and counterculture present a complex phenomenon. But ultimately, identities are rooted in place. Music is a source of identity which creates, generalizes and articulates identities. This spans from nationalism, class, race to gender and sexuality. Over the years a range of terms, for example 'Motown', the 'Philadelphia Sound' and, more recently, the 'Seattle Sound', have been used as a way of attempting to link musical styles with particular urban spaces (Bennett 2002, 87). But, as stated by Darvill (2014) humans are particularly good at finding ways of giving meaning to the places they occupy.

3.1.1 Defining Place

Place is a word that is familiar. The Oxford dictionary defines it simply as "a particular position, point, or area in space; a location". However, in reaching the academic order of place, it becomes a concept which quickly appears less simplistic. As described by Escobar (2001, 152) due to the degree of multi-methodological study, finding a definition which works for all, has been little achieved. This diversity of study has created varying and sometimes directly conflicting theoretical and methodological traditions.

A place, as defined by Becker (2004, 20), can be as large as a city, or as small as a night club. But, beyond this simplicity as Cosgrove (1985) has described, over the past two decades the social sciences have witnessed a shift towards more culturally and geographically nuanced work, taking approaches sensitive to the differences and specificity of events within locales.

In shifting specifically to the archaeological school of thought, place is an entity which is significantly developed through the processual school of thought. This is because place grew as a prominent part of such studies such as Lewis Binford (1978, 1981). Binford endeavored to target settlement systems and their ability to inform on "archaeology of place", one which was reduced largely to relationships between settlement (places where people lived and undertook economic activity) and subsistence. As Binford (1982, 6) notes

himself, “in undertaking archaeology of place: I am interested in sites, the fixed places in the topography where men [sic] may periodically pause and carry out actions”.

3.1.2 A Sense of Place

What is stressed here, is that place is influenced hugely by landscape archaeology, and landscapes, coupled with ideas of place are meaningfully constituted physical and social environments. Meaningful attributes are consequently inscribed upon a landscape through a person's experience. It could be argued that to fully assess place, not only the material and natural landscape is key but rather the internal aspects of a person in place.

A sense of place introduces both descriptive and emotional aspects in an environment. In other words, ideas of place are both psychological as well as physical. As described by Steele (1981) a sense of place is the experience of all the things which people induce to places. Therefore, it could be said that the factors which create a sense of place, are divided into two categories: cognitive and perceptual factors; physical characteristics (Hashemnezhad et al 2013). As stressed by Casey (1996, 18) ultimately to live is to live locally, and to know is first of all the places a person is in. This point is elaborated upon by Massey, (2012) in that through being in place, it is only possible to perceive place. Place, is therefore argued to be a subjective perception of people about the environment they inhabit and conscious feeling about places (Giuliani 2003).

3.1.3 Place in Geography

As described by Connell and Gibson (2003, 3) while literature and film and art have been graced by an abundance of work from a cultural geographical perspective, popular culture, and particularly music, has remained enigmatic territory. Attention has emerged at the intersection of music and geography since the 1990s (Carney 1997). Geographers have long distinguished between space and place, emphasizing themes which bind people to a place. This can be exemplified as place is viewed as more than a physical location or container in which events unfold. Rather, place could be thought of as a dynamic process invested with integrated physical, social, emotional, and symbolic aspects which interact at a range of different scales (Massey, 1991, 1999).

As Rhodes (2013) explains music and geography specifically have a shorter, but unique specific historiography. Music, of course has been diversely studied for a long time spanning lyrics, genres, styles, structure, performers, composers, events, media, instrumentation and industry. Rhodes (2013) however, provides a useful description of how the diverse geography of music has taken different paths through cultural geography.

What Rhodes (2013) demonstrates is not only the diversity of music but the intimacy and complex connection which exists between music and place. However, as outlined above, heritage is concerned with people, identity and community. To fully understand the binding between people to place, it is important to take into consideration that place is also about the daily life-ways of people in time and place. This can be shown in the interests of broader disciplines in place and people and the values place holds.

3.2 Place Attachment

The psychological field has explored people's attachment to place. The processes in which individuals develop bonds with their environment have taken a long time to emerge in environmental psychology, yet a correlation between attachment and satisfaction has often been made. This largely rests on the premise that people find the environment meets their required needs. This can be highlighted in a program of studies such as Stokols and Shumaker (1981). A framework in understanding "place dependency" is set forth.

Attachment is therefore seen as a positive affective bond; in other words deep associations between individuals and a residential neighborhood. Seamon, (1993) argues that this is a process which sees place become an important entity to a person and acts as a catalyst in creating place attachments through positive experiences in place.

Despite this, as Giuliani (2003) describes, a lack of studies into humans and their affective bonds to the environment is not due to a lacking awareness. But rather a large range of terminology which is used to refer to any evident affective bonds to places. Terms such as rootedness, sense of place, investment, and identity do not indicate diversity of concepts and reference models but merely represent a lack of clarity in the identification of the phenomenon. Furthermore, Giuliani (2003) has also highlighted that a great deal of

attachment theory presents a major gap in that much of this work has focused on infancy and early childhood, consequently leaving a degree of scope for pursuing an understanding in the musical sphere.

3.2.1 Music and Place

Attachment to place lends itself to exploring social value. Social value can be defined as the collective attachment to a place that embodies meanings and values of which are important to a community or communities (Jones and Leech 2015). Attachment and social value is concerned with the satisfaction a person finds through a place. However, this is expressed not only in terms of satisfaction, but rather concerning interpersonal relations, family life, employment, health and financial standing as a person relates to different aspects of the physical environment (Moser 2009).

Yet, satisfaction remains a largely influential factor within psychological discourse. Studies such as Rollero and Piccoli (2010) have put forward the case that place attachment is fundamentally connected to social well-being for example. Such a factor is epitomized by English Heritage in that collective experiences and memories provide reference points to a sense of time and place (English Heritage 2008, 32) and consequently it is understandable that the material world and environment as well as the heritage it invokes can therefore be viewed as a major component within a person's well-being.

Yet, a person sourcing satisfaction in place cannot be viewed as definitive in propagating an attachment. Integral to Scholars such as Keyes (1998) is the idea that social well-being is actually defined as an individual's perception of the quality of their relationships with other people, their neighborhoods, and their communities. Albanesi (et al, 2007 for example has conducted research on samples of adolescents which has identified that a link to place would often 'operationalize a sense of community', and thus act as a predictor of social well-being. It could therefore be said that the notion of belonging to a community and a scene underpins much of the music community's behavior.

3.3 Concluding Place

Ultimately, a notion of place has an ability to hold influence over the human experience. Place comprises of positions and points which are significant to people and culture. This Place has become a primary concern of a diverse array of discourse, going from places where people simply seek subsistence to a complex, nuanced psychological and geographic facet of the human existence.

People who are associated with or identify with a particular place can develop attachments. This is because places hold meaning for the people who use it. The fabric of a person's surroundings is deeply entangled in such attachments, from the signals and signs which are omitted by a culture and through this it's relationship to the material world. Places provide well-being, familiarity and provide keystones within a functioning culture, a catalyst for interaction, the dissemination of ideas, sound and style.

It is necessary to cite the sentiments of Darvill (2014, 463) in that music stimulates creativity, enhances the sense of well-being, brings people together and provides a release for deep-seated emotions. Ultimately, place contrives of people, place, materiality and landscape. People ascribe memories to these places both tangible and intangible. Through this, places hold a great deal of meaning.

Chapter 4: Grunge



Figure 11: Green River, live at the Seattle Ditto Tavern. Note future Seattle Producer Jack Endino reaching out to Mark Arm as he climbs on to the monitor (Image: Charles Peterson, 1985)

"Grunge was just this thing that happened, whereas there's all this other history that preceded it that's equally as interesting, it just didn't get any airplay or whatever."

Kim Warnick - Fastbacks (MoPop Archive, 2009)

4.1 Introduction

It has been demonstrated that a nuanced intellectual framework exists to address counterculture and place, drawing on an array of disciplines. This is a theoretical perspective which is applicable in investigating anywhere deemed subject to the propagation of a punk scene and an associated heritage. However, to fully comprehend this, it is important to address the current state of understanding with regards to grunge and the Pacific North West. Secondly, this brief historiography is of importance in offering an overview of chronological development, genre definition and authenticity. The route to world popularity is not long, but is complex. This thesis does not have the capacity to offer a full and thorough critique on the historiography of grunge, nor does it intend to. Indeed; musicologists, journalists, authors and fans alike provide much discussion and interpretation.

4.2 An Emerging Scene

An early origin in the Pacific North West scene can be identified in artists such as The Heats (formerly the Heaters) in the mid 1970s. The Heats incorporated a melodic song structure described as "Beatlesque" a trait which can also be identified in their long established Tacoma contemporaries The Sonics. A scene was burgeoning and gradually with the introduction of artists such as punk acts The Lewd and Neo Boys in the late 1970s this would.

The release of The Rocket fanzine and the emergence of Seattle bands Fastbacks and The Blackouts recognizable names were establishing within the region. The urban scene would harbor a gravitational pull from smaller rural towns to young woman and men who were looking for collectivism and a means to express themselves. Artists such as musicians Mark Arm and Steve Turner played at the Metropolis Club in Seattle regularly as members of Mr. Epp and the Calculations. This was a band formed in 1978, named after a math teacher at the Bellevue (a city in the Eastside region of King County, Washington) Christian High School which they both attended.

The band Mr. Epp and the Calculations were described by Mark Arm himself under his real name Mark McLaughlin in a letter to Desperate Times (second issue) Zine: "I hate Mr. Epp! Pure Grunge, Pure Noise! Pure Shit!". This reference to the term 'grunge' is notably one of the first times the word is documented in a musical context. It's a label which derives from "grungy", a slang word first heard in the 1960s, meaning filthy or dirty.

Sub Pop used the word in 1988 to promote a Green River album – "gritty vocals, roaring Marshall Amps, ultra-loose grunge that destroyed the morals of a generation". But the word had occasionally appeared as a description for decades. It shows up in 1957, on the back sleeve to a Johnny Burnette rockabilly album. Lester Bangs was using it in April 1972 (True, 2011). Notably, When Mark Arm referred to "the streets of Seattle being paved with grunge" in Everett True's Melody Maker magazine cover story, he was using the term disparagingly as though grunge is the opposite of gold, worthless (True, 2011).

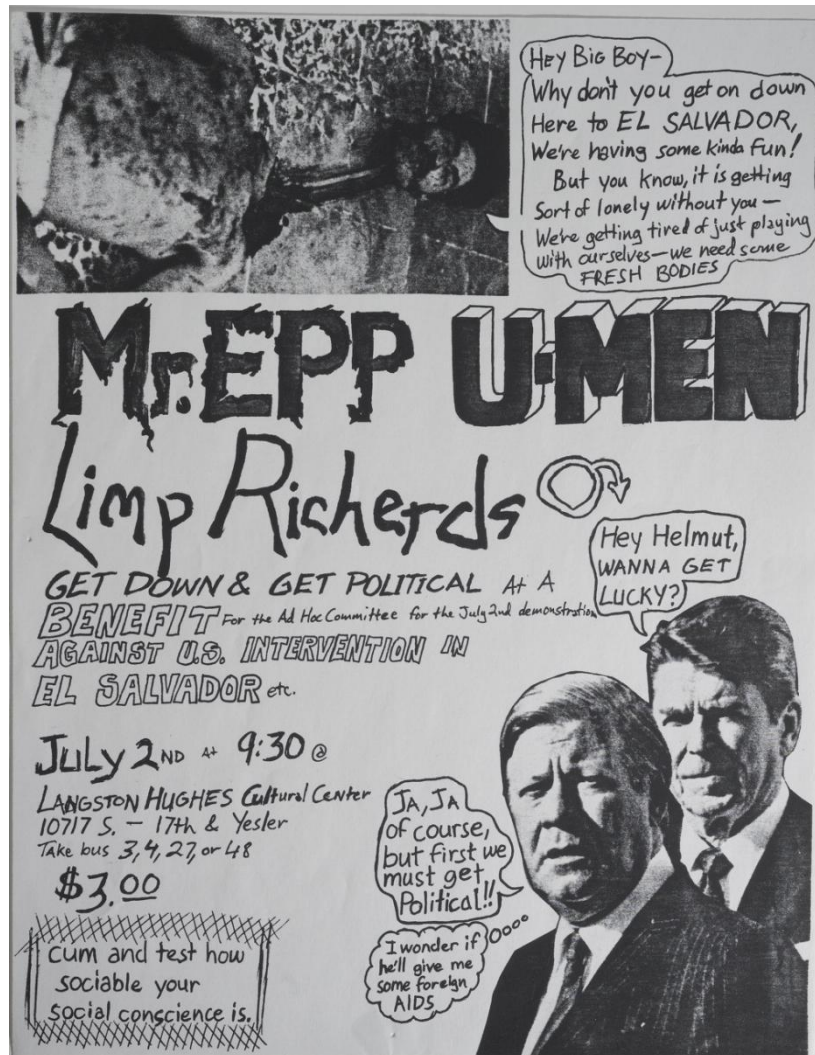


Figure 12: Mr. Epp and U-Men (MoPop Archive, 2016)

Stylistic conventions are integral to the grunge scene. A distinctive sound propagated and the scene became further distinctive as metal and punk blended. Band members merged throughout projects within the network. This is most notably highlighted in the Deep Six compilation album. Released on C/Z Records in March of 1986, the compilation featured Green River and a number of early recordings from Seattle based bands. As well as Green River the album included Skin Yard featuring Jack Endino who would later become a prominent producer within the grunge scene. The compilation also included The U-Men, Melvins and Soundgarden. The album would also include Malfunkshun, a band formed by Andrew Wood in 1980 with his brother Kevin and also Regan Hagar. Despite taking over three years to sell 2,000 original copy presses (Azerrad, 2001, 419) it is now often cited as

one of the two earliest records to showcase the sound that would later gain worldwide popularity as grunge, the other being Green River's debut EP 'Come on Down'.



Figure 13: Deep Six LP Record and Cover (Image: PopSike No Date)

7 INCH SNAKE PRESENTS:

DEEP SIX

THE RECORD RELEASE PARTY

21 MARCH 22

FRI.

GREEN RIVER
SOUNDGARDEN
THE MELVINS

SAT.

U-MEN
SKIN YARD
MALFUNKSHUN

\$5 EACH NIGHT

18 AND OVER
I.D. REQUIRED

UCT HALL 5th & ALOHA

Figure 14: Deep Six Launch Party Poster. March 1986 (MoPop Archive, 2016)

SUB POP

A GUIDE TO U.S. INDEPENDENTS By Bruce Pavitt

GREEN RIVER



SOUND GARDEN

DEEP SIX LP.

You got it. It's slow SLOW and heavy HEAVY and it's THE predominant sound of underground Seattle in '86. Green River, Sound Garden, The Melvins, Malfunkshun and even Skin Yard prove that you don't have to live in the suburbs and have a low I.Q. to do some SERIOUS head-banging. As an extra bonus you also get one cut by local sex gods the U-Men. They is one of their mega-hits but sounds quirky and out of context (a fat slab from skull thumpers My Eye would've made more sense). But enough slack. THIS RECORD ROCKS.

Pick hits:
1 GREEN RIVER 10,000 Things
2 MALFUNKSHUN With Yo' Heart (Not Yo' Hand)
3 SOUND GARDEN Tears To Forget.

BUY THIS RECORD. OR MOVE.
(C/Z Records, 1407 E. Madison, Seattle, WA 98122)

O.K. Skip the introductions. You wanna ROCK OUT?! You wanna blow your gourd? Well, so do I, man. That's why whenever I get up in the morning, I put on MADE TO BE BROKEN, by Soul Asylum. Intense post-thrash pop from Minneapolis that's gonna shrink-wrap the egos of Husker Du and The Replacements. You want it. (Twin Tone, 445 Oliver Ave. S., Mnpls, MN 55405.)

If sex is the essence of pop culture, then Henry Rollins must be the most popular guy on the block. SLIP IT IN from the new live Black Flag LP Who's Got The 10 1/4? shows Rollins and Black Flag in their purest form, proving themselves to be America's most physical live act. Recorded at the Starry Night in Portland, this record documents the power of Black Flag more than ANY studio LP. Fucking awesome. (SST, P.O.

one wonders why this man does not rule the world. Beyond genius. (Life In Hell, P.O. Box 36E64, Los Angeles, CA 90036.)

WORK IS HELL!

PLACE A 1" X 1" IN EACH APPROPRIATE BOX. USE YOUR OWN PENCIL. PLEASE DO NOT CRUMPLE THIS CHECKLIST. IT IS ONLY A CARTOON!

BAD JOB CHECKLIST

WORK WITH DANGEROUS, NOXIOUS CHEMICALS

WORK WITH DANGEROUS, NOXIOUS CO-WORKERS

LAUGHABLY UNREALISTIC DEADLINES

WORK IS PILED ON UNTIL YOUR HEAD EXPLODES

We won't play nature to your culture by Barbara Kruger (book). Barbara Kruger manipulates the language of advertising to create art that functions as propaganda. Barbara Kruger is God. 1) Advertising is art. 2) Art is propaganda. 3) Propaganda is advertising. A=B=C. Buy the book and pretend the pages are billboards. (Available from Art in Form bookstore, 2237 2nd Ave., Seattle, WA 98121.)

The Right Side of My Brain VIDEO. A 30-minute erotic nightmare starring Lydia Lunch. Co-starring Henry Rollins and Jim Foetus. If you want to sell art, distribute it as pornography. (\$22.50 to R. Kern, P.O. Box 1322, NYC, 10009.)

SONIC YOUTH. America's top noise/guitar band has a new 12" single out featuring an extremely sensual HALLOWEEN plus another

sings and seduces both sides. (Homestead, P.O. Box 570, Rockville Centre, NY 11571-0570.)

Before you think about buying food for the week, I'd suggest you track down TERMINAL TOWER by Pere Ubu. This collection of previously out-of-print Hearthan singles (plus a few surprises) shows this legendary Cleveland experiment at their most inspired. 'Insanity never felt so good.' (Twin Tone, 445 Oliver Ave. S., Mnpls, MN 55405.)

Ex-Pere Ubu lead singer David Thomas will perform with his band The Wooden Birds (which includes Ubu alumni Allen Ravenstine and Jerry Womstone) in Seattle on April 5th at 1516 2nd Ave. at 8pm.

Because bands from the U.K. receive so much international press, I've made it a policy not to review imports. Which

Figure 15: Deep Six Advert in Sub-Pop Fanzine. March 1986 (Pavitt 2014, 313)

Portland Oregon bands such as the Wipers present an early example of this distinctive sound, as do The Obituaries who are cited by Willamette Weekly as "the missing link between the Wipers and grunge (Simms, 2007). Shortly after the Deep Six release, Green River, Malfunkshun, The Melvins, and Soundgarden would play the local clubs frequently, and with some stylistic features in common, a mutual admiration society formed (Azerrad 2001, 419). Following the demise of Green River in late 1987, Gossard, Ament and Fairweather formed the short-lived covers band Lords of the Wasteland with Malfunkshun front man Andrew Wood. Mark Arm and Steve Turner would later form Mudhoney. Andrew Wood became most well known for his time as the front man of Mother Love Bone prior to dying of a heroin overdose in March of 1990. Band mates Stone Gossard and Jeff Ament, would go on to form one of the most prominent names in grunge, Pearl Jam.

4.3 Taking the Underground Mainstream

In 1988, the new Seattle record label Sub Pop (Subterranean Pop) released a three-boxed set called "Sub Pop 200." It was a compilation of bands including Nirvana, Soundgarden and Mudhoney, accompanied with a twenty page booklet showcasing pictures by photographer Charles Peterson. Despite Sub Pops prominent presence, a significant milestone in the development of grunge can be identified in the emergence of acts such as The Replacements who formed in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Further to this the release of The Pixies second album Doolittle in 1989. The Pixies are a band which, of course; also does not find their origins in the Pacific North West forming in 1986 in Boston Massachusetts. The bands album Surfa Rosa of March 1988 on British Indie Label 4AD took the underground style and presented what would become an era defining sound.

The bands second album Doolittle had major implications for the grunge movement. This is because, despite retaining the alternative style and sound which garnered a keen following, The Pixies and producer Gil Norton developed and presented a recording which had a noticeable definition in instrumentation and a balder, more perfected and controlled presentation. Yet despite such progression the band effectively retained the appeal which had harnessed them a strong following previously.



Figure 16: The Sub-Pop offices original desk (Image: MoPop Archive, 2016)

With the release of Doolittle, underground artists were now aware of what could be achievable with a more generous budget and resources at their disposal. With the release of an album like Doolittle, a successful model was presented which demonstrated a route and method in which underground bands could find a viable pathway to major success. Nirvana, Pearl Jam and Soundgarden released radio friendly singles. It can be argued that it is no coincidence that the release of Doolittle in 1989 sits comfortably before the grunge emergence into world popularity. Indeed: Kurt Cobain himself cited The Pixies as the band which himself and Nirvana looked to for inspiration in how they would present both the recording of Nevermind and their live sound.

"If it wasn't for those other indie bands - if it wasn't for the other indie bands in the '80s, Sonic Youth and the Replacements and the Pixies and everybody else, Nirvana might not have gotten their major label record deal. The second Nirvana record would probably have come out on Sub Pop, and it probably would have done okay, but it wouldn't have sold,

you know, 10 million copies. You know? Because it wouldn't have been promoted the same way". Jack Endino (Producer - MoPop Archive, 2009)

M E A N F I D D L E R P R E S E N T S

READING '92

AUGUST BANK HOLIDAY WEEKEND

FRI 28TH AUGUST <small>FROM 2PM</small>	SAT 29TH AUGUST <small>FROM MIDDAY</small>	SUN 30TH AUGUST <small>FROM MIDDAY</small>
<p style="text-align: center;">THE WONDERSTUFF</p> <p>THE CHARLATANS PUBLIC IMAGE LIMITED PJ HARVEY MEGA CITY FOUR THE MILLTOWN BROTHERS FATIMA MANSIONS REDD KROSS</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">PUBLIC ENEMY</p> <p style="text-align: center;">RIDE</p> <p>MANIC STREET PREACHERS THE FARM SMASHING PUMPKINS ROLLINS BAND THOUSAND YARD STARE BUFFALO TOM THERAPY?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NIRVANA</p> <p>NICK CAVE MUDHONEY TEENAGE FANCLUB L7 PAVEMENT SCREAMING TREES THE MELVINS</p>
SESSION TENT		
<p>LEVITATION CARDIACS CRACKER LUNACHICKS THE GOD MACHINE COP SHOOT COP LEATHERFACE SOME HAVE FINS</p>	<p>BAD II SUEDE SUNSCREEM SULTANS OF PING FC THE HEARTHROBS FINITRIBE SHONEN KNIFE SPIT FIRE</p>	<p>ROCKINGBIRDS ROLLING REVUE CATHERINE WHEEL EAT DR PHIBES AND THE HOUSE OF WAX EQUATIONS REVOLVER SCORPIO RISING</p>

Figure 17: The closing day of Reading rock festival in 1992 was dedicated to the "Seattle Sound". The lineup was headlined by Nirvana (Image: Reading Festival Poster 1992)

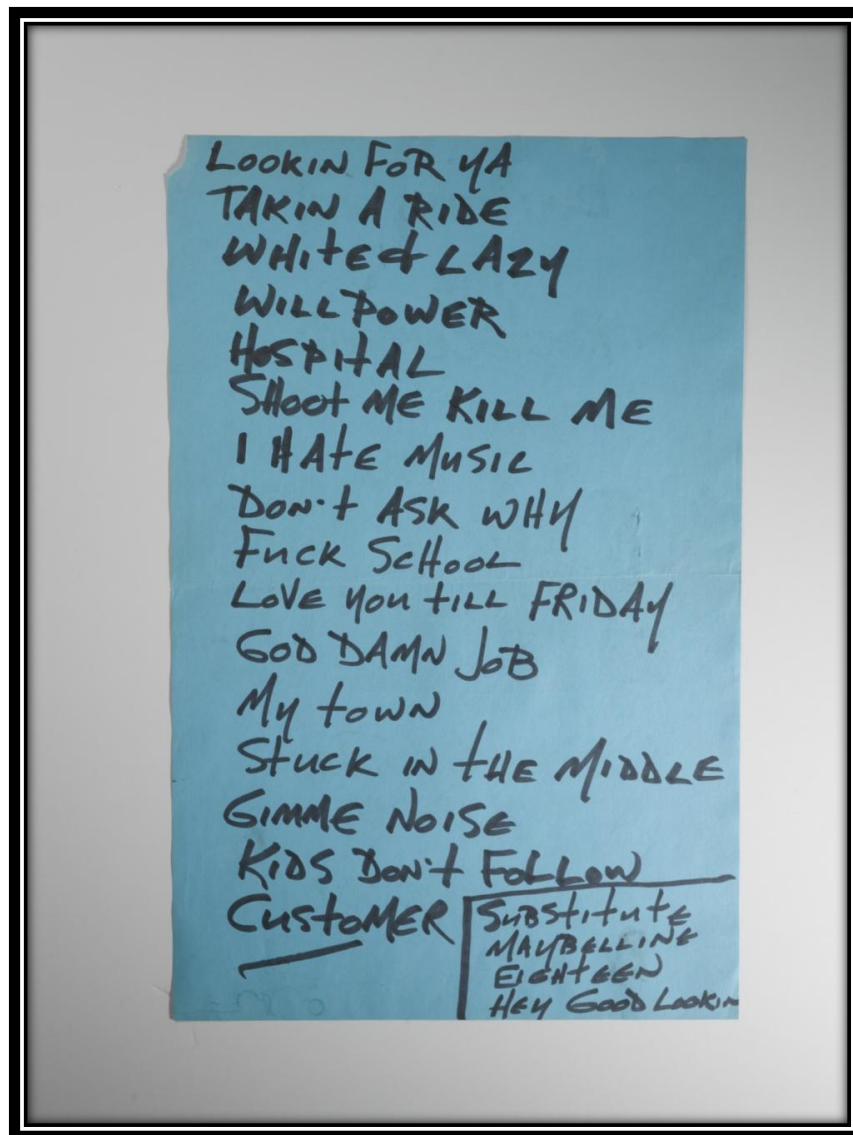


Figure 18: Handwritten Replacements set-list from Merlyn's, Madison, WI October 29-30, 1982 (Image: MoPop Archive)

In discussing the 1990s it is important to note how many of the bands beyond the Pacific North West, elsewhere in the United States were growing in popularity. This was a popularity which would form vacuums in the previously dominant stadium rock. This vacuum would become filled by artists such as Tool, The Red Hot Chili Peppers and Metallica to name but a few, as shifts in popular culture and the Medias awareness of new forms of alternative music progressed. Consequently, record labels were now sourcing their acts from previously untapped regions.

"The Northwest in general was getting a lot of attention; musical attention. All of a sudden we were seeing people we knew in every magazine across the country. All of a sudden your name might be in a magazine in England or wherever. And it was kind of exciting in a way, but it also felt threatening. It felt like someone was sort of trying to come in on a scene, a community... and take something. I don't know, I think because none of us ever expected that the media would have anything to do with what we were doing. No one ever thought about it. And maybe there was jealousies involved with whose band got featured in what magazine or something, or why they talk about you but not us, or something. It just seemed strange. Even with Nirvana it was strange, like all of a sudden they're huge and it's just like, what's going on?" (Allison Wolfe - Bratmobile, MoPop 1999)

4.4 Grunge and Activism

Grunge would not shy away from tackling social issues. From an artistic perspective it was a socially conscious, active and engaged scene. Feminism, LGBT rights, rape, drug abuse to name but a few - all would become prominent themes in lyrics, venues, art and social networks. In discussing the politics of grunge Shevory (1995) has identified gender politics as one of the four main political themes of the movement coupled with what is defined as generational conflict, independent approach to recording, and style.

Despite this, such activism was viewed with right wing contempt. Magazines, television and even Boston Sociologists such as Jack Lerin and Phillip Lamy (1984) suggesting it was nothing more than a passing fad which will result in an eventual conformity to the middle classes. As Masco (2015, 7) recalls "we knew something about the great radical history of Washington State, we'd heard about the Wobblies (Workers of the World) and the Suffragettes. We were pro-Worker even if we didn't have jobs and considered ourselves feminists. We believed in Civil rights, even if we really didn't know many people of color; they'd be welcome, if we could find some". Such alienation and little inspiration from the broader pop-culture could be argued as allowing the Punk scene of the Pacific North West to propagate with little contamination.

4.5 The Woman of Punk

“Grunge supported, and was supported by, an alternative culture that has begun to substantially change the position of women in white rock music” (Shevory 1995, 43).

In appraising the demographics represented within the oral history archive and authors own interviews a notable aspect of the interviewees is the lack of female representation. As described by Strong (2011, 398) an unusual feature of the grunge scene was the relatively high proportion of female artists and participants. The refocusing of artistic content can be highlighted in studies demonstrating that there was a massive decline in sexist lyrics and a reemphasis on lyrical content focusing on social justice issues (Marin, 1992). Topics such as addiction, suicide and self harm, environmental issues, depression and alienation are just some examples of what were commonly addressed within the grunge scene in the 1990s (Strong, 2011).

Shevory (1995) notes that “grunge supported, and was supported by, an alternative culture that has begun to substantially change the position of women in white rock music” (Shevory 1995, 43). This, combined with explicit anti-sexism stances taken by prominent male grunge musicians and a close connection to the feminist Riot Grrrl movement, demonstrates an activist stance which serves to position the genre as a more gender-neutral scene than many others within alternative music.

A number of female bands emerged who were associated with the grunge scene, particularly L7, Hole, Dickless, Babes in Toyland, STP groups all became established groups. Bands such as Obituaries and The Gits (Figure 20), amongst others were groups who emerged with female front woman. Many alternative clubs and venues would host poetry, burlesque and a range of arts which attracted strong gender-neutral participation. Therefore, at the time of its greatest popularity, grunge presented a message of gender equality and presented a higher proportion of women participating as creative artists than had been apparent in recent rock history particularly in comparison to the mainstream pop culture.



Figure 19: Mia Zapata of The Gits (Image from Seattle Times)

Riot Grrrl was a women's activist group who centered on the music scene of the Pacific North West. The movement produced its own material culture including fanzines and recorded music, and hosted gigs for female musicians and fans. It is worth once again reemphasizing the Pacific North West position as a remote music world, limited in connection to what emerged elsewhere. Riot Grrrl is a movement which has been subject to a great deal of academic attention. Such research can be attributed to the more explicitly political feminist standpoint of the movement. Gottlieb and Wald (1994) provide a scholarly overview of the movement's origins and objectives drawing on a range of feminist and subcultural theory. But most concisely the Riot Grrrl movement encouraged participants to organize and challenge the treatment and experiences due to gender.

"In a lot of ways it just felt like kind of group feeling, like this whole kind of...community was emerging. I guess a lot of us had just similar feelings at the same time and were working together, talking about sexism mostly, and just being creative artistically as women or girls". (Allison Wolfe - Bratmobile, MoPop Archive 1999)

"I don't know if I would of fallen into been a Riot Grrrl. Because I liked the inclusion of mixed company, in bands and on bills. There was a diversity on bills before the Riot Grrrl thing happened. Remember, when you grow up? It was girl's verses boys on the playground, girls play with girls and boys with boys. Well, when I was 12 and 13 I was always like, I want to be in a band because I want to be in a gang with boys, boys and girls. So, I don't think I'd of fallen into the Riot Grrrl thing. But, as an older woman I'm very conscious of that sort of thing, I have a different perspective. [On tour] It was a boys club; especially in the Metal and Hardcore scene. There were not that many girls". Monica Nelson, The Obituaries (2016, Authors Own)

Many female musicians from the grunge period and the challenges they posed to gender stereotypes (along with male musicians of grunge who were also committed to gender equality) have been either forgotten or relabeled as "Riot Grrrls." This relabeling has become the concern of many such as Strong (2011), who argues that it allows the threat being posed to patriarchal relations and the female contribution to grunge to be compartmentalized and contained, while the "grunge" label is reinscribed as a form of "masculine" rock.

Power balances within music have received a great deal of attention in recent scholarly work. As highlighted by Crossley (2015, 37) power impacts upon access to resources and support and consequently contributing to the marginalization. A significant example of such imbalances in gender relations is shown in the work of Sara Cohen (1997) who identified the exclusion of woman from informal networks as a major obstacle to participation in Liverpool's indie music world.

It could be said that woman are marginalized within the informal networks of local music worlds (Cohen 1997). Men are heavily involved in the networks and benefit hugely from and are enabled to become musicians because of it. This is partly because resources such as information, instruments and technical knowhow flow through the networks, giving network members access to them (Crossley 2015, 38). The network is a resource in its own right. This is because it provides a source of social capital (Coleman 1990).

4.6 Authenticating Grunge

In considering the heritage of grunge, it is important to understand authenticity. As described by Connell and Gibson (2003) music, tradition and authenticity are all deeply linked. As discussed in introducing this research, Punk is difficult to define with certainty. It could be argued that grunge was devised as it was embraced, by participants through a range of economic and commercial interests.

What unites many artists within a single genre is the fact that the same people liked them, bought their records and attended their gigs. Di Maggio (1987, 2011) set forth four typified basic processes in which styles of music and schools are generally defined...

Administrative classification. This is classification by agencies of the state, national or local. States may wish to classify art for the purposes of funding or censorship and their criteria will reflect these interests.

Commercial classification. In the case of popular music this is classification by record labels, shops or journals. It is motivated by their desire to sell records or magazines and, in the case of journalists, establish reputations. A music journalist who 'discovers' a new genre will make their name and this creates an incentive for them to seek out clusters of artists who they can present and label as such. Likewise record labels and companies may revive flagging markets by relabeling tired genres or 'discovering' new ones.

Professional classification. Artists too may seek to give a name to what they are doing, sometimes for similar commercial reasons to those above, sometimes in an effort to capture what they believe is distinctive about their work and other times either to associate or disassociate themselves with / from other artists.

Ritual classification. This involves audiences. They may explicitly label new musical forms but also, less explicitly, classify artists and works through structure of their preferences. Artists are grouped together because they share an audience.

"The word grunge I always felt could only be applied to a couple of bands that weren't even from Seattle! The Fluid, in my opinion, always was the purest band that would fit the description "grunge." There was another band that didn't get as much attention in Seattle called Blood Circus - they were more a true grunge band. Mudhoney were always more, what I would categorize, a garage rocky band. Nirvana, even from the first single, was almost more of a pop band. Alice in Chains was always more of a metal band. And Soundgarden was always more of hard rock band. None of those bands truly fit grunge".

Charles Cross, (Kurt Cobain Biographer and Journalist" - MoPop Archive 2009)

In hearing the word grunge, it is understandable that people will often revert back to the 1991 release by Nirvana - Nevermind. This is understandable given the cultural impact the record would have. Music conjures up representations of place, identity and culture, but the economic is evident in how companies create images of products, brand names and concepts, and in reaction to the economics of music in musical texts themselves (Connell and Gibson 2003, 9). Essentialist perspectives construct authenticity in relation to concepts such as 'spontaneity' within the live setting, grassroots and 'of the people', in opposition to their antithesis: 'manipulation', 'standardisation', 'mass' and 'commercial', yet no genre of music could 'walk on to the historical stage in an uncontaminated form' (Middleton 1990, 6).



Figure 20: Seattle Skyline from Kerry Park. (Authors Own 2016)

It has been suggested by some that the history of grunge was as much constructed as it was organic. As Douglas Bapi (2014) argues “you only know in your mind what grunge was thanks to what they said it was 25 years ago: long haired dudes from Seattle with a week worth of stubble playing punk-inflicted, hard rock dirges”. The D.I.Y ethic which underpinned much of the punk ethos would, as Mason (2008) describes give birth to many new punk businesses. Jonathon Poneman and Bruce Pavitt formed Sub-Pop; the label which introduced grunge to the world. The duo would be cited by many as pulling off a major marketing coup, finding great success which fed on an organic, emerging underground scene which existed in the Pacific North West at that time.



Figure 21: Bruce Pavitt and Kim Warnick, at the Seattle Crocodile Cafe, 1993 (Image: Charles Peterson, 1993)

Notions of authenticity derive from how music is valued, and the shifts in value that occur as music is perceived to have been disembedded from its social and cultural origins. In more abstract terms, this involves the relationship between music use and the exchange in values that can occur as sounds are commodified. At the heart of the social relations of the process of commodification is a distancing of producers of goods from audiences. The Seattle based Sub-Pop Records played a pivotal role in aiding young musicians to develop their sound and find exposure and success. However, those marketed within this genre were not always the product of the city of Seattle. Some rarely even had the origins of which they claimed and were marketed under. Tad Doyle who was classically trained musician from Idaho painted by Sub-Pop as a “chainsaw toting, dope smoking, redneck who didn’t wash, he even became an ex-butcher in some interviews”.

“Well, I guess if you can say that TAD was being honest by acting like a lumberjack. I mean, in TAD one guy was studying poetry at the University of Washington. Tad was super smart erudite guy, who had studied music in Idaho. These weren’t like bum fucks from the woods

who were out to rape your daughter or chop your parents up with chainsaws or anything like that." Mark Arm (Green River, Mudhoney, Mr. Epp and the Calculations - MoPop Archive, 2009).

Authenticity in this term demonstrates the more fluid aspects of culture. It is impossible to measure authenticity against any given scientific criteria. Connell and Gibson (2003, 28) describe how discussions of musical authenticity imply a different use of the term, constituting interpretations of the validity of music from particular contexts and in certain modes of consumption. What is 'authentic' is socially constructed in various ways. This process is not only metaphorical - it is geographical in a material sense- distancing the factory from home, productive activities from social activities (Connell and Gibson, 2003 28).

"It was really interesting opening that exhibit because I got around a dozen emails and pissed off phone calls saying "you're a fucking idiot, you don't know what you are talking about, Nirvana was a grunge band". What were really interesting were people who had gotten into grunge post-91! So, for them, the identity of that music really is grunge. I mean, if you ask any of those bands, the big grunge bands if they'd of called themselves grunge bands, none of them would. 'Kim Thayil (Soundgarden) would say, 'we were just playing weird, heavy rock'. For me, it was really interesting and I really kind of liked it. It stirred this conversation that there isn't one truth."

Jacob McMurray (Head curator of MoPop, Authors Own, 2016)

It could be said that the word has provided an over-simplification, a minimization of what was actually an expansive and diverse punk. Furthermore, the word has risked boiling this complexity and diversity into what is essentially an easily consumed stereotype. Despite certain bands gaining prominence, it is important to reiterate that the music scene was propped up by numerous underground bands who were actively and consistently putting unique flavors on punk within communities up and down the Pacific North West.

Chapter 5: Methodology

“Ideologically, the pursuit of science is not that different from the ideology that goes into punk rock. The idea of challenging authority is consistent with what I have been taught as a scientist” - Greg Graffin Bad Religion - (Roche, 2013)

5.1 Introduction

This research is concerned with the relationship between Sound and Place and the implications for understanding countercultural formation, function and the heritage it invokes. Through this - assessing and exploring the heritage significance of the Pacific North West Punk and its grunge heritage. In exploring the punk heritage of the Pacific North West, it could be argued that punk presents a material culture which is sporadic, impulsive, immediate and at times vague. In characterizing the punk past and the place of music this research has chosen to underpin this research with oral histories. These histories will be complimented with sites and material culture such as fanzines, posters and instruments to name but a few. This research utilizes ethnography and multidisciplinary approaches to make a unique contribution to what is an essential and timely discussion regarding people, culture, heritage and place.

5.1.1 Case Study Area

The Pacific North West is a geographic region in Western North America (Figure 23). Bordered by the Pacific Ocean to the west, and bounded by Mountains to the east. Although no formal, designated boundary exists, a common perception is that this region comprises of the Oregon and Washington states with the inclusion of the Canadian province of British Columbia. However, a range of definitions can be attributed to different regional history, geographic and social interpretations and narratives. The two major cities are Seattle Washington and Portland Oregon. It is a region which is highly distinctive retaining much of its logging and industrial heritage.



Figure 22: Map of the Pacific North West (MapsOf.Net)

In 1971 Bob McDonald and fellow Seattle real-estate agent Jim Youngren erected a large billboard. Located next to Seattle-Tacoma International Airport, the billboard baldly stated "Will the Last Person Leaving Seattle - Turn out the Lights" (Figure 24). The motivation behind this was the two agent's dismay at the mainstream media portrayal of the Pacific North West. The media was actively pushing a narrative of economic doom and gloom. This was a forecast which many in the region felt was inaccurate and unfair. Today, of course - Seattle and the broader region has experienced rapid technological growth. This

is demonstrated by companies such as Microsoft and Boeing remaining established in the region as well as Nintendo, Amazon and Nike contributing to the tech-boom of the last decade.



Figure 23: Bob McDonald and Jim Youngren in front of the Seattle Billboard erected in 1971 (Lacitis, 2009)

Beyond the cities of Seattle, Portland and Olympia; towns like Aberdeen, Forks and Morton along with numerous neighboring towns and villages have long been considered among the grittier more run down areas of the region. Such areas can be viewed as representative of the severity of the hard-hitting Great Depression which hit the Pacific North West. As described on the Aberdeen WA, Government website - major sawmills, the multi-generational backbone of employment plummeted from 37 to just 9 in just Aberdeen alone. The timber industry had boomed and bust and by the late 1970s with most of the timber having been logged further mills would close. Despite such rapid decline, the logging industry remains a prominent part of the regional identity (Figure 25). By the 1980s, halted by environmental concerns and rapidly shrinking resources, Aberdeen WA, like many faced economic adjustment but had little else to offer.



Figure 24: Forks, Washington Logging Memorial (Authors Own 2014)

5.2 Historiography of Study

The archaeology of music worlds addresses critical questions about identity, heritage and place. Such themes are integral to understanding social disparity, counterculture and music worlds, themes which are relevant to the humanities disciplines (e.g. sociology and psychology). The Archaeology Department at the University of York has been instrumental in the development of exploring marginal heritage over the last decade, examples include the Homeless Heritage project (Schofield et al 2012); the Berlin Techno music-scene (Schofield and Rellensmann, 2015); and documenting sites synonymous with the significance of the Sex Pistols (Graves-Brown and Schofield 2011). Such projects have all contributed to a fruitful, forward thinking heritage process with an array of methodologies applied.

With regards to the Pacific North West, Yarm (2011) has provided a strong foundation within the historical narrative of the region; through the seminal book 'Everybody Loves Our Town'. The text provides a substantial oral history with extensive interviews laying a cohesive narrative of the development of the Pacific North West music scene. Strong (2011a) is responsible for setting forth an overview of both grunge and memory, as well as a more substantial and significant analysis of woman in music and the representation of woman within grunge particularly. Notably Jacob McMurray (2011) has compiled an extensive material and digital archive as head curator at the Museum of Pop Culture, Seattle. This data has begun transforming the understanding of the impact of grunge and its relationship to material culture.

However, the study of music still exists with broader limitations. What written literature does exist can be seen as described by Sabin (1999, 2), often providing a thinly veiled nostalgia, one which romanticizes the narrative. Yet, as described by Keeffe (2013, 92) a major factor in expanding the archaeological potential of the study of music is due to theoretical shifts in heritage and archaeology over the past forty years.

Archaeologists can draw on a range of broader disciplines which enhance the methodological potential. It could be said that traditional notions of archaeology and the

boundaries of its potential still dominate the public sphere, yet a shifting philosophical and methodological interaction with regards to concepts and manifestations of materiality exist. Such change has elucidated the potential to produce an increasingly nuanced understanding of a broader world and the capability to apply this to diverse pasts (Keeffe 2013, 92).

As stressed by Connell and Gibson (2003) music has been met with a degree of skepticism, one which stems from notions of popular culture as non-serious or irrelevant within traditional universities. From an academic perspective - popular music has appeared in some university settings, gradually filtering through the curricula of music, sociology, media and communications departments but despite this, such limited academic pursuit presents a gap within the development of understanding and exploration.

The academic study of music has largely evaded complex connections between cultural and commercial trends, assuming either that music, as an immediately cultural expression belongs in cultural studies or cultural geography, or that questions of culture and identity are, 'frivolous diversions' (Connell and Gibson 2003, 6).

5.3 Methodological Approach

This research is primarily ethnographic in approach. As set forth by May (1993, 72) ethnography is about the study of people, their interactions and environment. Thus, much reminiscent of Bennett, this research entwines fieldwork and responses in the body of theoretical analysis as a central focus of the study (Bennett, 3). Transcripts of the authors own interviews are included in the appendix and a table of the data provided by the Museum of Pop Culture Archive is included within the appendix.

5.3.1 Oral Histories: Secondary Data

Secondary data is an important part of this research. Access to the Museum of Pop Culture, Seattle (MoPop) oral history archive was achieved through making initial contact with Jacob McMurray at the Museum of Pop Culture offices via Email communication. Through this, a meeting was arranged and also an interview covering his experience in presenting and the curation of the 'Taking Punk To The Masses' exhibition. 90 interviews

are included in the Oral History Archive (Appendix D.1). This database consists of interviews conducted by Jacob McMurray between 2009 and 2011, with the addition of earlier interviews conducted by Martin Laundry and Pete Blecha. The collection also consists of interviews which were sourced from media recordings and publications which were subsequently added to the archive. An example of this can be highlighted with the inclusion of full band Nirvana interviews. In utilizing the oral history archive from MoPop the research utilized what is a substantial archive providing a wealth of first-hand accounts of the Pacific North West music scene.

The interviews within the archive vary in length, between an hour and two hours and are semi-structured in nature. All are in depth and cover a substantial range of themes relating to the Pacific North West Music Scene. The data presents valuable information on experiences within the youth culture, how an individual came to be involved in music and furthermore covers people's experiences within the music scenes and the region as a whole.

5.3.2 Researcher conducted interviews

The second method was an interview based approach which was conducted by the researcher. A primary motivation for this was to expand information on the experiences of the Portland Oregon scene. As highlighted earlier, Seattle attracts a great deal of interest from journalists, historians and critics. However it was the entire region which bred the sound and style. In light of this, 10 interviews were conducted. This included an interview with the head curator of the MoPop Museum Jacob McMurray. Further to this, semi-structured interviews were conducted with Steve Hanford, Monica Nelson, Brendan Liebermann, George Touhouliotis and Ben Munat. The Portland interviews allowed for important information to be gained with regards to Portland specifically and the southern Pacific North West region.

These interviews were chosen with the intention of elucidating the scene, understanding its form and function and peoples experiences from networks, diffusions of material culture such as posters, styles, ideology to sound. It would be reasonable to state that the

author conducted interviews presents a small sample. However, when coupled with the oral history archive this provides a wealth of qualitative data.

5.3.3 Conducting the Interviews

The interviews were conducted through a semi-structured approach, targeting topics which were related to the objectives of this research. The questions were created through prior reading and often follow up questions were formulated in the moment as a result of the direction the conversation followed. The interviews explored people's roles in the music scene and factors such as socio-economics, infrastructure and geography. The interviews also explored areas and sites of significance both tangible and intangible, drawing on the memories and experiences of participants within the Pacific North-West music scene.

The questions were drafted by identifying a number of themes that were relevant to the research aims and objectives. The questions were sub-divided which successfully provided a loose structure and order. A number of intended follow-on questions were also drafted. The questions were primarily open-ended in nature and took a discussion based approach. This method was utilized because such questions reduced the possibility that pre-conceived hypothesis or ideas held by the interviewer could emerge within the interview and that a more loose discussion approach would somewhat offer flexibility to accommodate this. Consequently, this could allow for, as Neuman describes (2003, 278) more "creativity, self-expression, and richness of detail" from the people who were interviewed.

The interviews were conducted in a quiet, casual atmosphere, where the respondent felt at ease. This made it easier for the respondents trust to be gained further and helped ensure that the respondent gave a full, honest and open answer (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000, 104). The interview consisted of a tape-recorder of which all respondents gave consent to be recorded. The length of the interviews themselves varied from one hour to two hours, depending on the feedback and responses of interviewees.

The archive and transcriptions of the interviews were read a number of times. Common themes and concepts were noted. It was quickly evident that a range of themes became present during the data collection process. However, careful reading and lines of enquiry were required to dispel or confirm these.

5.3.4 Methodological Considerations

It is important to note that alternative methods were considered. One such method is the advantage of choosing a survey based approach. This method is one of the few techniques which allows for the collection of a vast amount of data on people's memories, opinions and motives (Burns 2000, 588). However, in presenting an initial exploration of this topic as outlined by Bernard (1988), the semi-structured interview method can be most productive in exploring a subject. This is because a more standardized framework to interviews would limit the ability for the interview process to gather unforeseen data and pursue unexpected subjects and memories. Furthermore, it could deter the discussion from following themes which the interviewee feels are important to them.

Yet, a more rigid survey approach does hold further benefits. The survey method and its highly standardized approach; provides a schedule of questions that each person can answer, in the same order and with the same wording (Burns 2000, 567). Such a method would allow for a greater breadth of data from people regarding the heritage of the music scene. Such a standardized approach would have allowed for a range of visualization and analysis through quantitative forms. Yet, within this research, it was important to approach respondents as "active participants whose insights, feelings and cooperation are essential parts of a discussion process that reveals subjective meanings" (Neuman 2003, 390). This sentiment is stressed by Neuman (2013) in that qualitative data provides researcher's with rich information which allows for a deeper understanding of the forces which influence, maintain and inspire the punk community.

5.3.5 Issues in Data Collection

A major limitation to the study was funding. As the research was conducted by a self-funded Masters Research student, the primary source of funding was personal. This

included accommodation, transport and equipment. Consequently and understandably this imposed a strict limit on what the project could achieve. However, this demanded a practical and resourceful approach which therefore allowed for a focus on the cities of Seattle and Portland. It could therefore be said that the issue of fragmentary information is apparent. Yet, despite this, the oral histories and sampled data cover a broad area and provide in depth accounts of areas beyond the primary study areas of the two main cities.

The sourcing of interview candidates was a key challenge at an early stage. This was an issue which became exacerbated as the research was planned from the United Kingdom. However, this problem was effectively overcome as the project built upon a burgeoning interest within the subcultural scenes of the Pacific North West, as communities increasingly seek to further acknowledge, study and curate their own pasts. Facebook "memory pages" in particular were found to be numerous - regarding venues, record collections, local artists and a range of cultural sites. Ben Munat a Portland OR musician and promoter provided an effective "gate-way" to many further contacts. The use of one single gateway access to interviewees may have affected the nature and background of the researcher conducted interviews. However, when extrapolated with the MoPop archive, this research has gathered data which covers substantial range of people, backgrounds and experiences.

Lastly, during the interview process, consideration must be given to that respondents "may lie, forget or not hold the information required" (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000, 106). The potential for bias within the responses must be acknowledged and furthermore, the potential that an interviewee provides information which it is felt the interviewer wishes to hear.

5.4 Ethical Considerations and Data Protection

The researcher spoke to all the candidates prior to interview at length, with regards to the intentions of the project, the aims and objectives. Indeed, with the recent past, not all memories are positive. Similarly, the subcultural scenes of the Portland and Seattle areas became synonymous with sensitive subjects such as drugs, mental health and emotionally

charged events. In minimizing the risk of emotional distress, or accusations of harm, the researcher ensured people were thoroughly aware of the topics likely to be addressed. Furthermore, all participants understood that they could refrain from answering questions.

It was also understood that information collected by the study was sourced to contribute towards the completion of a Masters by Research. In working with communities on the documentation of cultural heritage it was deemed of the utmost importance to remain respectful to the individuals and non-judgmental. It was stressed that it was not for the archaeologist, in pursuing this project to assign guilt or evaluate behaviors (Biestek 1961, Banks 2001). Feedback from all contacts was positive throughout the research period. The project utilized a thorough communicative approach with participants in preparation, during and after the study period.

5.4.1 Method Statement

An important aspect of this approach was the inclusion of Information sheets (Appendix A). These were created and given to each participant prior to the interviews taking place. The information sheet was accompanied by a written consent form which was signed by all the participants. As intended by the information sheet, this sheet provided condensed and key information which allowed all participants to be informed of the aims and objectives of the project.

A thorough method statement was prepared with regards to minimizing risk to the public and the researcher, coupled with a risk assessment which identified and minimized risk in the field. This largely consisted of trips and falls along with weather related risk. A further aspect of risk minimization was the creation of a full schedule including secure accommodation and travel arrangements. In the USA a range of services both emergency and welfare were researched and sourced within the immediate locales. Travel plans and arrangements were also recorded on the completed University Travel Log. Risk of harm and impropriety as well as conflicts of interest were minimized by speaking with

participants at length via email, social media and telephone. This allowed a thorough understanding of the project to be provided to the interviewees.

5.4.2 Data Protection

Data Protection rules have been complied with in formulating the entirety of this methodology. Risk to data has been minimized as all sound files and recorded data shall be stored having immediately having completed interviews or data collection. This will provide minimal risk to losing personal or sensitive data. This was stored to Google Drive for backup and also a laptop in the event internet access could not be achieved. This is furthered through the risk assessment which shall be abided by at all times and a method statement which shall minimize any risk to participants through personal disclosure or conflicts of interest.

5.4.3 Anonymity

Lastly, the participants were fully aware that the option of anonymity was available to them both through a verbal briefing and also the written information and consent forms (Appendix B). Many participants have contributed to books and other public works which address the history of the music scene and confidently cited a willingness to be associated with their quotes and data in the final work, a sentiment which is highlighted in the consent form. Information forms and consent forms also reiterated that the option to opt out at any time was available. Upon completion of the interviews, all participants were offered a digital or hard copy of the research thesis upon completion of the MA dissertation process.

Chapter 6: Data, Interpretation and Presentation

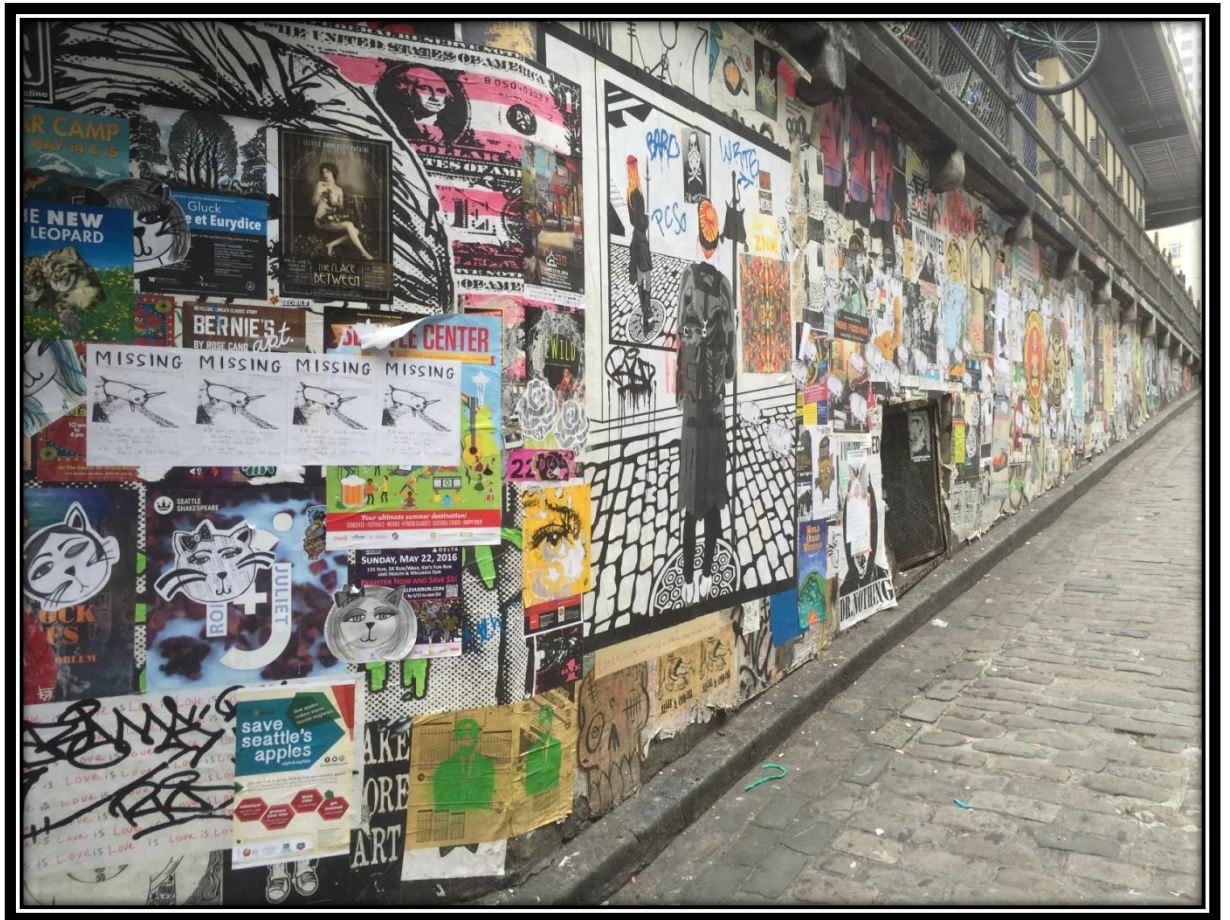


Figure 25: Poster Wall adjacent to Pike Place Market Seattle (Authors Own 2016)

6.1 Introduction

A wide range of sampling was conducted across the case study area. As expected, the targeted areas of Portland Oregon and Seattle Washington were largely dictated by the availability of interviewees and travel logistics. This became a limitation which often changed the planned program of study at short notice due to public transport and the interviewee's availability. But this is not a negative point, as regardless of this the survey collected a wealth of qualitative data which includes a substantial volume of archived oral histories. Throughout the datasets, common thematic trends became prevalent relating to place which span the importance of venues, infrastructure, environment and the socio-political. This chapter outlines the key themes and draws upon direct quotes and evidence which was gathered from the survey to illustrate the key themes.

6.2 Perspectives upon Punk Origins in the Pacific North West

The first topic of interest is concerned with understanding punk form and function in place. In understanding people and culture the origins of such phenomena are significant. The background of many respondents varied. However, a considerable number of interviewees originated from within the Pacific North West. This trait was most concisely summarized by Calvin Johnson in that...

"as opposed to San Francisco, or Athens, Georgia, or even a lot of Austin, Texas or New York. It's where people go to start doing music. People flock to those places, and sort of, they are gathering places for people who are creative. Whereas I think most of the music from the northwest – it is people that grew up here" (Calvin Johnson - K Records, MoPop Archive 1999).

Such a quote is significant in that it indicates the isolation and lack of connectivity as well as the lack of reputation the region had for both art and music making. Furthermore, it enhances the view that elsewhere in the United States, urban cities had a well established gravitational pull in attracting art industry and people. Yet, within the region, the working class nature of the music scene is prominent. Buzz Osborne (2011, MoPop Archive) of the band The Melvins recalls...

"I was born in a town called Morton, Washington, which is approximately an hour and a half from Aberdeen and Montesano, middle of nowhere. My parents were poor people, lower-middle class at best. My dad worked in the timber industry. When I was about 12, we moved to Montesano. Around then, I started buying Cream magazine. This was about 76 or 77. I got interested in the Sex Pistols solely because of the way they looked in those magazines. I was an outsider, because I moved there when I was in seventh grade. You gotta understand, you're going to school with kids whose parents went to school together, who dated each other, who give each other jobs. You can just forget it, you know? I might as well have been from fucking mars". (Buzz Osborne - Melvins, MoPop Archive 2011)

This quote stresses the small communities which were in the rural Pacific North West. However, urban areas in Portland and Seattle were very much the same. Seattle was "more working-class in the 80s, early '80's" recalls photographer Charles Peterson (Photographer, MoPop Archive 2008) and promoter Ben Munat views Portland very much the same in that "The scene was very working class" (Promoter and Bassist in Thrillhammer, Authors Own, 2016).

What this highlights is the socio-economic forces upon people in the past, coupled with a degree of isolation. In extrapolating upon such working class roots, Monica Nelson demonstrates the impact such social strata had upon artistic development stating that as an artist an inability to purchase other peoples music effectively altered what she listened to (Monica Nelson - The Obituaries, Authors Own 2016). Nelson states "I never listened to punk music. I never actually listened to punk music when I was in a punk band. When we went on tour we would swap music with other bands on tour, but I couldn't afford to buy other peoples music or buy records. I never listened to punk for influences, I listened to other genres. I don't think it was conscious, but it means you bring something different to the table".

Nelson notes "There were a few trust-fund kids who were slumming it with everybody else, but they could always go back to their money". Jen Reed (Munat, Authors Own 2016) similarly suggests a degree of socio-economical diversity within the scene "kids from

suburban well-to-do families, who were doing everything they could to escape it." Reed expands on this in that "families who put food on the table, nice house to live in and bought them everything they wanted. I don't know what was wrong with families in the 80s, but they were so disconnected". A view furthered upon by Monica Nelson (Authors Own, 2016) in that "Conservative parents. We're talking about parents raising their kids in the 80s. Kids were rebelling from their parents".

A lot of those bands were from working class roots, but then a lot, like Steve Turner and Mark Arm they went to the University of Washington, Steve Turner was fairly affluent kid who grew up on Mercer Island. It was a real mix. But, what is important is that the scene wasn't big enough to really have it stratify and diversify out. Especially when you see bills from the mid-80s, there are a lot of weird different bands playing together, you have metal bands playing with punk bands, stuff that you wouldn't expect to mix.

- Jacob McMurray, Head Curator MoPop Museum (Authors Own, 2016)

The role of socio-economic standing has been stressed by scholars such as such as Hall et al (1993) who portray music related scenes as a class related phenomenon. These accounts are important in that they illustrate the isolation and impact of both class and countercultural virtues upon those who were involved in the scene. Through this, a great deal of discourse has emphasised the working class relationship to punk, as an attempt to overcome the cultural and material oppression which takes place through hegemony. The extent to which this is the case in the Pacific North West is debatable. Yet, the punk identity does seem to angle upon social class. Many interviewees themselves were from working class backgrounds. As stated a number of people however noted that they knew punks who were from middle-class backgrounds.

6.2.1 Isolation

Within the oral histories many people stress the cultural isolation people experienced. As noted earlier, the isolation would see it become commonplace for artists to move elsewhere to pursue a career. One example is Duff McKagan (Guns and Roses) who departed to Los Angeles; bands like The Blackouts decided that any hopes of a Music

career would be given brighter prospects if they relocated to Boston Massachusetts on the East Coast.

"When I first moved to Seattle in '83, I was working in the kitchen of a restaurant, along with a local musician, his name was Duff McKagan, and Duff had been hanging out with the Fastbacks, and he was involved with a number of different groups in Seattle, and he was a real scenester and a real rock-n-roller, and I remember seeing him put pecans on a heavily iced cake and he looked up to me and he said, "I'm going to move to LA and become a rock star." And I said, "Well, good luck Duff. Why don't you just hang out in Seattle and become a rock star?" And he says, "There's no way you can make any money playing music in Seattle so I'm gonna move to LA. And I'm tired of putting pecans on cakes; I'm going to make a living as a musician." Bruce Pavitt, Sub-Pop Records Co-Founder (MoPop Archive, 2009)

Tom Price, of the U-Men (MoPop Archive, 2009) explains how on tour "in the mid-80s, sometimes, if we were down south we'd run into young kids who had never actually heard of the city of Seattle, and we'd meet - a couple times, I met people who thought it was, Seattle was in Alaska, and a lot of the time people didn't realize that Canada was between Washington and Alaska, they thought they were right next door to each other. Most people, of course, knew where Seattle was, but there were a lot of people who had no idea that there was interesting music of any kind going on in Seattle.

"I think the isolation of the Northwest contributed to its "uniqueness". For many years the outside world didn't know anything about our corner of the country. Portland is twelve hours from San Francisco by car and Seattle is even further. The United States is fucking huge and the Northwest has always been pretty far away from the action. We figured out a long time ago that if we wanted anything to happen, we would need to do it ourselves."
(Mike King - Poster Designer, Authors Own 2016)

The general isolation of the Pacific North West has been stated as holding a major influence in creating the relative isolation needed to allow the grunge sub-culture to operate under its own ethos, sterile of major label contamination and other corporate

pitfalls which blighted elsewhere. As stated by Barrett Martin (Skin Yard, Screaming Trees, MoPop Archive 2010) "the isolation from these, these commercial entertainment centers of Los Angeles and New York, uh, that's the, that's the greatest gift to Seattle".

"Nobody at that point would've imagined that Seattle would become a well-known, well; nationally or internationally well-known music scene. That was the standard thinking: if you wanted to do anything beyond being a locally, sorta popular, you definitely had to move to San Francisco or LA. Bands would, bands from out of town would come west coast tours; they wouldn't, a lot of time they wouldn't even play in Seattle, they'd go straight from San Fran- they'd play LA, San Francisco, Vancouver, and call that a west coast tour. Seattle was definitely not on the map at that point. A lot of my friends did move to LA and San Francisco. I'm not sure why I stayed in Seattle, but I'm glad I did. (Tom Price - U-Men, MoPop Archive 2003)

6.2.2 Weather

A notable theme which is prominent within the oral histories is that of a connection to the region as a geological and climatic entity. The role of the region, as a place was suspected to be a prominent factor. Numerous journalists tap into grunge as a sound reflecting the "gloomy climate". It is true that the region is notorious for grey clouds, dampness and an atmosphere that invokes murkiness. A number of oral histories have stressed the impact of the climate upon the propagation of sound and the cultural isolation it presented. Jack Endino recalls (Producer - MoPop Archive, 2009)...

"I've said this before: I think the weather may have a lot to do with it because, for one thing, we have a lot of basements in this part of the country. I've been to other parts of the country, the southwest, and the south; there are places where people don't have houses with basements. For some reason, we have a lot of houses with basements in Seattle. Of course, we have a lot of 'houses with moldy, wet, leaking, flooding basements, but nonetheless, we have basements. And we have weather that tends to keep us indoors a lot, so people tend to soundproof their basements and play music in them because it might be raining outside. So there was a lot of basement jamming that has always gone on in

this, in these parts of the country, and I think that, like I said, that the winter, you're indoors, and you want to do something, you have to do it indoors. You know, you don't play rock 'n' roll out in your front yard, so a) we have basements, b) we have lousy weather that tends to keep us in the basements, so it probably has something to do with, you know, either the overall mood of the music or just the fact that there's a lot of basement bands. Yeah, we have a lot of basements and we have a lot of time to kill, and the weather's lousy"

"The weather has something to do with it. You know, when it rains a lot up here. I like the rain. In the summer, it's beautiful. But, you know, in the winter and the fall, it's gray and rainy. We spend a lot of time hunkered down in our basements writing music, practicing with our bands; and then, it's quite fun to, to write that original music and then go play it on a stage - Barrett Martin (Skin Yard, Screaming Trees - MoPop Archive, 2010)

6.2.3 Sub-Scenes within the Pacific North West

Of course, different areas within the Pacific North West produced unique, niche flavors of punk, a scene inside a scene. This is referred to by Kim Warnick (Fastbacks, MoPop Archive, 2009) in that "Portland was different. We were on a panel the other week and Steve Turner put it really well, he said you know what, it was gnarly and they were junkies before Seattle was. And I actually think that's pretty hilarious and very telling. It just was kind of a grittier gnarly scene. I don't know, I – I mean there's a lot of bands that came out of there that are amazing and really influential to this day. The Wipers and I don't know it just – it was different." Despite this touch on diversity a cohesive region formed around the arterial Interstate 5 highway. "Because the place (Portland Satyricon) was on the Seattle corridor we had a lot of bands wanting to stop" (George Touhouliotis - Satyricon owner, Authors Own, 2016).

"This was sort of happening out of the Northwest and wow, I'm kind of part of this. And because I grew up in Oregon I knew that Portland wasn't really part of that, until a little bit later when they started mining more of the Portland bands. But I definitely knew the

difference ... the Portland scene just seemed more, I don't know, sort of more punk rock based". Jeff Kleinsmith (MoPop Archive, No Date)

Yet, Bruce Pavitt (Sub-Pop Records, MoPop Archive 2009) recalls how "In Olympia, Calvin Johnson, a DJ at KAOS, started a group called Beat Happening and they released their first 45 on K called Our Secret - it was actually produced by Greg Sage of The Wipers who came up from Portland, and it was recorded in a tiny closet right next to the KAOS office there, so this is how scenes breed, intermingle and move forward. You had the best producer from Portland, coming up, hanging out at KAOS and recording one of the DJs at KAOS". This is indicative of the inter-connections which formed and network which formed within the region as illustrated by Kim Warnick (Fastbacks, MoPop Archive 2009) "We started to go down to Portland and we'd play Vancouver a lot of times. And those bands would come down to Seattle". What this indicates, is the regional interlinking, and localized place making. Yet, pivotal to its form and function, is infrastructure.

6.3 Infrastructure

"Digging Sounds From Towns Nobody Cares About"

- Bruce Pavitt (Writing about K Records in Sub-Pop Fanzine)

The Pacific North West shows a collective enthusiasm, resourcefulness and creativity. Nobody was acting in isolation and nobody's innovations arose in a vacuum (Crossley 2015, 244). Innovations diffused and caught on, stimulating further innovations; resources were mobilized and exchanged; and both opportunities and constraints were created. Within such isolation, the region propagated and utilized a range of place related infrastructure, commodities and a unique style which through connecting networks - formed the culture. The agency of individuals actively seeking to network a scene is evident. An example of this is represented in December 1986 Sub-Pop Zine, where Bruce Pavitt (2014, 336) discusses the importance of K Records, "a tiny label doing big things. Based in Olympia Washington. The K Label is a shoestring operation that is networking small-town bands throughout Washington State. Calvin Johnson K President feels the

more sophisticated Seattle bands are ultimately trendy, and that bands from small towns are cool because they are so isolated they can't help but develop their own sound".

Darvill (2014, 464) explains the importance of following a "trail that links a series of specific places together as a bigger, more numinous whole: a linear place with a chain of experiences". Darvill (2014) in this case cites the example of the North American Blues Highway, US Route 61, as such a place which shows just how extensive and organic such places can be. Similarly, the Interstate 5 corridor running arterially through the Pacific North West can be shown as playing a similar role and a series of infrastructure is suggested as imperative in the propagation and function of the scene. It is highlighted within the oral histories that a cohesive music scene formed around infrastructure. But, it is important to look at each category more specifically.

6.3.1 Radio

A large number of interviewees cited the importance of radio. It was through the late 1970s that important infrastructure was forming in the Pacific North West. A key example of this is highlighted by KBOO radio in Portland Oregon installing a 1000-watt transmitter which allowed broadcasts to span further across Northwest Oregon. The role of radio in disseminating information was pivotal. In the 1980s the college and community radio stations are crucial in promoting alternative music. Local programming which had local interests was prominent, providing content which was unique to the stations local broadcast area, which was often quite small. Before 1982, the station wattage of the University of Washington station KCMU only covered the campus and the immediate city blocks. The signal was so weak that radio reception was often affected by adverse weather.

College radio was hugely influential in the spread of alternative music across the country during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1973 the formation of KAOS radio in Olympia Washington would become a keystone in communication. Such stations were often the only places where independently produced music received airplay. In addition, there were also stations which were run at high schools, as well as pirate radio stations operating without

FCC licenses. Brandon Lieberman recalled the impact discovering college radio on his music consumption...

"Well I was travelling up [to Portland] for shows, Junior high school. I wasn't aware of the Wipers and Neo Boys scene until I went to college. It's because there was no internet, obviously. I mean Willamette week didn't cover it and we didn't get this in McMinnville the Oregonian certainly wasn't covering it and I wasn't hanging out with Portland people and I didn't know them. So I didn't know this was going on. I was travelling to Los Angeles to see it. It wasn't until I got on college radio around 82 and started playing Punk and started getting letters from people." Brandon Lieberman (DJ KBOO, Authors Own 2016).

radio KAOS
89.3 FM
OLYMPIA, Wa.

Fave
Raves

W
C
S
C

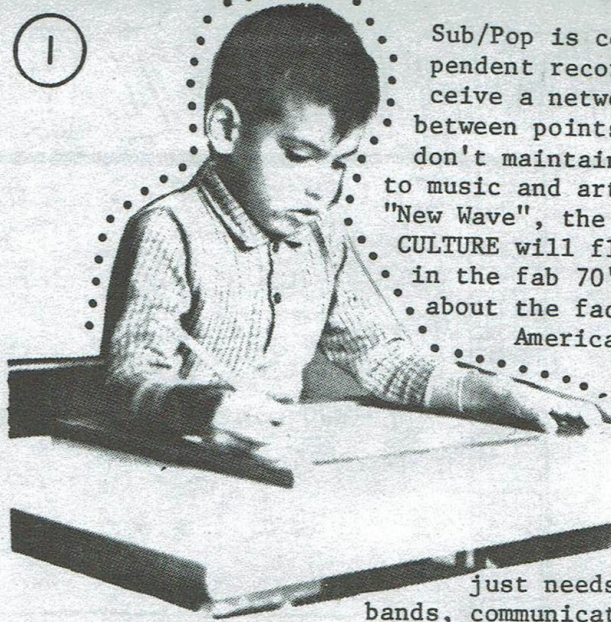
TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	Thursday	Friday
JOHN: Besides Mr. Brown... Tex Rubinowitz Hot Rod Man Billy Hancock Lonely Blue Boy Nurses - Hearts	Toni: FALL - totally wired Neo Boys gimme the message BEAKERS Red Towel	DAVE: Low flying aircraft Pulp Music FALL - totally wired Orchestral Manoeuvres mess-ages	Russell: girl on the run Honey BAIN Twinkyz Alien in our midst. ROY orbison only the tone!
DAN: PINK SECTION PART Time - Slits - ...rhythmic Delta 5 -YOU-	Steve: Fred Frith : Dancing in the street Minimal Man she was a visitor Snakefinger what wilbur?	Calvin: PYLON : Cool BAD BRAINS : pay to cum PULP MUSIC Low flying aircraft +	BRUCE: YOUNG MARBLE GIANTS Final day Orch. Manoeuvres + messages JOY DIVISION she's lost control.

Figure 26: Sub Pop #2 advert for KAOS RADIO (Pavitt 2014, 51)

6.3.2 Art, Posters, Flyers and Zines

As Calvin Johnson (2014, 44) states; KAOS radio inspired a chain of thought which led to the initiation of Sub Pop fanzine. In May of 1980 Bruce Pavitt produced 500 copies of the fanzine Subterranean Pop (Figure 28). Fanzines such as OP (Appendix C.2) and The Rocket (Appendix C.1) became popular. OP covered the hardcore scene. Notably, Desperate Times (Appendix C.4) is described as much more than a fanzine. Masco (2015, 4) for example outlines how it was approached more as a newspaper, with regular sections, advertising, articles with bylines and photo credits with a set up which consisted of an editor and an art director with "real ink on newspaper stock" (Masco 2015, 4). Conversely Portland showed a more limited fanzine presence with only a weekly column in the Willamette Week newspaper providing information on the local music scene.

1



Sub/Pop is concerned with U.S. bands and independent record labels. We are trying to perceive a network: a possible series of links between points and points between lines. If we don't maintain the radically localized approach to music and art that has been spawned by the, ahem, "New Wave", the CORPORATE MANIPULATION OF OUR CULTURE will flourish as it did so predominantly in the fab 70's. We must all become energetic about the fact that there is great music in America; and, that some of the most truly avant-garde pop hysteria is coming out of traditionally boring environments (i.e. Ray Milland from St. Louis). emphasis: EXPLOSIVE artistic hanky-panky is everywhere. Sometimes it just needs a little support, so... write these bands, communicate, buy their records, do something insane and send it to 'em in a package... the addresses are here... for a reason. Use them.

What we org all about:

LOST MUSIC NETWORK
(a non-profit enterprise)

LOST MUSIC NETWORK
P.O. Box 2391
Olympia WA 98507

1. Op Magazine - published quarterly. This is the only magazine on earth devoted to independent labels and every form of American music... "pop", jazz, blues, experiental, country... you name it, it's there. Informative, witty and cool to look at. buy it or I'll kill you. ○ ○ ○
2. Sub/Pop - published tri-yearly. The editor is close to starvation and deserves you support. Ads are only \$20.00 a full page! Send a check for \$3.00 and get the next 4 issues for free! All subscribers receive their copies in fully sanitized seal-a-meal plastic! Wow! Next "ish"... N.Y., L.A., Portland, Alaska, Chicago, Minneapolis and more. Gaw-Damn!

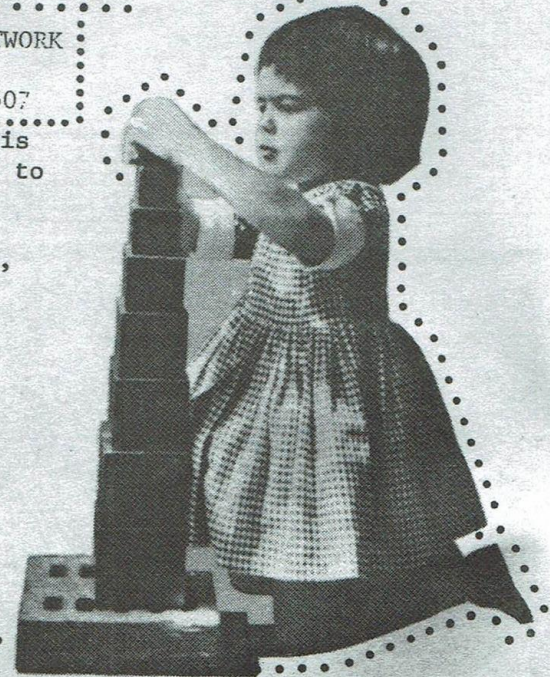


Figure 27: Sub-Pop outlining the Fanzines ethos (Pavitt 2014)

In the 1970s and 1980s word of mouth was the primary means of promotion in the music scene but eventually as well as fanzines Xeroxed flyers and posters would become vital. "Posters were the biggest part for me. I'd be taking the bus to wherever and watching the lamp-posts. See what's going on 'Oh the Accused are playing Saturday night or whatever' recalls Jen Reed (Authors Own, 2016). Prior to desk-top computers the tools of graphic design were esoteric and specialized; photostat cameras, T-squares, halftone screens, line tape, reduction wheels, wax machines, typesetters, and X-acto knives. For many, access to a copy machine required a trip to a local library or a print shop and even then such resources would involve preset sizes" (Pavitt 2014, 45).

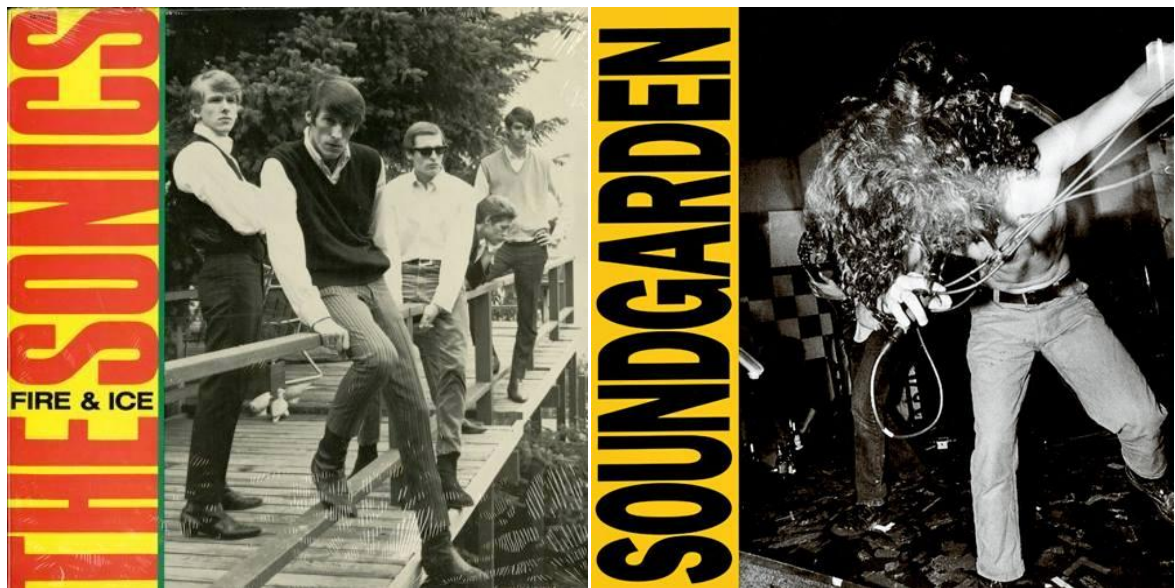
"My earliest posters were done with a minimum of technology, usually just pen, scissors and glue. Mostly it was about getting the information on the page in a readable manner and then filling the leftover space with whatever design elements I could dig up, often a picture from a book or magazine. As my design skills and copier technology improved (copiers with the ability to enlarge an image weren't readily available until the early 80s) I moved into more of a "Xerox" style, spending hours copying, manipulating and cutting and pasting images, since all the type had to be copied and cut up, I still focused on the type first". (Mike King - Poster Artist, Authors Own, 2016)

Promoter Ben Munat explains how in Portland "a poster had to meet the 30mph rule, if the bands, date and venue were not visible, at 30mph, it was no good". Ben Munat, Bassist in Thrillhammer and Portland Promoter (Authors Own, 2016). The primary function is to advertise, stating clearly who is playing the show and where the event will take place. However, posters can be argued as holding a deeper function in the claiming of cultural space. Posters present a notable category of evidence; a subversive, lo-tech graphic material which disseminated through personal networks.

Many designers were looking to each other and neighboring locality for influence, rather than further afield. Relatively isolated from the rest of the country, Seattle was left to develop its own unique punk aesthetic. Many designers, due to the relative isolation only had each other to look to for ideas and inspiration (Chantry 1985, 4). In other words

within the region, designers were not looking beyond the boundaries of the networks which had established themselves within the Pacific North West. Yet a common denominator is cheapness and ease of production (Chantry 1985, 5).

Artists would actively look to each other and the local history for inspiration. As described by Graphic Designer Art Chantry (Facebook 2016) "almost ten years later, I modeled the design of Soundgarden's "louder than love" record cover upon the first old Sonics 'fire & ice' LP, that I also designed. That was no accident" (Figure 29). Chantry goes on to explain "I wanted to create an historic echo through time to what was happening with grunge. I wanted people to instinctively connect the two, but not know why" (Chantry, Facebook 2016). Artists and participants within the grunge phenomenon interacted with their predecessors in an indirect manner but within the isolation, they also looked to each other.



*Figure 28: Left, The Sonics Fire & Ice Album Cover 1980. Right Soundgarden Louder than Love Album 1989
(Art Chantry, 2016)*

Posters are valuable, not just as art but rather as cultural artifacts. The advertising of an event is momentary. Once an event has happened, the moment ceases to exist and the advertising function of such an object halts; subsequently the cultural artifact can be the only tangible evidence that such an event happened. The fact posters are saved, taken off

walls, picked up off floors, pasted over by other posters demonstrates the immediacy and fluidity of such material culture. What such infrastructure demonstrates, is place related music making. This represents communities of people creating networks, products and diffusing a style and aesthetic through the region. Such material culture alludes to the transient nature of such punk and as described by Masco (2015, 4) fanzines, posters and flyers are physical objects which provide a link between emotional experiences and personal histories.

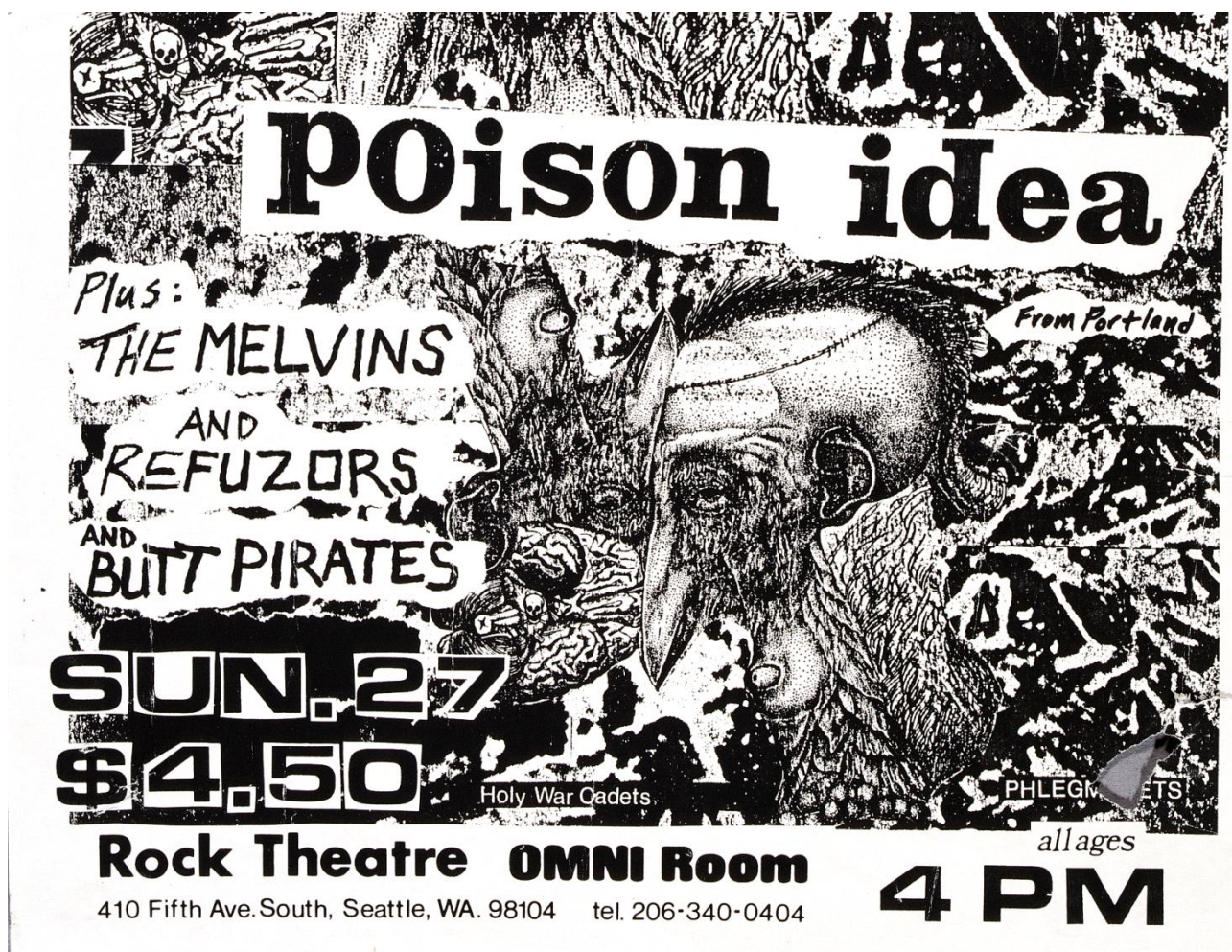


Figure 29: Poster from Poison Idea show at the Seattle Rock Theatre (MoPop Archive, 2016)

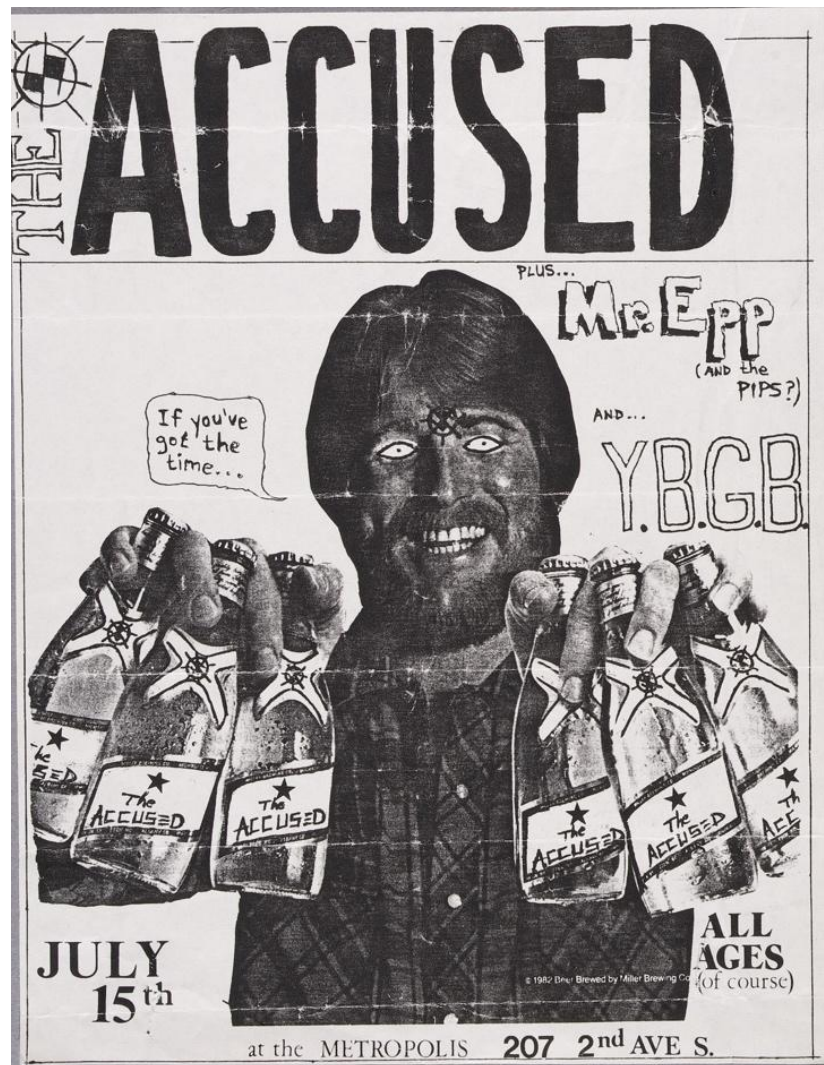


Figure 30: Poster for The Accused and Mr. Epp (MoPop Archive 2016)

6.4 Venues

Venues are key signifiers of the grunge movement. Particular places remain signs and indicators of the cities and broader regions connection to its musical legacy. From The Crocodile Cafe to the Off Ramp, Central Tavern to the X-Ray Cafe, the venues of the Pacific North West quickly became a key facet in the infrastructure of the burgeoning music scene.

Spaces where youth could engage with music and congregate were limited, especially in rural towns. An example of this can be shown in Kurt Cobain accompanying Buzz Osborne and Matt Lukin (Both of the Melvins) and Krist Novoselic (future Nirvana bassist) on

frequent trips from the logging town of Aberdeen Washington to Seattle Washington, where weekend evenings would often be spent at the Metropolis club, a Seattle venue that permitted under 21s. Under 21 venues were rare due to many bars operating with a dependency on liquor licenses. The turn-over this brought was pivotal to their survival. Consequently, such venues were limited. Venues such as the Metropolis club were a key focal point of the musical network.

88, '89, there weren't a lot of options for live music then (Olympia). Calvin Johnson (MoPop Archive 1999)

6.4.1 The Satyricon

Located on N.W. Sixth Avenue (Figure 32) - the Satyricon opened in 1983, and became one of the best known venues for both local and touring punk bands. Operating until 2010, it would become the longest-running punk venue in the western United States. George Touhouliotis, a 36-year-old Greek immigrant and former cab driver who held a passion for music and culture, opened the space which would serve to meet the needs of the burgeoning artistic movement. As George Touhouliotis describes the Satyricon tapped into a seam of creative ambition and innovation "they were young punk rockers, or grunge rockers, not the mainstream, it was a freshness" (George Touhouliotis, Authors Own, 2016)".

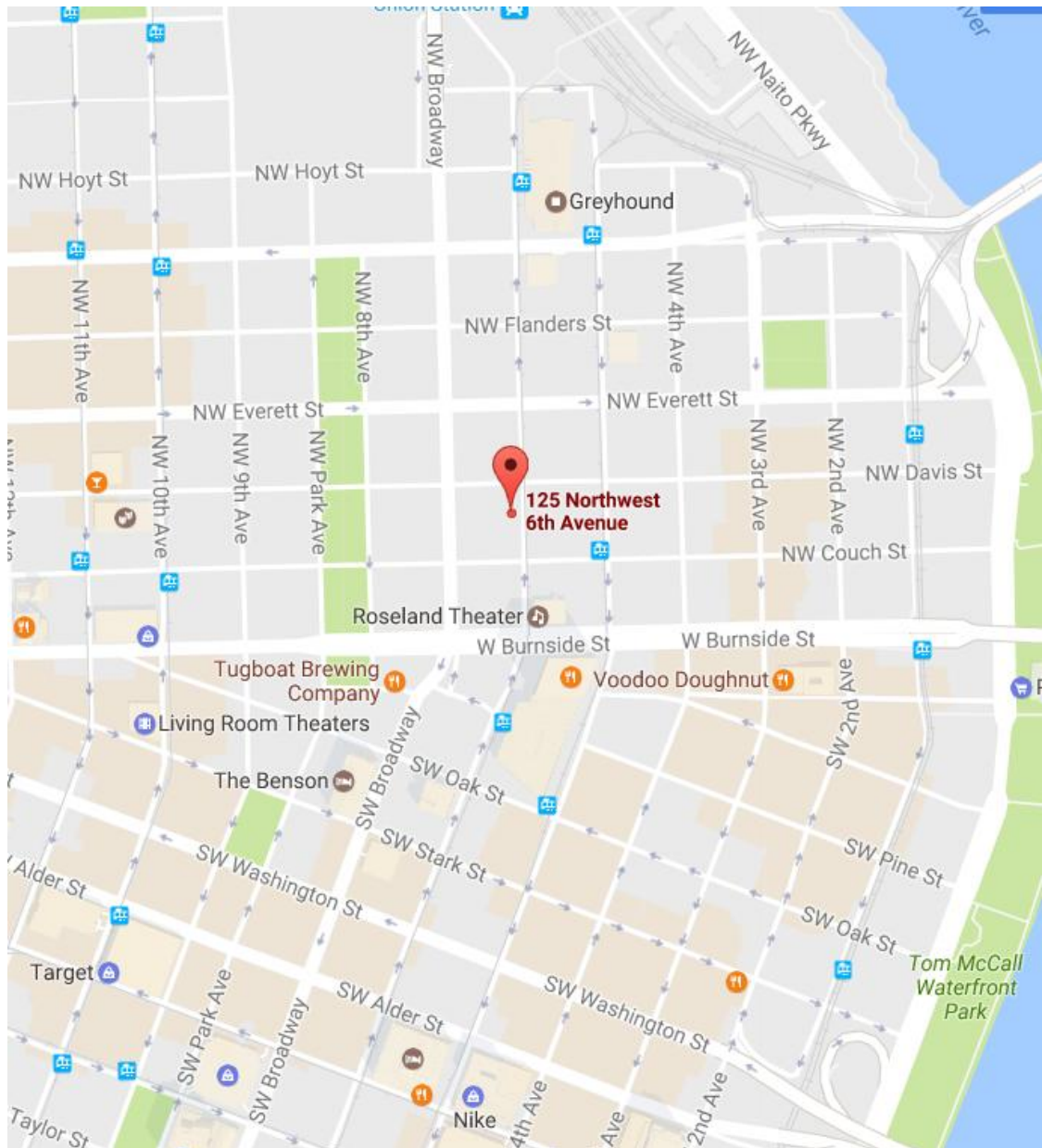


Figure 31: Map showing the location of the Satyricon. (Google Maps)

The Satyricon venue was previously a Tavern named Marlenas. In 1983, Portland's Chinatown was described by many as a run-down area. The neighborhood presented many empty buildings along with boarded-up storefronts. The venue is described eloquently by Ammann (2010) as "a dark, narrow barroom on a seedy stretch. Drug dealing was rife with cocaine and heroin was openly available.

"Don't get me wrong, there was a lot of illegal activity happening and we were a bad element. When Eat or Die was there, the Satyricon would have its outdoor fire sprinklers on year round to keep people from dealing drugs out front I remember doing lines of coke on the booth table, and the bathroom stalls were used for shooting up. People used to scream at us to get out of the stalls and just do it in the bathroom so they could pee"

(Karen Ferrell 2016, Facebook)

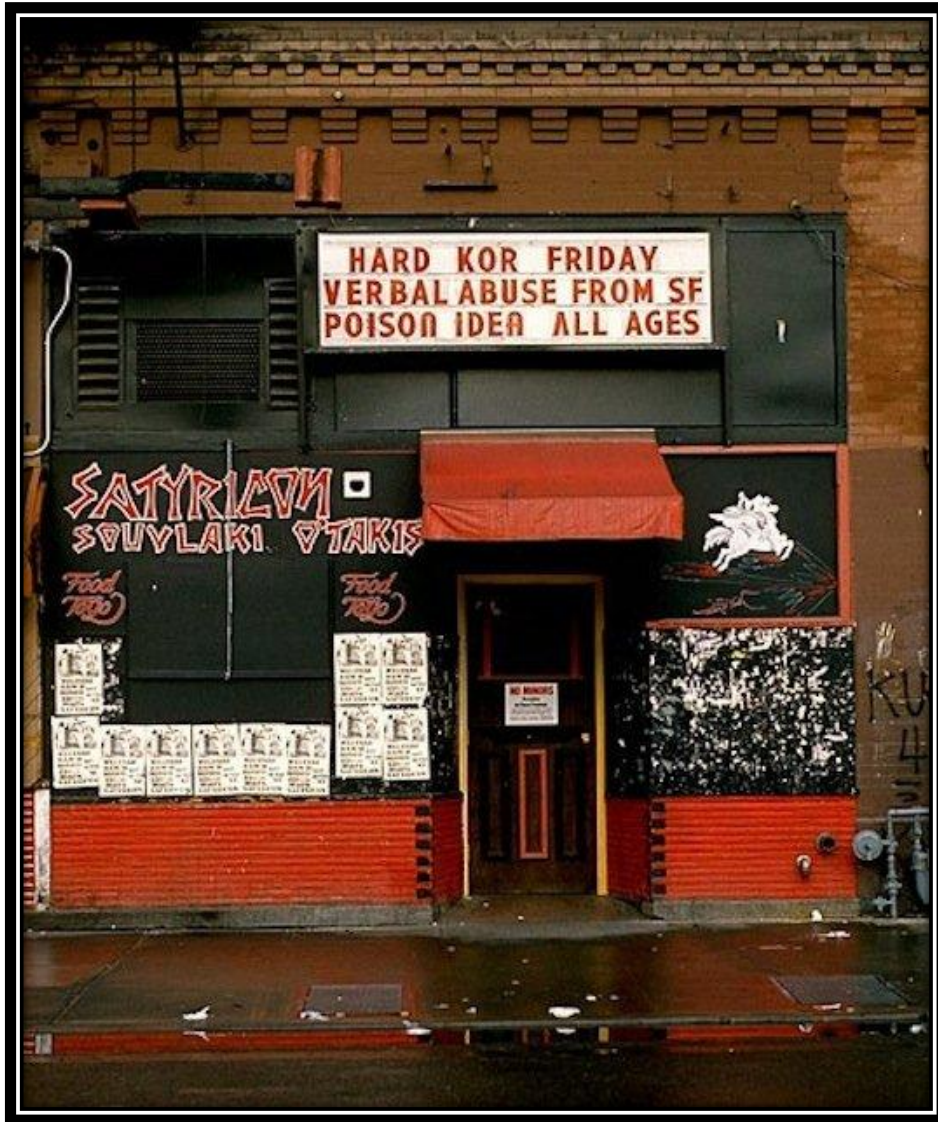


Figure 32: Facade of the Satyricon (Image: Ferrell: 2016)

The venue's reputation was well-established before the notorious grunge figures passed through. Due to the stage's long-standing heritage within the region, performing at the

Satyricon would provide legitimacy to artists. Pearl Jam took to the stage just before the release of their debut album, and Dave Grohl's post-Nirvana band the Foo Fighters played their first show at the venue. The space would host early incarnations of almost every Northwest rock band: from groups like Nirvana, Pearl Jam, Soundgarden and Mudhoney to Portland's own alternative figureheads The Wipers, Dead Moon, Napalm Beach, Obituaries, Dandy Warhols, Heatmiser, Sleater-Kinney and Poison Idea.



Figure 33: Nirvana at the Satyricon (Charles Peterson, No Date)

The venue was widely known for its distinctive character presenting a long room which ran from the bar to the stage area (Figure 35). The building was stated as retaining many of the original historic tavern features, including a section of the carriage arch-way above what became the stage area. Many of the walls were daubed in layers of posters (figure 36), communicating live shows and events as well as etching the history of shows which had been and gone into the fabric of the building. Graffiti and art work daubed other sections of the building (figure 37), including chairs and tables. Its role as a countercultural

space altered the fabric, appearance and material of the building. Following the demolition of the Satyricon the former site is now the location of the nonprofit MacDonald Service center. This center provides studio apartments which aim to serve low-income residents.

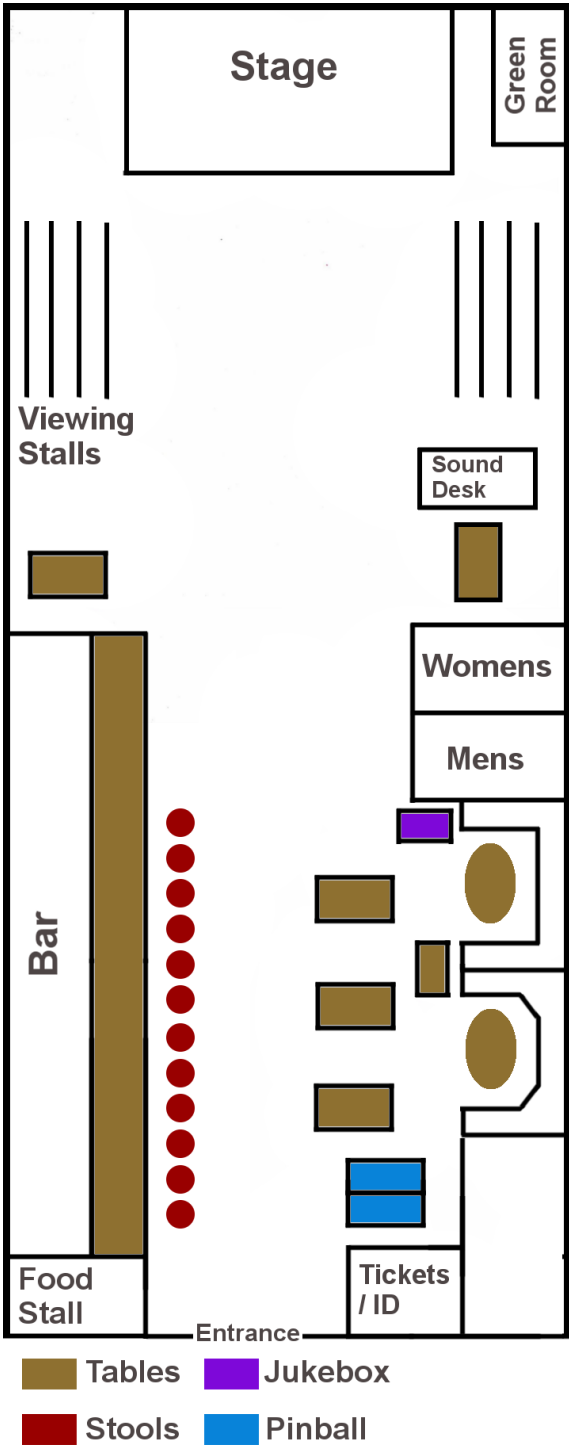


Figure 34: Plan made by the Author. Based on Sketches by Ben Munat and Karen Farrell (Appendix D.1)
 (Authors Own 2016)



Figure 35: Satyricon Bathroom (Image provided by K. Ferrell, 2016)



Figure 36: Inner booth (Image provided by K. Ferrell, 2016)



Figure 37: Entrance way to the main room from bar area. (Image provided by K. Ferrell 2016)

6.4.2 Seattle Rock Theatre (The Gorilla Gardens)

The Rock Theatre was located at the edge of Seattle's International District (still referred to as Chinatown) off 5th Avenue and Jackson (Figure 39). The venue was an all-ages club and featured two different rooms with stages for bands to play in; The Gorilla Gardens and The Omni Room. The club would become broadly known as the Gorilla Gardens. After less than one year in the original Chinatown location, in 1985 the Gorilla Gardens would move to Seattle North Queen Anne neighborhood at 307 Nickerson Street, where it would soon gain local popularity once more. This research focuses on the original incarnation.

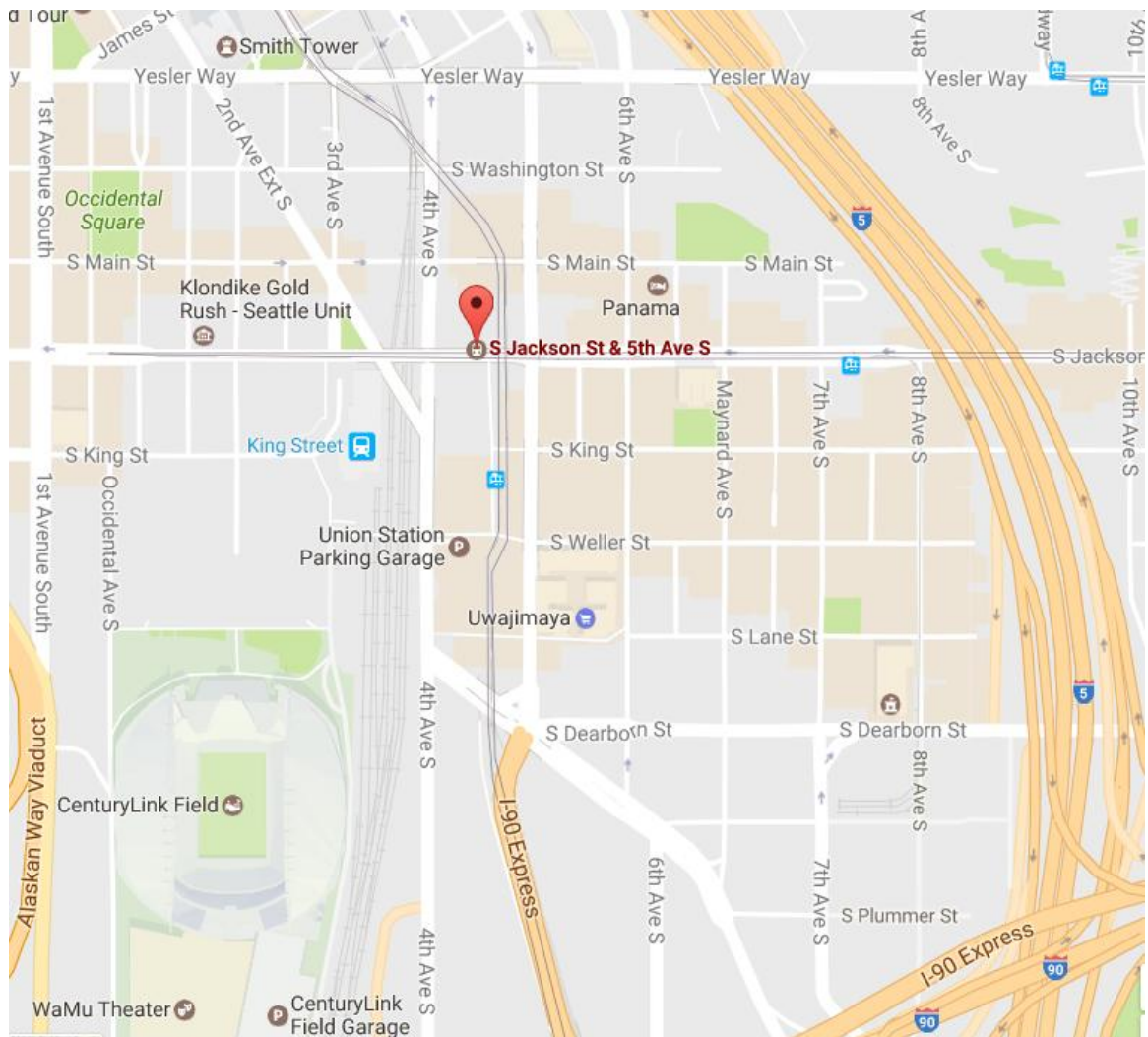


Figure 38: Map Showing the Location of the Rock Theatre (Google Maps, 2016)

"There wasn't a lot of clubs around. You'd go to...the bands would actually have to create their own. If you would do an all-ages show, like we were saying, you'd have to create, you'd have to get a million dollar insurance policy, all this crap, and put on the show yourself. So that's, that's where you'd go, and people would show up at those kind of gigs. But the scene wasn't really happening for awhile. Or at least the part that I was in, we didn't know that was going on. But it honestly, the scene did not, there was no real music scene outside of the bars, which was very small" (Mike McCready - Pearl Jam, Temple of the Dog, Mad Season, MoPop Archive 1995)

The impact such spaces had on how people interacted is also significant. This is described by Mark Arm who describes "Early shows that I went to were pretty exciting. Like the Gorilla Gardens was pretty cool - it was a weird venue. It had, as I recall, it had two stages and they both kind of face opposite of each other (Figure 40). Like, you could go into one door and there's the stage, and then through the other and there was another stage there. One room, I think, might have been a little bit bigger. And of course, it was musky, dark, and a lot of the shows I went to; there were a lot of people there. It was always packed, you know" (Mark Arm - Mudhoney, Mr. Epp and the Calculations, Green River, MoPop Archive, 2007). Art Chantry similarly explains the layout (Figure 40) yet also describes how people interacted and the impact the space had on the scene and people within it.

"The Gorilla Gardens is an interesting club that had two stages, one was a punk stage and one was a metal stage, but they had one common lobby. Husker Du would be playing here and Stryper would be playing over here. And then at half time everybody would come out and they'd all have to mingle. And everybody expected death, you know... I think bands like Nirvana and stuff aren't really...they're like totally bizarre, weird little phenomenon that happened elsewhere. I don't think bands like Tad would have happened if it wasn't for that kind of rock, Gorilla Gardens kind of" (Art Chantry - Graphic Designer, MoPop Archive, 2007)

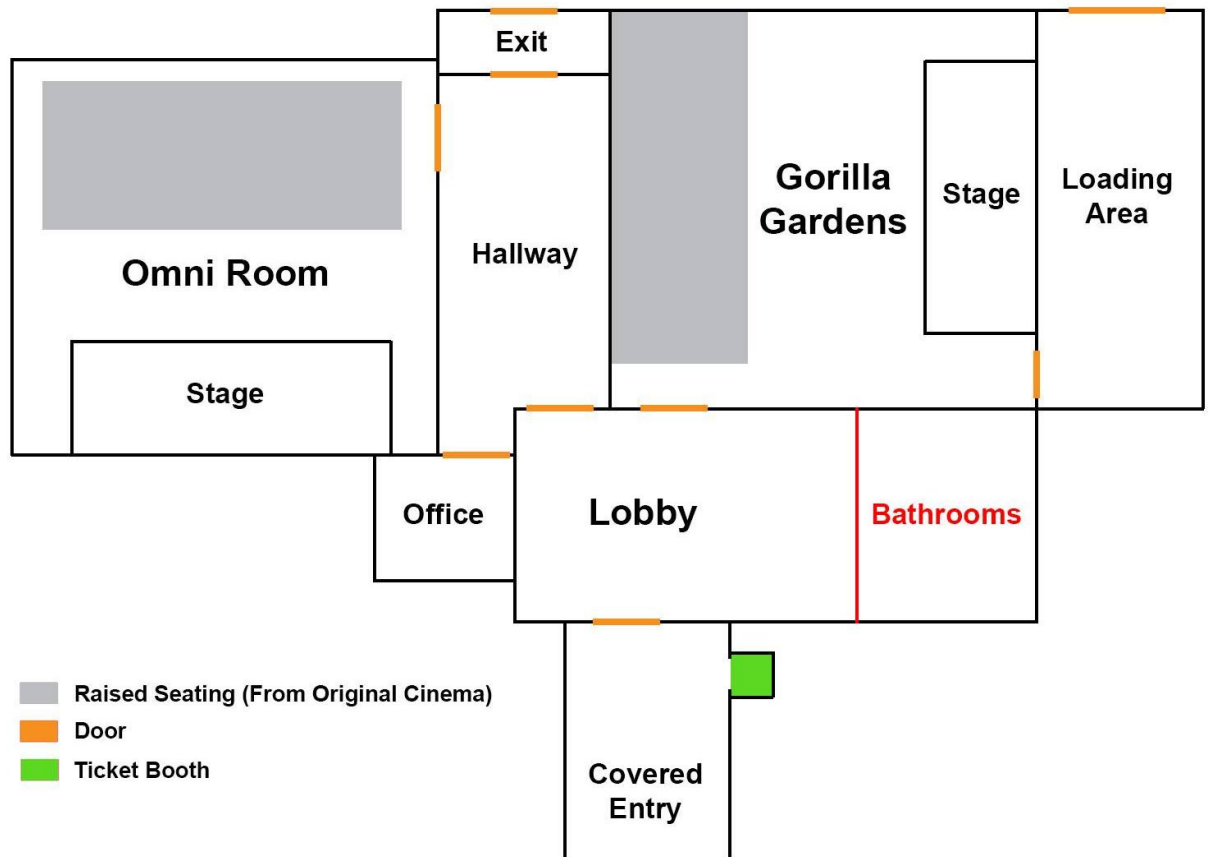


Figure 39: Authors Plan of the Rock based on memories by Kevin Bean (Appendix D.2) (Authors Own 2016)

The diversity of people who could be seen frequenting The Rock Theatre is important and testament to the role a venue has in disseminating sound, ideas and style (Figure 41). As recalled by Charles Cross "I think I saw Husker Du there and Black Flag and a bunch of other bands. I was at one of the shows that in retrospect, when I began writing about Kurt Cobain, later someone told me he was at, and so it's interesting to imagine - of course no one knew who he was, he was a 17 year old kid from Aberdeen who'd driven up to go to a rock concert (Charles Cross, Biographer, MoPop Archive 2009)".



Figure 40: Green River Live at the Gorilla Gardens. Buzz Osborne of the Melvins on the left (Charles Peterson, 2016)



Figure: 41: Skin Yard playing at the Gorilla Gardens, July 1985 Jack Endino would become a prominent producer for Sub-Pop. From left: Jack Endino, Matt Cameron, Ben McMillan, and Daniel House. Photo by Cam Garrett



Figure 42: Facade of the Rock Theatre, as of 2008 (Carlene: *Stalking Seattle*, 2016)



Figure 43: Inside Rock Theatre now functioning as a carpet warehouse (Carlene: *Stalking Seattle*, 2016)



Figure 44: The alleyway and rear of the Gorilla Gardens often referred to in oral historical accounts (No Name, 2008)

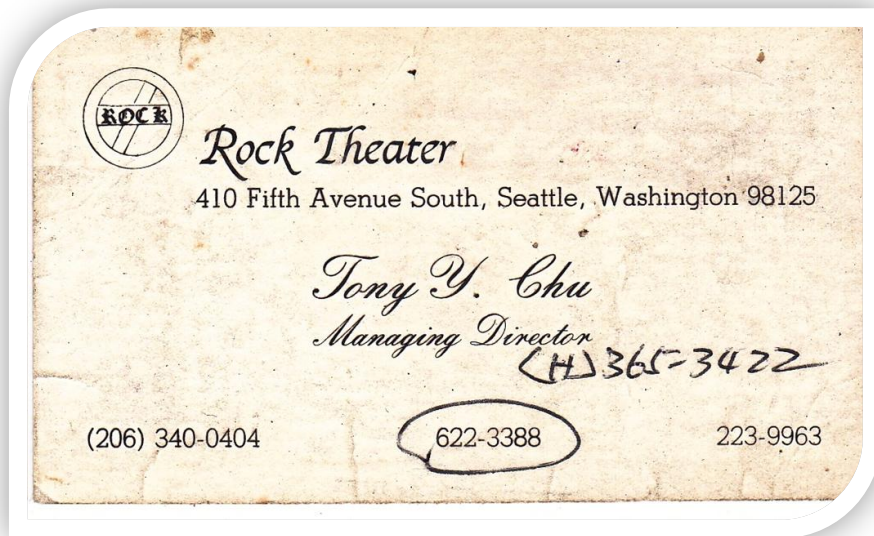


Figure 45: Tony Chu business card (Kevin Bean 2016)

"Tony was, the way that I understood it he was more of the businessman promoter and venue operator. I think maybe he got involved in some of the booking, but I never really, we never really had many conversations with him. I think that would be the individual promoters. A guy like Tony Godbee here was certainly one that we dealt with frequently.

We'd book a lot of the punk acts and they'd have metal shows there as well. Um...I understand Tony Chu more as an entrepreneur...a guy who had the venue and would allow promoters to put in advance to book shows there and I don't know about his influence in terms of the music culture other than providing a place for people to perform and gather".

Kim Thayil (Soundgarden, MoPop Archive, 2015)

"I remember being there once and the fire marshal came in and said that there weren't enough fire exits, and the guy, I think his name was Tony Chu, or something like that, and I'm not making this up, grabbed a chainsaw and cut a hole in the wall, just a big giant hole, and said, "See, there's another exit. And then the show went back on" (Charles Cross,

MoPop Archive 2009)

"The Rock Theatre the promoters once had to chainsaw a set of fire exits through the wall before the Fire Marshalls would let them start a show" (Art Chantry 1985, 5).



Kevin Bean

23 November 2009



This was a great show, at a great Club. In 1985 Tony Chu took an old carpet Warehouse in the International District (China Town) and turned it into a great home for the local Punk Rock and Heavy Metal scenes. The Rock Theater consisted of two all ages concert halls, the Gorilla Gardens, and the Omni room. Countless youths got to see touring bands, and many soon to be known bands (like Soundgarden) got their start here.

Tony Chu had a reputation as a shyster, and it was well earned. He short paid his staff, and many bands, but was finally shut down by the "Teen Dance Ordinance". Shortly after the Rock Theater was closed, a Carpet warehouse was again established at this site.

This show was particularly memorable, because singer Gibby Haynes walked out onto the stage wearing a silk bathrobe, a shitty evening gown, and he had his hair covered by a curling bonnet. About halfway through the show, Gibby took off the bonnet, revealing probably 40 clothes pins clipped to his hair. He shook his head violently at the crescendo of the song, sending the clothes pins out into the audience.

I really liked the Butthole Surfers at this time, and I miss the Gorilla Gardens, and Holy War Cadets. I worked security at this show, this show was in 1985.

Figure 46: Screen Shot of Kevin Bean Comment regarding Tony Chu and the Gorilla Gardens (2009)

In contrast to the Satyricon, the Rock Theatre only lasted a year. The Satyricon was regarded by many as lasting so long due to the very musical heritage it came to epitomize, with a sheer great and varied roster of musicians and other artists passing through its doors and the way it created such a distinct and powerful social gravity. Whereas the Gorilla Gardens can be viewed as representative of the transient nature of punk, it's adaptability in utilizing a building to create a space for the youth culture and artists to congregate, perform and network.

Chapter 7: Discussion



Figure 47: 1969 Gibson SG, played by Greg Sage of The Wipers, 1977 - 1999 (MoPop Archive)

I'm burnt out on people wanting to do yet another book. And of course, it's always like, "While, I'm gonna take it from a fresh angle" - there are no fresh angles.

– Chad Channing - Former Nirvana Drummer (MoPop Archive, 2009)

7.1 Changing Places

"I welcome any recognition the music gets, it was fun to be a part of. You can look at the 60s music and how it helped end the Vietnam war, and furthered the Civil rights objectives, the music had a huge impact. Sadly, the legacy of grunge doesn't have anything like that, which it can claim for itself. I wish there was a bit more of a positive focus political message in the grunge movement. Unfortunately a lot of the grunge, well, the narrative is more addiction, Layne Staley story and Kurt Cobain story isn't a happy ending. So, if you look to them for the story of grunge, it doesn't end well, but... but that doesn't mean its cultural impact is not significant, because it is". - Brandon Lieberman (KBOO DJ, Authors Own, 2016)

In discussing and exploring the character of punk heritage and through this its relationship to place, it is firstly necessary to extrapolate to take into account some broader economic processes. The oral histories indicate that music scenes have an organic development, reflecting the social, economic, political and material aspects of the place in which it is created (Cohen 1997, 1999). As stated earlier, it is significant that music scenes generally propagate in very precise contexts, with contributing factors such as low rents, a degree of social disparity and political turbulence.

Despite such rapid change, Darvill (2014, 473) has explained how for many, popular music has a lot to answer for as the ultimate ephemeral, disposable, transitory, cultural phenomenon. But it is also something that people cling to for a long time. Music scenes and a network fade out. Crossley, (2015) outlines two key-factors exist. First, success takes bands on tour, away from their local worlds and from one another, breaking up the network that once constituted their world. Success also can cause a sudden influx of new participants whose participation alters the network and world in a way which alienates early participants and prompts them to move on (Crossley 2015, 246).

Seattle and Portland are both very different cities today to that in which the scene of the 1980s and early 1990s developed. Countercultural pasts are vulnerable; not only to the passage of time but also the processes of development, gentrification and marginalization.

Investment, technological advancement and real estate demands have dramatically shifted the economic vigor with which the cities have developed. Urban areas are experiencing rapid shifts in how space is used and little consideration is given to the heritage significance of the venues, sites and traces of the punk past.



Figure 48: Degentrify Portland T-Shirt. (Image: Richie Dagger, Poison Idea: Facebook 2016)

Gentrification is the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas to residential use by the middle-classes and above. This reflects a process which had began in the 1960s, as private-market investment capital seeped into downtown urban areas. Such investment triggers urban service economies to grow and a considerable emphasis is also placed on corporate investment (Zukin, 1987). Gentrification was seen more immediately in the architectural restoration of deteriorating housing and the clustering of new cultural amenities in the urban centers. Rising house prices drives artists and youth culture away and development has therefore had major consequences for young artists who were previously concentrated in urban spaces.

Due to the technological boom in Seattle an influx of companies would contribute to dramatic development. Such change was experienced in Portland OR, which has attracted influxes of people moving to the city and in turn creating premium competition for homes

and business premises. Portland especially has experienced rapid gentrification - more than any other city in America over the past 13 years. This has been highlighted in a study led by Maciag (2015) where comparisons were made between numerous eligible census tracts of the 50 largest cities in America between 2000 and 2013. The main eligibility criteria is that in 2000, a tracts median household income and median home value were both in the bottom 40th percentile of all tracts within a metro area (Maciag 2015). The tract was considered gentrified if by 2013 both measures fell in the top third percentile when compared to all other tracts in a metro area. They found that 58 percent of Portland's lower-priced neighborhoods had gentrified post-2000.

Similarly, between 1990 and 2000 Seattle experienced rapid gentrification. Lower-income census tracts experienced significant growth in both property values and educational attainment. As shown through statistics available on Governing (Figure 50) to be eligible to gentrify, a tract's median household income and median home value needed to fall within the bottom 40th percentile of all tracts within a metro area. Tracts considered to have gentrified recorded increases in the top third percentile for both inflation-adjusted median home values and the percentage of adults with bachelors. This demonstrates the rapid change the urban spaces are experiencing.

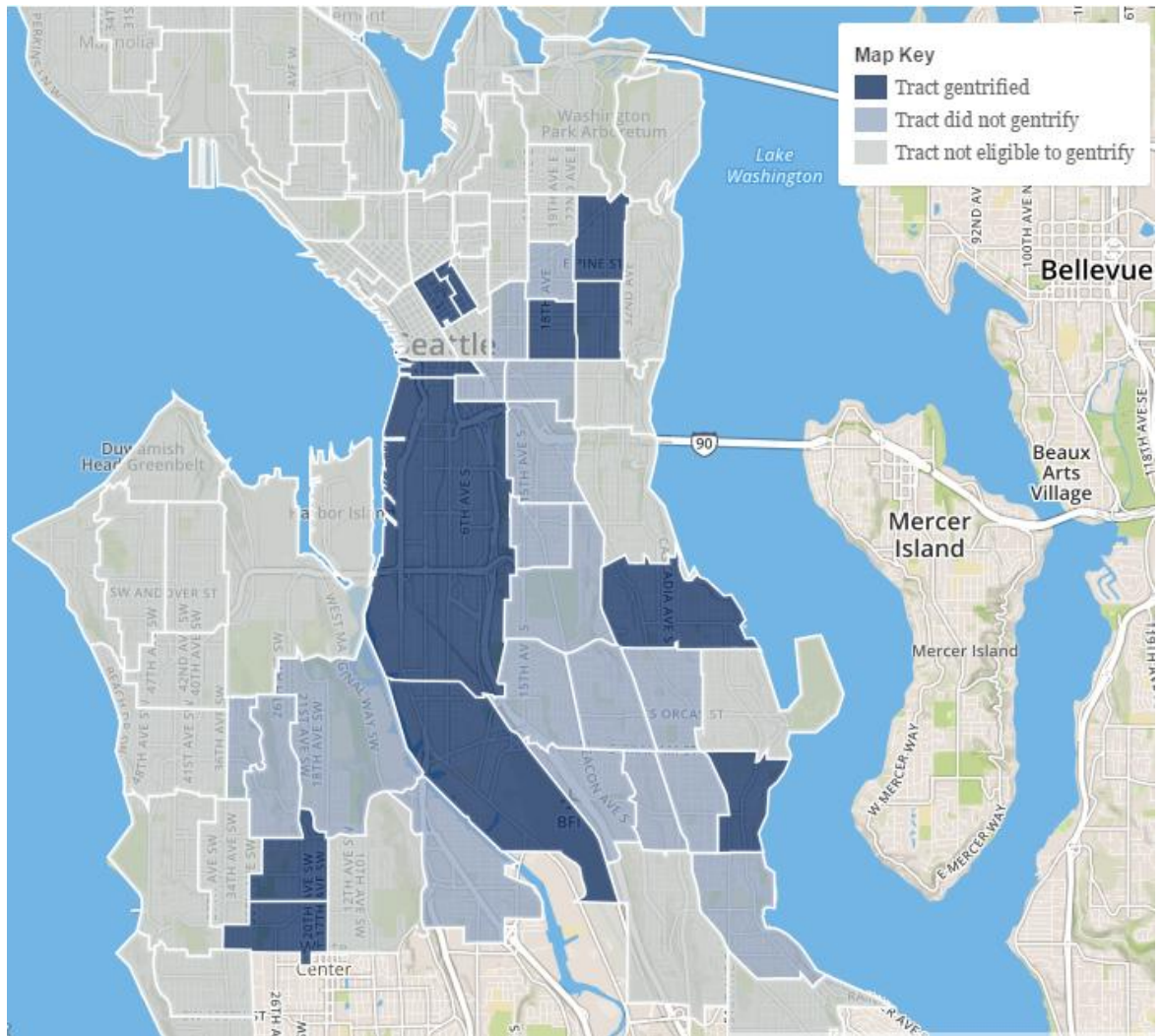


Figure 49: Map showing Gentrification 1990-2000. (Governing.com 2017)



Figure 50: Demolition of the Satyricon (Oregonian Press, 2008)

Despite losing numerous venues it is true that cities still boast a rich array of counter-cultural and music related opportunities. Venues provide high quality sound and many cities boast state of the art recording studios providing technology which caters to a diverse range of artists and audiences. Promoters are routinely attracted to cities and contribute to the economy. Music is moving into larger big money venues, with an industry which is dictated to by stronger market forces. Commodity markets, professional ticketing companies, advertising and corporate record labels are key factors in the industry.

Furthermore, writers such as Curtis (2015) describe gentrification, not as destructive and undesirable, but rather a sign of economic success. However, it was young artists concentrated in post-industrial spaces, with a blend of low rents, bars and venues with

affordable alcohol and low costs for cleaning and security along with spaces where musicians could hone their skills, experiment and socialize were pivotal to the propagation of the scene.



Figure 51: Central Saloon Tribute. From Left Jimi Hendrix, Layne Staley of Alice In Chains and Kurt Cobain of Nirvana (Authors Own 2016)

7.1.1 The End of a Scene

But this begs the question what cultural heritage is at risk. As Kurt Cobain himself once quipped “this song (Smells Like Teen Spirit) made Seattle the most livable city in America”. Underlying such a remark is a salient point. Sociologists have argued since at least the early 1980s that spaces of culture create the precise kinds of symbolic value that gentrification feeds on. Kim Thayil of Soundgarden states "Seattle became very huge and successful for generating bands and became known for this particular youth culture and it attracted more people to the city, which created the traffic problem that I encounter

today" (MoPop Archive, 2015). Ironically, the very process of gentrification has been fuelled and provided great value through neighborhoods affiliations to such cultural movements of the past.

George Thouhouliotis reminisces over attempts to revive the Portland Oregon scene in that "They wanted to revive the scene, but like I say, when the scene is gone, it's gone. The freshness is gone. There is a certain freshness, it's bright and beautiful and then when it's gone, it can't be brought back. The authenticity has gone. (George Thouhouliotis - Owner of The Satyricon, Authors Own, 2016). Similarly, KBOO DJ Brandon Lieberman agrees "you can't just copy forever. As a scene or an artist you don't want to change that style, but people don't want to listen to the same thing forever and ever. People and generations want to rebel and that helps keep it fresh. (Authors Own, 2016).

"Well, the punk clubs are just going have to move further away from downtown. That's all. Nobody can start a collective. Everyone's priced out. It's not the most terrible thing in the world. Things change. You can go to any town in the US, if there isn't a music or arts venue, you can just spring one up. It's not the four walls; it's the people in those walls. A scene only dies if people let it die. There will be another perfect storm, but it'll be a different perfect storm". - Monica Nelson (Authors Own, 2016)

Satyricon owner George Touhouliotis (Authors Own, 2016) reminisces how "each generation has different fashions, different interests and different ways to express themselves". In considering the post-grunge era and latter days of ownership at the Satyricon Touhouliotis recalls "this sort of scene, it wasn't as fresh anymore. It's a natural phenomenon. You have the 20s, 30s, you look at the movies, the scenes. You look at how they dress or dance. Each generation has something. Each generation has something. They were young punk rockers, or grunge rockers, not the mainstream, it was a freshness."

As has been outlined by (Rollero and Piccoli, 2010) it must be stressed that the affective link to a territory and a person's surroundings can contribute to a positive social functioning. As Finnegan suggests, at the local level music functions as one of a series of "pathways". Via this, individuals negotiate and understand the "impersonal wilderness of

urban life” (Finnegan 1989, 306). Whilst the communal and aesthetic values can be recreated, the historic value of the music scene is rooted in time and place intending to establish an ‘authentic’ link with the history of a particular person or place (Roberts and Cohen 2015, 232).

Places contribute to the formation of networks because they attract followers of a particular type of music, drawing these people together and increasing the likelihood that they will meet and both form and maintain ties. Music places are, as described by Feld (1981, 1982) music ‘Foci’. Such ‘foci’ consequently help spread stylistic conventions and a degree of homology across participants.

It is important to re-emphasize how official heritage discourse sees punk sit rather uncomfortably within the formal definitions of heritage (Cohen 2013, 583). An example of this is shown in the addition of a ‘Welcome to Aberdeen’ sign with the slogan “Comes As You Are”. On what would have been Cobain’s 47th birthday, Aberdeen WA Mayor Bill Simpson declared an official “Kurt Cobain Day” in 2014. The idea was formulated with the additional commemorative concept of naming the Young Street Bridge after Cobain. Similarly, a number of city councilors argued that renaming and the installation of more official heritage recognition would glorify drug use and suicide. The council did eventually approve the renaming of a strip of land near the path to the underside of the bridge as Cobain Landing. Further festivities included the unveiling in the Aberdeen town museum of a Cobain statue made by a local artist.

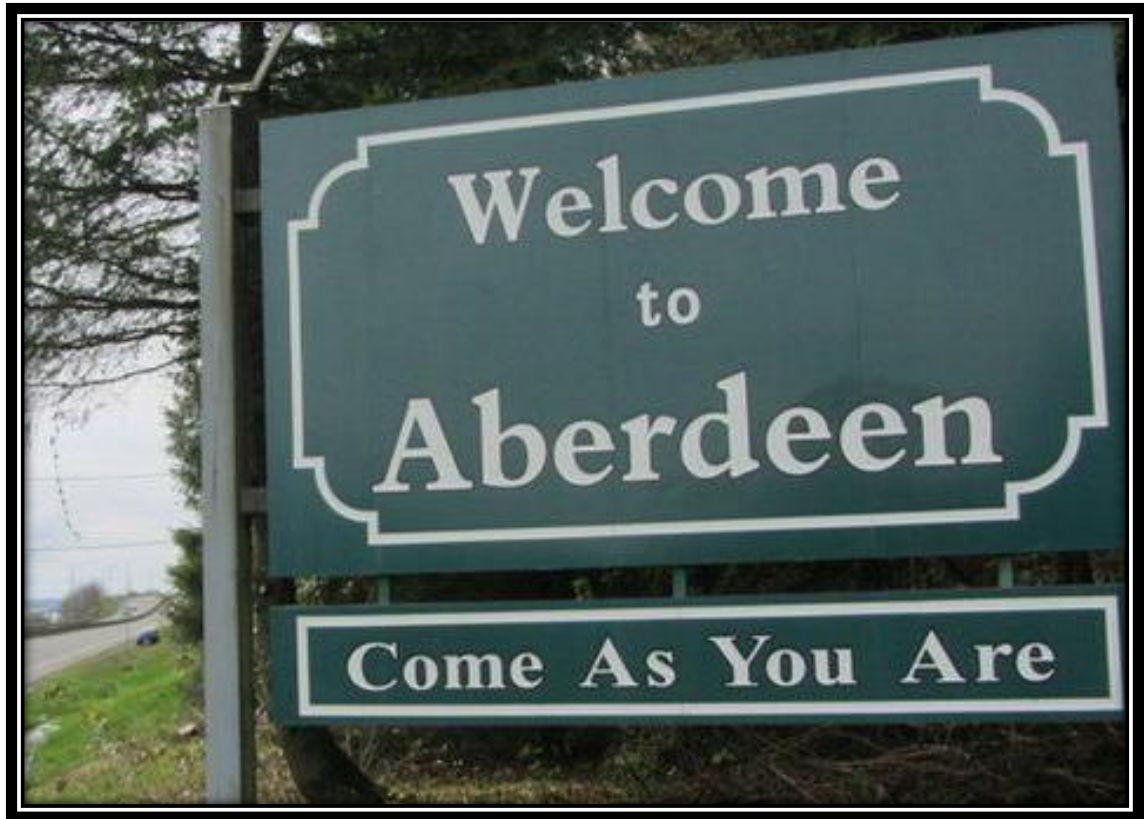


Figure 52: Come As You Are. (Getty Images)

Roberts and Cohen (2013, 6) have effectively outlined a great deal of concern in how to honor rock and pop musicians. In discussing the commemoration process with the English Heritage Blue Plaques team, the controversial decision to award Jimi Hendrix a commemorative plaque prompted many members of English Heritage to resign in protest believing that figures such as Hendrix - seen as 'ephemeral' in terms of their cultural significance and of dubious moral character (particularly with reference to drug taking) - were not the sort of people who organizations should be seen to be honoring as heritage icons.

Attempts to commercialize and make Nirvana and the broader scene a commercial asset are difficult. Such smaller locations remain in the shadow of the cities such as Seattle, Portland, Olympia and the high budget cultural assets and attractions such as the MoPop Museum. Yet, as stated by the local Aberdeen Radio station "Aberdeen residents may justifiably take pride in the role our community played in the life of Kurt Cobain and the

international recognition our community has gained from its connections with Kurt Cobain and his artistic achievements" (KXRO, 2014).

However, such conflict over providing markers of the music scenes past is not new. As described by Mike McCready "Seattle has never been, you know, the local government or whatever has never been receptive to the music scene, and they still aren't now. They don't realize that, you know, we bring in millions and millions of dollars, and start, you know, we have management offices and things like that and create a lot of jobs" (Mike McCready - Pearl Jam, Mad Season, Temple Of The Dog, MoPop Archive 1995).

7.2 Heritagisation of Punk

The compatibility of the Punk past to Heritage discourse raises questions. Since its inception, punk has existed with tensions which continue to be a subject of discussion. Upon the landscape, punk has manifested itself through adaptation, improvisation, immediacy and spontaneity, a theme which has continued today through its remains, memory and enfranchisement into mainstream heritage discourse.

Outside of the museum setting some established commercial heritage engagement does exist. One example is that of the "Stalking Seattle Tour". This tour visits an array of old venue locations, the Queen Anne apartment the location where Andrew Wood of Mother Love Bone overdosed in 1990 just before the band's debut record was released, Linda's Tavern where Kurt Cobain was last seen alive and the and the Black Dog Forge where both Pearl Jam and Soundgarden used to rehearse. As Cortes (2017) notes, what quickly becomes evident on such tours, is the many new construction sites in downtown Seattle where places previously on the tour used to be. "The Seattle she is stalking about on her tours is by now, almost gone" (Cortes, 2017). From RKCNDY, Tower Records, and the Off Ramp, they are all long gone.



Stalking Seattle

A Rock & Roll Sightseeing Tour

Wanna see Seattle the way it should be seen? Then take this tour and stalk the city where music history was made. See the first place Pearl Jam practiced, the bar where Nirvana played to nobody, Jimi Hendrix Park, all of the important theaters and clubs, the home where Kurt Cobain died, and more. The tours are small and personal. You'll be riding in a mini-van and we stop a lot so you can get out to take more photos. Space is limited. If the tour you want is full, I apologize. If someone cancels, the spot will open up on the website.

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Phone and Text: (206) 419-2258
E-Mail: Info@StalkingSeattle.com

Tours Start at Mo Pop Museum
[CLICK HERE FOR DIRECTIONS](#)

Figure 53: Screenshot of Stalking Seattle Homepage

How We Finally Know We're Old: Grunge Tours Are a Thing in Seattle

by [Amber Cortes](#)



The blacksmith shop where both Pearl Jam and Soundgarden used to rehearse. AMBER

Figure 54: Recent Press coverage on the emergence of Grunge Tours (Cortes, 2017)

The 'Taking Punk to the Masses' exhibition has proven a great success for the Museum of Pop Culture, attracting millions of visitors since its launch. It is the ultimate intangible heritage with a global reach made tangible at a local level and brought to life through events, places and artefacts with lasting characteristics (Figures 55 and 56). It's a sentiment which is alluded to by McMurray (Authors Own, 2016) in discussing the process by which curated material culture is approached by visitors in the 'Taking Punk to the Masses' exhibition. McMurray explains "We are lucky in some ways, in that the content we deal with is contemporary enough in its popular culture. It hooks into people's

personal stories, the more I can amplify this. It's not a 400 year old artifact that nobody has a connection to. We can have people that were at that show, or people that really love Nirvana. In hooking people personally, is more exciting for me... what I think we can excel at, is telling these deeper stories that do have a personal connection" (Jacob McMurray, Authors Own 2016). Memory is a key facet of heritage discourse - reflecting particular geographic experiences at a certain point in time, whereby the producer and consumer of a song engages with the landscape in ways which are reflected in the music and in turn, memory (Keeling 2011, 113).



Figure 55: Listening Station installed in the MoPop Taking Punk to the Masses exhibition (Image: Matthew Williams, New York Times, 2011)



Figure 56: Visitors viewing the Taking Punk to the Masses exhibition, MoPop Museum, Seattle (Authors Own, 2014)

7.3 Memorializing Grunge

It is important to move forward with the emphasis on 'meaning' as previously put forward by McMurray (Authors Own, 2016). Memory is closely integrated with place and landscape (Bachelard 1964, Casey 1987) and memory manifests itself upon the punk

landscape. When interpretation incorporates the wider landscape of the Pacific North West and the punk heritage it omits, it can be argued that the very innovation and transience of punk illustrated previously still bestows and characterizes such memorial. Memory is a primary concern of the heritage industry. Over the past decade, archaeologists have begun to discuss social memory as one dimension of larger investigations into landscape (Alcock 1993).

Memory is a theme which was identifiable within a great deal of the oral histories and the grunge scene provides a significant route into understanding why memory is important. It is true that through popular music, listeners "experience a common heritage with people they have never seen, they can acquire memories of a past to which they have no geographic or biological connection to (Lipsitz 1990, 5). Yet, fans, tourists and the creation of sites which are imbued with memory can also be about seeking a physical, emotional, or spiritual connection with the object of veneration (Margry, 2008 17).

This can be shown in Viretta Park, a tract of grass park which sits adjacent to the former home of Courtney Love and Kurt Cobain in Seattle. A graffiti covered bench is the foci of the unofficial memorial, located in one of Seattle's most wealthy neighborhoods. This small park consists of pine trees, and four graffiti-laden park benches. No plaques or formal memorial installations exist. Yet, visitors to the site can see that the benches are covered with lyrics, drawings, images and other fan created ephemera. Physical monument remains are open to direct, immediate and apparent evaluation, whether social, intellectual or economic, but the transient and intangible past here has value too. The past here is constructed through the memories and meanings that become attached to locales and this instance the park and its bench.



Figure 57: Memorial Bench in Viretta Park (Authors Own, 2016)



Figure 58: Deposit of a stage pass for a concert. Deposited at Viretta Park (Authors Own (2016))

An example of this significance can be illustrated in the Young Street Bridge, a site which rises above the banks of the Wishkah River in Aberdeen WA. The name “Wishkah” is an adaptation of the Chehalis Native word hwish-kahl, meaning “stinking water”. The bridge runs North, South bound across the river connecting the City of Aberdeen (Figure 66).

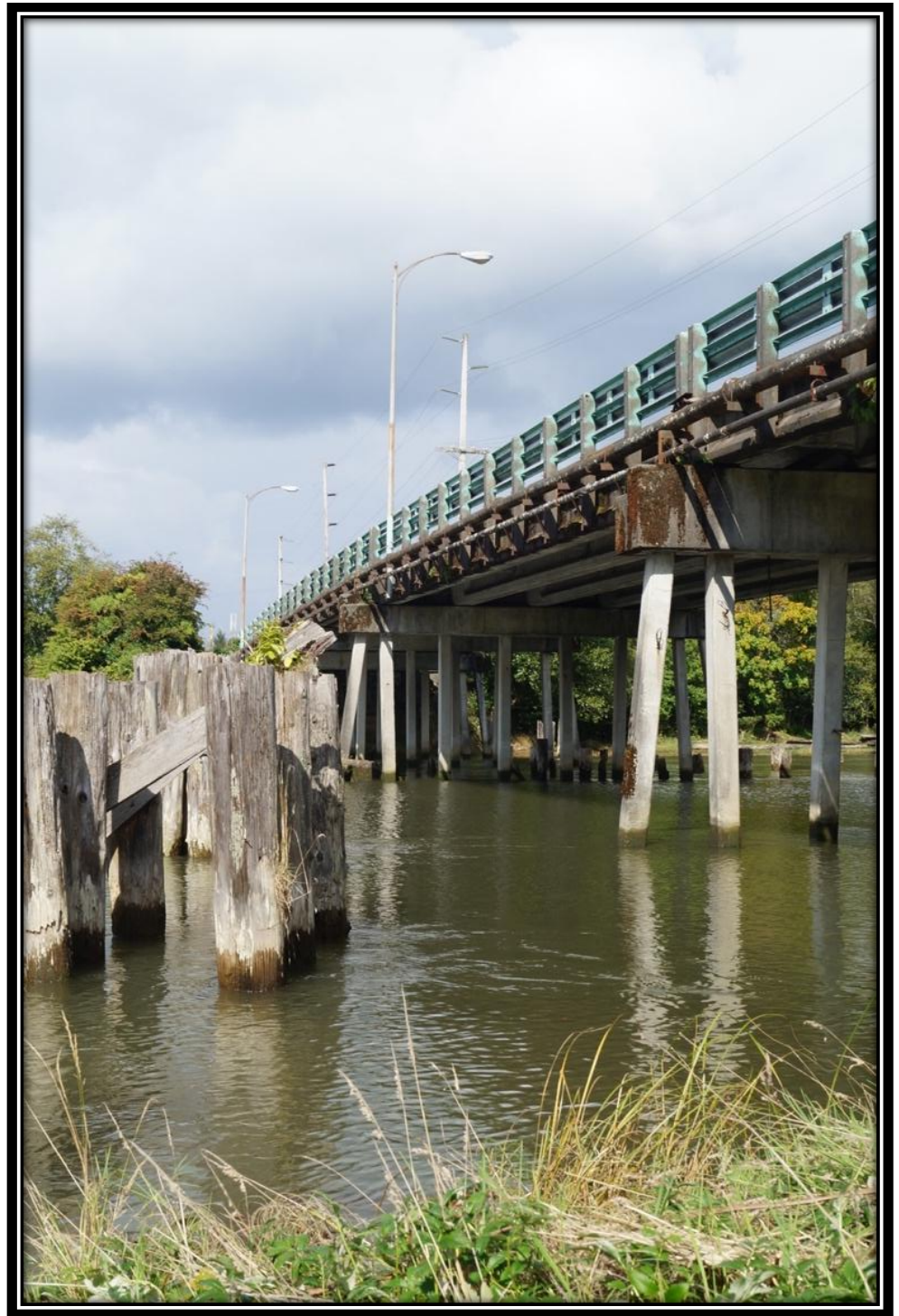


Figure 59: Young Street Bridge. Aberdeen (Authors own)

The coverage of graffiti and tributes are notable. Some iconographic symbols already associated with the band, peoples own words, testimonies, add to the collection in an almost shrine-like way. On the ground, the material culture included recently deposited

drug refuse: pills, needles, tin cups, rope (a possible tourniquet?). The site almost had a juxtaposition of two themes present. The abundance of graffiti demonstrated that, despite debates around the legitimacy of Cobain's homelessness, the mystique and identity of this locale was established by fans and was now legitimized as a place for grief and his memory. Such establishment of grief extended long before any formalized heritage plaques, statues were designated.



Figure 60: Evidence of recent drug use (Image: Authors own, 2015)



Figure 61: Graffiti under the Young Street Bridge (Authors Own, 2015)



Figure 62: "In Memoriam" Sign. Placed upon a concrete girder under the Young Street Bridge (Authors Own, 2015)



Figure 63: Graffiti under the Young Street Bridge (Authors Own, 2015)

The un-commercial nature of the site is interesting here. This is because, despite its formal designation as a memorial park by the Aberdeen local authority, it can be argued that, to the majority of tourists - Aberdeen's location is so immensely far off the interstate highways, it has somehow preserved this authenticity, as well as remained an "informal heritage" with little enfranchisement into the commercial heritage industry. It must be said that any attempts to commercialize and make Nirvana a more lucrative asset to Aberdeen will always be a struggle in the shadow of the fundamental identity of Seattle as well as its high budget cultural assets and attractions such as the Museum of Pop Culture.

The river has become significant in the grunge story and legacy; for instance, "From The Banks Of The Muddy Wishkah" is the name of a live album released on October 1 1996 featuring live performances recorded between 1989 to 1994, while the song "Something In The Way" has long been attributed to the experiences of Kurt Cobain living under this bridge during one of his periods of homelessness. However, this is a claim disputed by Cobain biographer Charles R. Cross...

"Kurt told many stories when he became famous. Only a few of them were true. Many times, though, there was an emotional truth underneath the lie. The greatest lie, of course, is that he lived under the North St. Bridge. That story is in all likelihood, not containing any kind of truth. It's a tidal river. It comes up. You couldn't live under it. There are certain times where the water's gonna be high. And also, it's cold and wet in Aberdeen - even Kurt Cobain couldn't handle that. He certainly spent a lot of time under the bridge, and it was an important place for him to kind of retreat and go away. But the true story was so heartbreaking that you can see why he didn't tell it. The true story was that he had no place. That he lived on friends' porches and then one of the stories I relate in Heavier Than Heaven, you know, when Kurt's friends told me this, it just broke my heart to hear, that he would literally go back to the hospital that he was born in and sleep in the waiting room because there, no one would ever come up to him and say, Why are you here? People always assumed he was there waiting for somebody who was in the hospital" (Charles Cross - Biographer, MoPop Archive, 2009)

Dale Crover of the Melvins has similarly set forth the emphasis on the bridge is overstated...

"All that stuff has been overstated, but nobody ever wants to know the truth. Like the stories that are written about Kurt sleeping under the bridge. It's just not true! I know that he did once, but it's not like he said, that he spent hours and days down there, becoming this tortured artist. That's the biggest myth right there: Kurt Cobain, the tortured artist. People don't realize that guy was a funny motherfucker". (Dale Crover - Melvins Drummer, Yarm 2011, 27)

The proximity of the bridge to the childhood home of Cobain along with testimonies of Cobain's time spent under the bridge provides a significant connection to the artist and, therefore, to the wider soundscape of grunge. More intimately however, the bridge demonstrates how fans have ascribed meaning to the site and also pieced together the lyrics of Cobain's music with such sites as the bridge themselves. People have effectively ascribed their own meaning, and mythology around the artist, music and place.

*"Underneath the bridge
The tarp has sprung a leak
And the animals I've trapped
Have all become my pets
And I'm living off of grass
And the drippings from the ceiling
But it's okay to eat fish
'Cause they don't have any feelings"*

Something In The Way - Nirvana (Nevermind, 1991)

Yet, what is evident is that a dichotomy exists between official heritage and unofficial heritage. Viretta Park, Seattle and The Young Street Bridge, Aberdeen is the product of collective and democratic popular activity, as opposed to the numerous official memorials and plaques which often are used to commemorate prominent people. They represent the ways in which fans and tourists in general, construct a vision or representation of the famous deceased, effectively this is a spontaneous shrine (Santino 2001).

Over the last decade numerous sites are becoming acknowledged in 'authorized' and 'self authorized' forms (Schofield et al 2010). Meaning is integral to the production of value in respect to the historic environment. Meaning is a key characteristic in understanding the heritage of music worlds. However, multiple claims to place can be produced in relation to any particular aspect of the historic environment, making them a potential source of tension and conflict (Jones, 2016, 5).

What this demonstrates is that place is defined by what humans create, modify and move through - a phenomena which Van Dyke (2008, 277) describes as a spatial milieu, the mediation between spatial experiences and perception reflexively creates, legitimates and reinforces social relationships and ideas (Van Dyke 2008, 277). Halbwachs (1992) has demonstrated, that collective memory is historically situated, as people remember or forget the past according to the needs of the present.

The capacity to which music related culture alters meaning in places within the landscape. Scenes have the potential to reassign values to a place (Lashua et al 2010, 106). This point is notably exemplified in how speculation that Soundgarden based one of their songs on a piece of local art by Japanese American artist Isamu Noguchi. The Black Sun (Figure 57) is located on a ledge over a reservoir in Volunteer Park, overlooking the Seattle cityscape. Subsequently this site has become appropriated by the punk landscape and the site is today synonymous with the local band Soundgarden and the song Black Hole Sun.

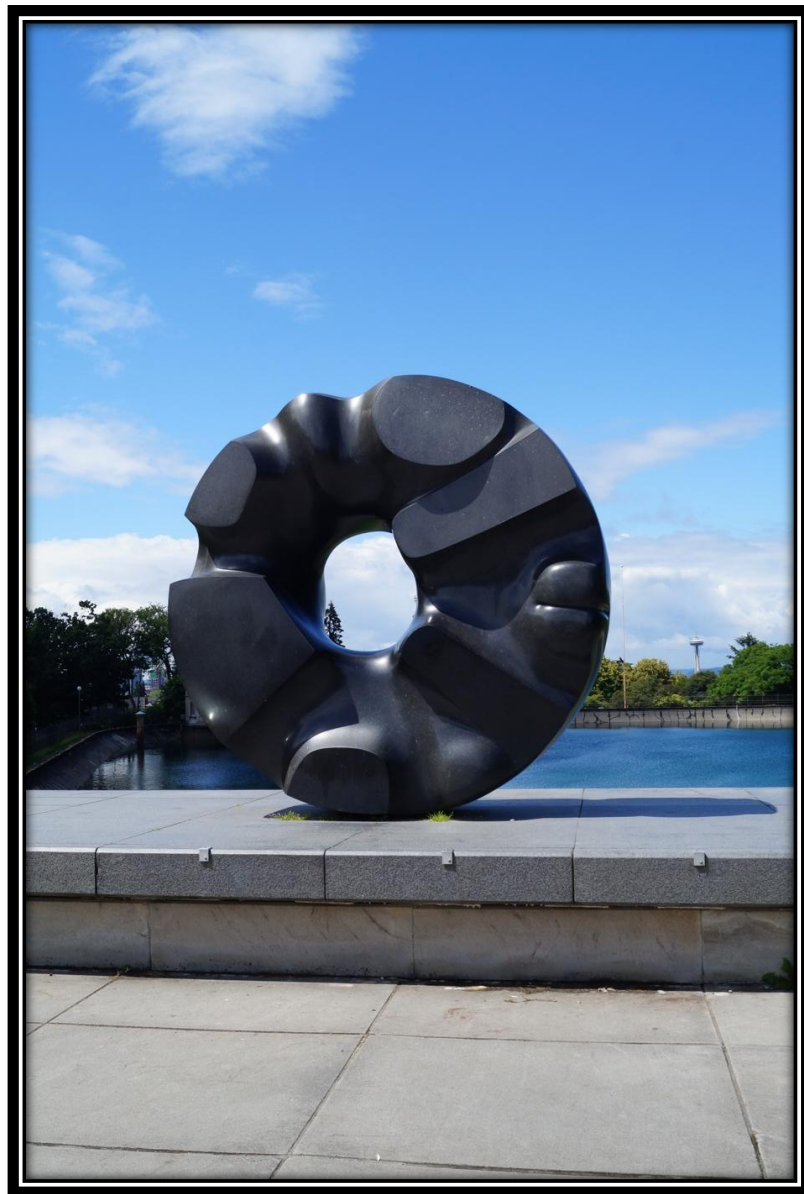


Figure 64: Black Hole Sun (Authors Own, 2016)

After all; landscapes are meaningfully constituted physical and social environments, and meaning is inscribed on landscapes through experience. But memory within a landscape is not always associated with pleasure. It can be associated sometimes with loss, with pain, with social fracture and the sense of belonging gone, although the memory remains, albeit poignantly (Taylor 2008, 2). This is a trait demonstrated by the Changing Form statue created by artist Doris Totten Chase which has long become established as associated with Andrew Wood of Mother Love Bone following the iconic image which adorned the Mother Love Bone compilation album (figures 67 and 68).



Figure 65: Kerry Park, Seattle. Changing Form Statue by artist Doris Totten Chase (Image: Authors Own, 2016)



Figure 66: Andrew Wood of Mother Love Bone image in front of Changing Form Statue (Image: Mother Love Bone compilation album, 1992)

As Crossley (2015) explains, it is important to take into consideration the importance of the role of imagination and play in considering music related sites. Objects, behaviors and people take on certain meanings and statuses because those involved take the imaginative step of acting ‘as if’ they had those meanings and statuses. People can develop the idea of interpretation and external meaning, however, by reference to the work of Stanley Fish (1980). Fish challenges the idea that art objects have any single, determinate meaning. The same object, he argues can always be interpreted in multiple ways. Many of Fishes critics believe this implies that objects can have any meaning, resulting in a loose form of subjectivism in which the object means something different to each and every person.

Fish (1980) counters such critique, in arguing that although objects take on different meanings across different ‘interpretative communities’, a characteristic which could be

argued as been present within sites such as Changing Form and Black sun. Within such communities such meaning is therefore often deterministic, both in the sense that it is obvious and in the sense that, where disagreement or ambiguities arise, they are resolved. The meaning of an object is determined by the stock of taken-for-granted assumptions and interpretative conventions generated, maintained and, over time, transformed through the interaction of members of an interpretative community (Crossley 2015, 34).

Place has meaning for those who use it, yet notably music scenes have the potential to reassign values to a place (Lashua et al 2010, 106). As explained by Crossley (2015, 38) within music scenes a range of places are important for meaningful activities from performance spaces to areas where people can collectively gather and interact. As emphasized in Becker (2004), rehearsal, recording and meeting places are important too and so are record shops. Becker defines place as “a physical place that has been socially defined; defined by its expected uses, by shared expectations about what kinds of people will be there to take part in those activities.

Sites such as the Changing Form and Black Sun have become part of established "grunge tours" around Seattle yet also show no formal designation as grunge places of memorial or formal enfranchisement into the narrative of the commercial heritage. What such meaning demonstrates is how punk features and monuments across the region perpetuate marked claims and associations to places in the landscape. Such sites can be defined as punk heritage; representative of a time and place, deeply engrained with the cultural connotations of which the music scene once omitted and people in turn project upon them.

7.5 Transience and the Ephemeral

Yet, such marked claims are intangible and can be argued as running counter to the hegemonic intentions of such sites. For example the practicality of a community's bridge in offering connection across a river and the open recreational space of a park, the public function of a bench in offering a space to rest or even the original artistic intentions

behind art installations. The punk heritage is confrontational in nature and shifts and applies meaning to such locales.

A key material trace of punk's material culture is the poster culture. Evidence of posters is still identifiable on telegraph posts across the cities, especially Seattle. Many promoters and bands would identify prominent locations where posters could be fixed to maximize the number of people who were likely to see the advertised show. Posters were arguably one of the most visible components of a music world, aside from the participants. As described by Jeff Kleinsmith (Graphic Designer. MoPop Archive, 2007) "the poster culture was hugely important at that time. You couldn't walk around Capitol Hill and Ballard, any neighborhood for the most part, without just seeing massive amounts of posters on telephone poles".

Punks graphic language needed to be identifiable to potential audiences – to be effective, and connote a connection to the scene but at the same time designers often strove for an individual identity for the band or label within that context. Yet, such conflict arises as people involved in music worlds invent rituals and games, albeit sometimes unwittingly, wrapping new and inventive narratives around their activities. It is for this reason that outsiders initially struggle to make sense of what is going on (Crossley 2015, 30). In other words, posters and such behavior spoke to a particular group.

As countercultural communities modified the environment and territorialized spaces, the material traces of the poster culture are still identifiable on lampposts across the city. The nature of punk heritage highlights the transience with which punk communities operate. As shown in posters for example - such artifacts provided a direct material connection to a locale, a place and its music scene making the music world both visible and connected.



Figure 67: Example of a Seattle lamppost. (Authors Own 2016)

The meanings they inscribe upon the landscape provide a reference point to the intangible cultural activity of which punk heritage invokes. As described previously, often the posters on telegraph poles and lampposts were the only evidence which existed of a punk event taking place. Often the residual poster is the only tangible connection which remains to that moment in place and time.



Figure 68: Green River Poster (MoPop Archive, 2016)

Punk musical and visual identity was at least in part about solidarity, although it was often expressed in a language that proclaimed individuality and autonomy. Graphic design styles relating to the movement also follow similar patterns – the need to be recognized as part of the counterculture is in turn balanced by a desire to stand out as an individual or to display an originality of intent. Posters can be viewed as the product of a culture defining itself against the hegemonic society. Yet, therefore issues of identity are consequently articulated around notions of place.

Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s the punk communities experienced a great deal of hostility. Both interviewees in Portland and Seattle explained the contentious social strain with which punk had to operate throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. As Chantry (1985) describes often the placing of posters had to be done at night describes to make sure

people could see the poster the following day. Posting flyers on poles and walls was illegal, and poster makers, continually were harassed by the police, faced court dates and fines. The police once closed down a Refuzors show purely on the basis of an obscene poster (Chantry 1985, 6). An example of such conflict in Portland can be highlighted in poster culture. Ben Munat (Authors Own, 2016) explained...

"There was a city commissioner called Dick Bogle, he started this massive campaign to ban postering on telegraph poles. He considered it unsightly. So everyone in the underground scene was like "What are you talking about, this is our means to communicate, this is how we get the word out. We can't afford to put ads in the papers and nobody writes about our shows, they just write about Duran Duran coming to town. But Dick Bogle pushed this and pushed this until finally they went to Portland General Electric, who owns the poles. Because the poles aren't owned by the city the city contracts with the electric company to put the poles in the ground and charges people for the electric which runs over it. And PG said, you don't own the poles, and actually it's against the law for you to even have your signs on our poles, we've looked the other way. And the entire thing went away overnight"

Similarly, Kim Thayil of Soundgarden (MoPop Archive, 2015) recalled...

"I remember taking on some of the goofy legislation of Doug Jewitt who I think was the, you know, he was the sort of the...but he was something else...Attorney General, I think. He had some other position besides just being a council member. Yeah, the teen dance ordinance of banning uh...or enforcing whatever laws were on the books about postering and especially on telephone poles and they were making all sorts of excuses really to impede the culture. But it didn't, the contrary happened.

Punk changed the way places functioned, how space was used and appropriating material culture, manipulating the character of neighborhoods, sound and style. By its very nature punk is community, memories and heritage - challenging and confrontational yet ephemeral and spontaneous.

7.6 Place, performance and materiality

Between 1978 and 1983 clubs that booked 'loud music' was opening and closing almost overnight (Chantry 1985, 5). Performances are what tie the collectivism of a venue, a stage and the performer in one single act, an act which is intended to ensure a performance, a musical product remains cemented within an audiences memory. Venues are a "storehouse for social memories in an urban landscape" (Hayden 1997, 9).

Performances were carried out in an analogue environment, one which would produce little documentary evidence of an event. This point is further built upon by Graves-Brown (2010, 228) in that live music is fixed within a place for the duration of a performance, but because it is both intangible and ephemeral, it exists only for that duration.

"It wasn't about the four walls of a venue, it was about the people in it" - Monica Nelson of The Obituaries and Highgates (Authors Own, 2016)

Venues such as the Rock Theatre demonstrated a short life span, yet leave a far lengthier impact upon the intangible heritage memories of the people who utilized the space, disseminated ideas and influenced one another. Spaces were created and adapted within the urban environment which acted as a catalyst for innovation. As people such as Art Chantry (2007, MoPop archive) state the venue is seen to be a catalyst for bringing two different styles of music together...

"They were going to cater to the two teenage audiences of punk and metal. So they were going to have two stages, two kinds of music and one lobby and like these two genres fought and so I just laughed when I heard about that because I thought the lobby would be a blood bath, or something and the strangest thing happened you know, they'd crossover and watch each other's acts, they'd get in the lobby and they'd chit chat, and the only thing they didn't have in common was the hairstyle. Metal heads got punkier and the punk bands got metally".

Mason draws an evocative relationship between rock gigs and society (2008, 18). At a rock concert the stage is inaccessible, surrounded by barriers and security guards. It constitutes

the realm of the rock star, the producer and the owner: a minority who sell a product that the audience, an undefined mass, can just consume. At punk shows the band and the fans are on the same level, and thus occupy the same space; the hierarchy was abandoned in favor of an equal relationship, where the musicians were not figures to be idolized.

Such venues could be viewed as having a temporality. Yet, it could be argued such temporality transcends into the material cultural records of such live events. An example of this is the smashed, discarded remains of a Univox electric guitar. The Univox model became a consistently preferred guitar of Nirvana front-man Kurt Cobain throughout the bands emerging years within the Pacific North West. Such a category of artifact can be demonstrated as indicative of a great deal of multi-layered heritage significance when considered within the context of the oral histories and understanding the relationship between sound and place. The remains of a guitar present a trace of - not only the musical production of sound but also its performance.

Many rock bands have utilized destruction as a means to provide a memorable end to a show. "you're watching him and you know that he probably can't afford that, he probably can't afford that guitar, but he's so serious about the show that he wants you to remember it" states Earnie Bailey former Nirvana Guitar Technician (MoPop Archive). Taking shows seriously, and etching them within the memory of an audience is important invoking the relationship between material culture, memory and the specific time and place of a venue.

However, the act demonstrates a complex relationship to the material culture. As described by McMurray (2011), Nirvana - in smashing guitars, presented a band that were effectively playing with the Rock Star Cliché and excess, yet, unlike those they paralleled, they could not afford to smash such equipment when they were. Gavin Carfoot (2006, 38) who makes an important point in suggesting "musicians often identify very personally with the existing cultural identities of their instrument". Furthermore, Cobain presents an artist who always maintained that guitars were bought cheap, simply because they were the only ones affordable. In smashing such guitars, this act and artifact can be therefore

suggested as the product of seeking to dissociate with the cultural hegemony and mainstream pop culture, dominating the United States.

"There's a letter that Kurt Cobain wrote circa 1989 where he's begging to get some attention. He's already played all the clubs that matter in Seattle, and yet he's still starving. I know a lot about Cobain having written a biography of him, and people forget that even the year that Nirvana broke through, 1991; Kurt made around \$25,000 that year. The previous years, he was so poor he was still on food stamps. (Charles Cross, MoPop Archive, 2009)

People who were associated with the group at this time, such as Earnie Bailey a Seattle guitar repairman has alluded to such performance related destruction as Cobain would look for cheap replacements in pawn shops or have Sub Pop (the record label) ship the band cheap guitar models via Federal Express. "I heard stories about Kurt's guitar destruction from the Sub Pop people early on," When he was out on the road he'd call them up and say, 'I don't know what got into me, but I just smashed up my guitar.' I don't think he was planning on smashing guitars from day one. It was just something he did. The poor Sub Pop people would call all the pawn shops up and down the coast, looking for Univox guitars." Jack Endino (MoPop Archive, 2007)



*Figure 69: Guitar Smashed by Kurt Cobain at the Evergreen State College, Olympia October 30th. 1988
(Image: MoPop Archive, 2016)*



*Figure 70: Smashed by Kurt Cobain at the Evergreen State College Olympia
October 30th. 1988 (Image: MoPop Archive, 2016)*

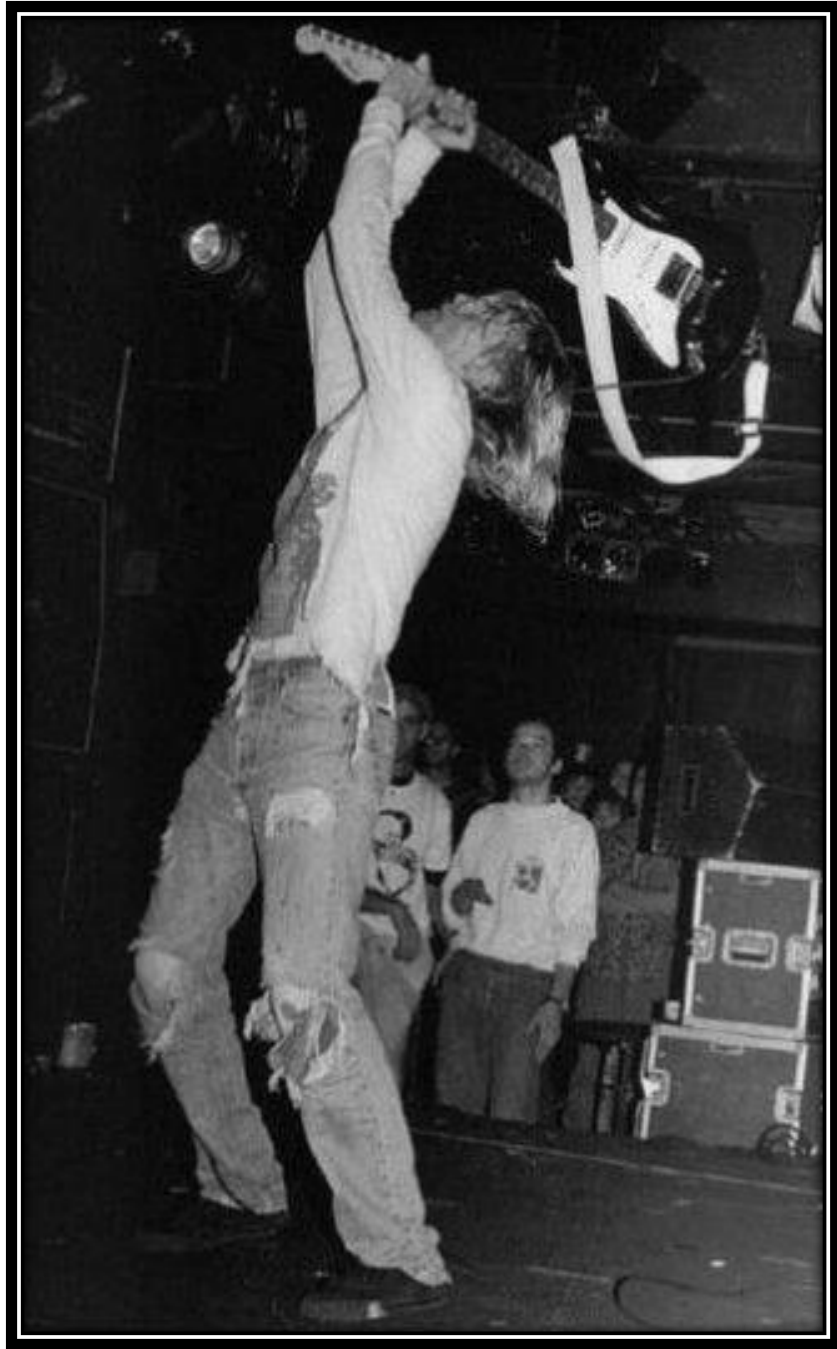


Figure 71: Kurt Cobain smashing his guitar, Boston, September 23, 1991 (Image by Charles Peterson, 1991)

"That was pretty much my whole job. Just fixing stuff. I know - every night at that point I was like, why? Why do you have to do this? [Laughs] Um, yeah, I mean, I didn't - I wasn't polishing cymbals or cleaning kits or anything. I was repairing and putting back together and trying to make a kit work every night [laughs]. Uh, I tried to have a stockpile with me. "Um, sometimes I'd have to search and go around town and, and often in Europe or other

parts of the country it's almost impossible to find parts."- Barrett Jones (MoPop Archive, 2011)

The guitars were stripped of their electronics after the show ready to be fitted onto a new cheaply supplied body. This indicates the resourcefulness and need to stock such equipment to be able to remain sustainable on tour. Therefore, an artifact is a more complex entity when considered with oral testimonies. In exploring its relationship to place, it is necessary to consider a myriad of layers of significance which are presented. The disposable approach by the performer to such material culture demonstrates that the act was simultaneously a product of a disregard for materiality yet also, the stripping of electronic fittings, the caliber of guitar and the context within which it was destroyed are also the product of place related phenomena in the socio-economic standing of those using the instrument.



Figure 72: Broken Kurt Cobain Stratocaster (MoPop Archive 2016).

Such a category of evidence, demonstrates a significant route into understanding the socio-economic and the resourcefulness touring required. "If one guitar broke, we would salvage it, we'd take all the guts and stuff, whatever we could, and stick them in the next body of the guitar. And any expense as far as that goes was relatively cheap 'cause we'd sort of kind of prepared ourselves... We didn't have a lot of cash, but Krist's bass, for whatever reason, that thing was made really, really well. And I mean, he would toss that thing up in the air and it would come down and crash down on the drums or something

like that, but it never, ever broke" explains Chad Channing (Nirvana Drummer. MoPop Archive, 2009).

7.7 An Isolated Germ culture

"Seattle isn't a glamorous town at all. It was pretty pathetic. Very depressing. That's where this music came out of. I made this comment before: Grunge isn't a music style. It's complaining set to drop D tuning" Jeff Gilbert - Journalist; KZOK DJ (Yarm, 2011, 27).

As Seattle producer Jack Endino succinctly states (Yarm, 2011, 14) the region was a "little isolated germ culture". With "people making music to please themselves because there was nobody else to please, resigned to creating their own entertainment", tucked away from the commercial mass pop culture. As described by Taylor (2008) Images of landscape are evident in many creations: literature, poetry, paintings, ceramics, tapestries and weaving, myths, gardens, cultural activities, films, television documentaries, travel material, maps, advertising. The raw, distorted tones of grunge and self-deprecating lyrics easily go hand in hand. In characterizing the grunge movement, its regional setting remains fundamental to its identity.

The regional context is significant to understanding the scene. After all; the landscape in which punk propagated and developed omits a range of forces impacting upon how people in the past utilized time, space and were influenced in art. Within archaeological discourse the integration of non-human agents has been a pivotal step forward in understanding the relationship between culture and nature. Notable recent critiques such as Walsh (2008) have highlighted post-processual approaches to understanding the complex relationships between culture and nature in the ancient world. As outlined in presenting the data this work explored, it is important to stress the role of nature.

Artists such as Greg Sage of The Wipers captured the depression and isolation within a number of works subsequently disseminated such themes in records and live shows. Notably, some have described Wipers as the biggest influence on bands like Pearl Jam, Mudhoney and Green River "critical in providing people with a shot in the arm and a boost

to their morale when it was most needed" (Northwest Passage 2006). A point reiterated by Mark Lanegan of the Seattle band Screaming Trees in how "The first real show that we did was opening up for The Wipers in Olympia and of course like everybody else we thought Greg Sage was god" (MoPop Archive, 2009). What the Wipers captured is exemplified in lyrics such as...

*It's such a long way down
Maybe I should try a floor below
A softer landing might just ease the pain
Being a coward is such a drag...
Getting so depressed!*

- *The Wipers, Potential Suicide (Is This Real? 1980)*

*Standing on the stairs
Cold, cold morning
Ghostly image of fear
Mayday, mayday
Gonna leave this region
They'll take me with them*

- *The Wipers, D-7 (Is This Real? 1980)*

Monica Nelson alludes to the way climate can influence sound in stating how "if you listen to Wipers records when Greg Sage is based in Portland, they are very different from when he moved to Arizona. Very different. The mood of it. The rain has a lot to do with it. There was sort of a depression. There was sort of a depression. A lot of alcohol and a lot of drugs. And a lot of rain. And, it was really cheap to live in Oregon. There wasn't the noise of the city, like if you live in New York City, wherever you live, there is always going to be noise, day and night you can never have your thoughts to yourself. Here it is the opposite (Monica Nelson - The Obituaries (Authors Own, 2016).

But beyond merely artistic observation, what does a region's environment impact upon? The use of upbeat, positive sounding keys, tempo and tone to the music in contrast to that which was produced in the Pacific North West. Although such interpretations are open to critique, Graves-Brown (2010, 229) has set-forth an important point in how place is embedded in a recording, encapsulating the acoustic properties of a place, while the place of recording may affect the creative process of artists.

Some may argue this point is superficial and abstract and a difficulty exists in identifying tangible evidence. Yet, what Graves-Brown (2010) describes is strengthened by Nirvana drummer Dave Grohl who recalls how physical attributes have a distinct affect on the sound of music. Grohl provides the example of humidity in New Orleans and how it affects the instruments "Even the humidity in the air will affect the sound of a piano because the wood stretches and the strings stretch, it affects the sound of the horns" Grohl explains (Buchanan, 2015). It is possible to see weather systems and a specific environment as a factor which impacts the way music is created and thus how specific sounds transpire to tape. The rain and overcast nature of the Pacific North West region is bounded by mountains and through this became a motivator as "It draws people inwards and makes them go inside. One of the reasons, there was such a vital community in Seattle because everyone couldn't be fucking bothered to go outside" (Buchanan, 2015).

However, it is important to resist falling into an environmentally deterministic comprehension of place related phenomena. The agency of individuals in creating networks and tangible products is paramount. In identifying, marketing and recording the artists who originated in the Pacific North West, Bruce Pavitt and Jonathon Poneman utilized the recording skills of Jack Endino. Endino was required to record on a resourceful budget which included entire albums for just a \$1,000. In producing at the pace Sub-Pop required, Endino would soon develop standard set-ups which helped uniform the sound and product. Endino would record seventy-five singles, EPs and albums between 1987 and 1989 (Azerrad 2001, 436).

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1 Conclusions

This research is concerned with the relationship between Sound and Place and the implications for understanding countercultural formation, function and the heritage it invokes. Through this - assessing and exploring the heritage significance of the Pacific North West Punk and its grunge heritage. In exploring the punk heritage of the Pacific North West, it could be argued that punk presents a material culture which is sporadic, impulsive, immediate and at times vague. As construction sites continue to disperse throughout the streets of downtown Seattle and Portland the sites and memories of a bygone culture continue to erode. Grunge can be viewed as one of the last true pre-internet music genres. It presents a very particular, identifiable style and sound which emanated from within a specific geographic region. Punk propagated within a perfect storm of influences. It fed upon social circumstance and was nurtured by geographic isolation, climate and the innovation of creative youth. This research aimed to explore this period of time, the people, culture, heritage and its relationship to place.

In elucidating the form and function of grunge this research demonstrates that the scene was a multifaceted phenomenon. In characterizing the punk past and the place of music this research utilized oral histories. These histories are complimented with sites and material culture. This research utilizes ethnography and multidisciplinary approaches to make a unique contribution to what is an essential and timely discussion regarding people, culture, heritage and place. From label representatives, producers, promoters, graphic designers to musicians - music scenes happen because resourceful, creative and innovative people create, design and perform. But every art-work as Becker argues, 'has to be some place' (2004, 17). Music must happen somewhere and at some time and place is what shapes both the performance and the performer.

It has been shown within this research that a range of external influences impact upon people in place. The geographic isolation and climatic influences are seen as influencing the mood of the sound and the artistic style which diffused through the networks. The economic disparity and social issues which define much of the punk era is seen to be pivotal in disseminating a counter-cultural ideology. The artistic innovation would see a

scene which was determined to define itself against the dominant hegemonic structures.

Material culture is crucial in allowing artists to hone their craft and provide important tools to express themselves. From the placing of posters on walls to modifying and adapting guitars - in coupling such evidence with oral histories it is evident that punk artifacts can reveal a myriad of layers and meaning which relate to place. Punk propagated within an environment but effectively adapted and appropriated the environment, counter to mainstream society. Through such immediacy and antagonism the culture that alter the meaning of existing sites and present unofficial heritage sites which operate outside the realms of formal heritage discourse.

This research has shown that the punk landscape is a significant component of 20th century heritage. Within formal heritage policymakers need to pay more heed to the economic and cultural contribution of such spaces. Local regimes often focus attention on major developments whose key beneficiaries are larger businesses, despite the potential for future preservation, documentation and enfranchisement into mainstream heritage discourse. A nuanced, pragmatic approach needs to be set forth. In understanding place it is important that not only is important heritage lost, but rather these locations remain integral parts of the life-ways of local communities.

What is often forgotten is the art and collectivism countercultural spaces play host to. The energy, creativity and collectivism are most effectively presented within internet memory pages (Appendix F). Such internet based resources often show how people have a need to tell the story of a music scene past. New technology brings new opportunities and changes how music is accessed and created; similarly people document the past and engage differently. The countercultural past can be seen as a democratized heritage and one which a community actively takes ownership of. The notion of an anti-heritage (Graves-Brown and Schofield 2011, 1399) is a salient point, especially outside the formal museum setting. What can be seen through the appropriation of sites, altered meaning, and memories is how the punk scene remains capable of utilizing available technology and reacting to the contemporary world in a heritage context.

Such a process is indicative of how people form bonds with place and this is an attachment which serves as an integral component of self-identity. It epitomizes the interlinking and deep relationship between identity, notions of place and place attachment. Meanings and identities are then attached to specific localities and prove integral to the production of a sense of place.

As a heritage concern it raises a complex and difficult debate. Punk had an explosive, energizing effect on music, fashion and youth culture. As highlighted within this research, innovative and ambitious music can be found in what are perceived to be the most challenging of environments. As set-forth above, the music past remains an essential contribution to the cities of Seattle and Portland and also the smaller towns within the Pacific North West. It is a source of pride, but also identity and economic benefit. Like the music industry, the heritage industry is one which is in the midst of a transition.

The potential for archaeology and broader heritage methodologies to delve deeper into understanding the formation, growth, meaning and dissemination of such culture is vast. But the themes outlined above are deeply intertwined. The music scene was emerged, flourished and fragmented leaving a heritage which reflected its form and function as an ephemeral, transient phenomena. The heritage it leaves is ephemeral in nature yet rich in intangible meaning and values which are attached to places and reverberate through the oral histories.

8.2 Further Directions

Bennett (2002) has highlighted how music scenes now revolve around digital communication, infrastructure and distribution. There are a number of potential further routes where this research can be concerned. It is clear that there is considerable scope for a wider and more inclusive documentation and archiving of twentieth-century music related structures, sites and remains. Through extensive mapping and dating, a clearer understanding of movement and the opening and closing of live music within the Seattle and Portland neighborhoods can be achieved and elucidated with patterns of socio-economic change through time.

The need for more inclusive and extensive documentation is of great importance. This could include walking and talking maps which would vastly enhance the database and provide a more nuanced picture of how urban space was used by countercultural communities. A number of websites have compiled extensive lists of venues, bands and the broader scene, but such lists don't explore the heritage significance specifically. Furthermore, global positioning system would aid the mapping of music venues and sites which would allow for dates and punk culture related evidence to be more intimately analyzed. This would prove valuable in allowing for a more visual and qualitative analysis to be presented where punk can be materially traced throughout the cities of Portland Oregon and Seattle Washington.

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Soundtrack

Mudhoney – 1989 Touch Me I'm Sick. Debut EP (Song was later included on the album)

Mudhoney – 1990 Superfuzz Bigmuff. Sub-Pop Records

The Accused (Oak Harbor Washington, USA). The Return of Martha Spatterhead (1986).

Earache Records

Alice In Chains (Seattle Washington, USA) - Facelift (1990). Columbia

The Clash (London, England) - London Calling (1979). CBS

Bikini Kill (Olympia Washington, USA)- Revolution Girl Style Now (1991). Self Released

Dead Moon (Portland Oregon, USA) - Thirteen Off My Hook (1990). Music Maniac Records

Deep Six (Pacific North West) – Compilation Record (1986). C/Z Records

Elliott Smith (Portland Oregon, USA) Either/Or (1997). Kill Rock Stars Records

The Gits (Seattle Washington, USA) - Frenching The Bully (1992). C/Z Records

Green River (Seattle, Washington USA) - Come on Down (1985). Homestead Records

The Heat(er)s (Seattle Washington, USA) - Have An Idea (1980). Albatross Records

Heatmiser (Portland Oregon, USA) - Mic City Sons (1996). Caroline Records

L7 (Los Angeles California, USA) – Smell The Magic (1990). Sub-Pop Records

Malfunkshun (Bainbridge Island Washington, USA) Return to Olympus (1995 Reissue)

Loosegroove Records.

Melvins (Montesano Washington, USA)– Gluey Porch Treatments (1987). Alchemy

Records

Melvins (Montesano Washington, USA) - Houdini (1993). Atlantic Records

Mother Love Bone (Seattle Washington, USA) - Apple (1990). Mercury Records

Mr. Epp and the Calculations (Bellevue Washington, USA) - Of Course I'm Happy. Why?
(1983). Pravda Records

Mudhoney (Seattle Washington, USA) – Every Good Boy Deserves Fudge (1991). Sub-Pop

Neo Boyz (Portland Oregon, USA) - K Records

Nirvana (Aberdeen Washington, USA) – Bleach (1989). Sub-Pop Records

Nirvana (Aberdeen Washington, USA) – Nevermind (1991). DGC Records

The Obituaries (Portland Oregon, USA) - The Obituaries (1987). Highgate Records

Pearl Jam (Seattle Washington USA) - Ten (1991). Epic Records

The Pixies (Boston, Massachusetts USA) - Doolittle (1989). 4AD Records

Poison Idea (Portland Oregon, USA) - Kings of Punk (1986). Pusmort Records

The Ramones - (New York, USA) - Ramones (1976). Sire Records

The Replacements (Minneapolis, Minnesota USA) - Tim (1985). Sire Records

Screaming Trees (Ellensburg Washington, USA) - Buzz Factory (1989). SST Records

The Sex Pistols (London, England) - Never Mind The Bollocks (1977). Virgin Record

Various Artists (Seattle Washington, USA) - Singles Compilation Soundtrack (1992) Epic
Soundtrax

The Sonics (Tacoma Washington, USA) - Here Are The Sonics (1965). Etiquette Records

The Sonics (Tacoma Washington, USA) - Fire and Ice (1980). First American Records

Soundgarden (Seattle Washington, USA) – Ultramega OK (1988). SST

Soundgarden (Seattle Washington, USA) - Louder Than Love (1989). A&M Records

Sub-Pop 200 – Compilation Record (1988). Sub-Pop Records

Tad (Seattle Washington, USA) 8-Way Santa (1991). Sub-Pop Records

The U-Men (Seattle Washington, USA). Stop Spinning (1985). Homestead Records

Wipers (Portland Oregon, USA) - IS This Real? (1980). Park Avenue Records

Wipers (Portland Oregon, USA) - Over The Edge (1983). Trap Records

Wipers (Portland Oregon, USA) - The Circle (1988). Restless Records

Video

Exclaim TV. (2011). Strike Anywhere - Exclaim! TV's Garageland [Video]. Available at:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yu6K2c9IIPk> [accessed 10th July 2016]

Sonic Highways. Foo Fighters (2014). [film]. Roswell, RCA

Northwest Passage: Birth of Portland's D.I.Y. Culture (2007). [film]. ID

Appendices

Appendix A: Information Sheet

Place and Punk: The Heritage Significance of Grunge in the Pacific North West

Who is the researcher?

William Smith is an experienced archaeologist who graduated with a First Class Honors Degree in Archaeology from the University of York. William is now studying a Masters degree at the University of York. This research is exploring the relationship between music and place, culture and people. This draws upon experiences in the grunge music scenes of the Pacific North West.

William is being supervised in this research by Professor John Schofield from the University of York.

If you would like more information about this research, please contact William on 07860801207 or email ws585@york.ac.uk

John Schofield can be contacted on john.schofield@york.ac.uk

The Project

I would like to invite you to participate in this research exploring memories and experience within the cultural music scenes of the Pacific North West. Music and Place can seem all important to artistic identity, a rootedness that gives both music and musician a context for being. In the 1980s, Punk rock and heavy metal merged and the region of the Pacific North West gave birth to a unique style and sound which became known to the world as grunge.

Why Grunge?

Grunge was unique to the Pacific North West. Today, bands such as Pearl Jam and Nirvana are known all over the world. This project will provide useful information in studying subcultural formation and exploring why the Pacific North West gave birth to this particular style and culture.

The study also seeks to assess the potential of archaeology as a discipline and its ability to contribute to the understanding of subcultural pasts.

What will I have to do if I agree to take part?

- Participation will be voluntary
- There will be a walking and talking discussion and survey. This shall discuss and explore memories and sites of particular interest
- The site visits will involve semi-structured interviews and the sketching of maps
- Locations for site visits will be given upon receiving participant interest. These are also flexible to incorporate locations of importance to participants

How much of my time will participation involve?

Length of time can vary and be arranged at the convenience of the participant. It is estimated the discussion and site visits will take two hours.

Positives

Many are familiar with archaeology as the excavation and study of the distant past. However, the discipline today is effectively shedding new lights on the recent past. This will be an opportunity to be involved in a project studying a unique aspect of the recent past.

It is hoped you will find the project interesting and enjoy sharing your own experiences, knowledge and memories as we explore the 1980s music scenes of the Pacific North West.

Negatives

You may feel uncomfortable talking about some experiences in your past. However, please be assured you are not obliged to disclose anything you feel uncomfortable with.

What will happen to the information?

Quotes and information provided in the study will be used in the final thesis. If anonymity is chosen, your identity will not be given. A summary of findings will be available to all participants as well as the opportunity to receive a digital copy of the final Masters thesis. Information may be used in future research.

All data will be protected and stored securely. Data and personal information will not be given to third parties.

Will my participation in the project remain confidential?

If you agree to take-part, you have the right to remain anonymous within the study. This option can be chosen on the accompanying consent form as well as agreed verbally.

Information from this project will not be disclosed to any third parties. Your responses to questions will be recorded and used for the purpose of this project only. Recording will consist of a Dictaphone audio recorder, notes, hand drawn maps and photographs all of which will be used in the final Master's thesis.

Agreeing to take part

In agreeing to be involved in this study, every step has been taken to ensure participant safety and well-being. This research has been subject to a University of York ethical review. The ethics department can be contacted at hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk.

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. If you do not wish to take part, you do not have to give a reason. Similarly, if you do agree to participate you are free to withdraw at any time during the project. In the event you decide to opt out, all information and data associated with you will not be retained.

Appendix B: Study Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

RESEARCH ETHICS: CONSENT FORM

Full title of Project: Sound and Place: Grunge in the Pacific North West

Researcher: William Smith BA, Masters by Research candidate.
ws585@York.ac.uk

Please Tick Box

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|
| 1. | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. | I agree to take part in the above study | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. | I agree to the interview / consultation being audio recorded | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. | I agree to the use of quotes and recorded data for the completion of a Masters by Research thesis. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. | I agree to research been used in future research | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. | Please tick if you wish to remain anonymous | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix C: Fanzines

Appendix C.1: The Rocket Fanzine



Appendix C.2: Op Fanzine



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LONDON REPORT



LAURIE ANDERSON



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- contractions
- joe despair & the future
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- theatre of hate
- tsol
- undertones
- veil of tears
- and more

Appendix D: Oral History Data

Appendix D.1: MoPop (Museum of Pop Culture, Seattle, Oral History Archive)

Who's interviewed	Interviewer	length	date	archive
Alice in Chains	Jacob McMurray	01:00:50 - 01:57:50	23/09/2009	MOPOP
Mark Arm	Peter Blecha	01:00:00 - 01:33:10	03/05/1998	MOPOP
Mark Arm	Matt Turner	01:01:24 - 03:11:51:00	16/03/2007	MOPOP
Jon Auer	No Name	01:00:05 - 01:39:31	12/02/1999	MOPOP
Melissa Auf Der Maur	Jacob McMurray	01:01:00 - 02:45:40	24/09/2010	MOPOP
Michael Azerrad	Malcolm Sangster	01:00:03 - 02:21:27	21/07/2009	MOPOP
Peter Bagge	Jacob McMurray	01:00:43 - 02:44:33	30/04/2010	MOPOP
Earnie Bailey	Jacob McMurray	01:00:00 - 03:23:35	11/12/2008	MOPOP
Nils Bernstein	No Name	No time	No Date	MOPOP
Kurt Bloch	Malcolm Sangster	18:01:21 - 20:28:22	06/12/1999	MOPOP
Matt Cameron	Malcolm Sangster	06:00:15 - 07:06:31	18/12/1999	MOPOP
Jerry Canrell	Jacob McMurray	01:00:02 - 01:32:42	23/09/2009	MOPOP
Rachel Carns	Martin Laundry	No time	02/12/1999	MOPOP
Bernyce and Doug Channing	Peter Blecha	No time	02/08/1998	MOPOP

Chad Channing	Jacob McMurray	01:00:49 - 03:52:23	21/01/2009	MOPOP
Art Chantry	Jacob McMurray	01:01:44 - 04:26:09	06/03/2000	MOPOP
Art Chantry	Jacob McMurray	03:06:15 - 04:33:52	30/03/2007	MOPOP
Art Chantry	Jacob McMurray	01:00:38 - 01:57:26	10/07/2009	MOPOP
Dave Crider and Aaron Roeder	Darek Mazzone	00:02:43 - 00:98:00	02/03/2000	MOPOP
Charles Cross	Jacob McMurray	01:01:57 - 02:39:41	25/08/2009	MOPOP
Kurt Danielson	No Name	01:00:09 - 01:32:42	No Date	MOPOP
Elizabeth Davis	No Name	00:00 - 32:00	No Date	MOPOP
Dave Dederer	No Name	01:00:00 - 01:54:04	No Date	MOPOP
Tad Doyle	No Name	01:00:16 - 1:32:06	No Date	MOPOP
Mari Earl	Jacob McMurray	01:00:36 - 02:40:57	18/08/2009	MOPOP
Jack Endino	Jacob McMurray	01:00:38 - 03:12:54	10/05/2009	MOPOP
Jeremy Enigk	Jacob McMurray	01:00:33 - 02:32:54	23/03/2007	MOPOP
Jason Finn	No Name	01:00:16 - 01:52:00	No Date	MOPOP
Steve Fisk	Jacob McMurray	01:03:09 - 03:47:12	02/11/2010	MOPOP
Steve Fisk	No Name	04:00:32 -	No Date	MOPOP

		07:17:05		
Entry Forced	No Name	10:00:41 - 12:07:32	No Date	MOPOP
John Foster	Jacob McMurray	01:03:12 - 02:17:59	29/10/2009	MOPOP
Megan Jasper	Jacob McMurray	01:00:33 - 03:19:41	17/07/2009	MOPOP
Calvin Johnson	Malcolm Sangster	22:06:23 - 23:19:02	12/12/1999	MOPOP
Barrett Jones	Jacob McMurray	01:00:32 - 02:21:12	18/02/2011	MOPOP
Rob Kader	Jacob McMurray	01:50:19 - 02:38:36	25/10/2008	MOPOP
Jeff Kleinsmith	Jacob McMurray	01:00:34 - 02:10:13	No Date	MOPOP
Mark Lanegan	Darek Mazzone	14:00:41 - 14:34:51	16/02/2000	MOPOP
Ben Lattin	Jacob McMurray	02:40:02 - 03:12:00	25/10/2008	MOPOP
Martin Barrett	Jacob McMurray	01:01:05 - 04:13:34	20/01/2010	MOPOP
Scott McCaughey and Kurt Bloch	Malcolm Sangster	No time	No Date	MOPOP
Nikki McClure	No Name	00:00 - 29:34	1999	MOPOP
Mike McCready	Peter Blecha	No time	20/10/1995	MOPOP
Lance Mercer	Jacob McMurray	01:00:32 - 03:21:58	04/07/2010	MOPOP
Metal Church	No Name	08:00:05 - 09:05:00	04/01/2000	MOPOP

Modest Mouse	No Name	00:00 - 21:06	19/11/1999	MOPOP
Craig Montgomery	Jacob McMurray	01:00:35 - 02:31:34	25/02/2011	MOPOP
Slim Moon	Jacob McMurray	01:01:00 - 02:58:28	11/16/2010	MOPOP
Slim Moon / Kill Rock Stars	No Name	00:00:00 - 01:27:00	No Date	MOPOP
Rob Morgan	Jacob McMurray	01:00:00 - 02:26:00	05/07/2010	MOPOP
Molly Neuman	Martin Laundry	No time	1999	MOPOP
Nirvana	Matt Emery	Consists of several 15m	06/01/1990	MOPOP
Krist Novoselic	Jacob McMurray	01:00:00 - 01:45:52	04/02/2010	MOPOP
Krist Novoselic	Jacob McMurray	01:00:00 - 02:18:00	27/06/2008	MOPOP
Krist Novoselic	Derek Mazzone	01:00:00 - 01:44:18	18/11/1999	MOPOP
Buzz Osborne	Jacob McMurray	01:01:11 - 03:28:22	15/03/2011	MOPOP
Bruce Pavitt	Jacob McMurray	01:03:11 - 02:50:57	03/03/2009	MOPOP
Bruce Pavitt	Matt Turner	3:00:15 - 3:52:00	14/12/1999	MOPOP
Bruxe Pavitt and Jonathan Poneman	Jacob McMurray	01:00:00 - 02:25:55	06/17/2009	MOPOP
Dan Peters	Jacob McMurray	01:00:33 - 02:33:01	02/18/2011	MOPOP
Charles Peterson	jacob McMurray	01:00:11 - 02:53:48	09/12/2008	MOPOP

Hugo Poki Piottin	Jacob McMurray	01:01:53 - 03:05:04	05/10/2010	MOPOP
Tom Price	Jacob McMurray	01:13:32 - 03:04:59	23/11/2009	MOPOP
Queensryche	Matt Turner	10:00:05 - 11:10:00	06/01/2000	MOPOP
Larry Reid	Jacob McMurray	01:00:37 - 02:30:07	08/03/2007	MOPOP
Riot Grrrl	Moderator Candice Pederson	No time	1999	MOPOP
Baker Saunders	Peter Blecha	01:56:30:00 - 02:37:29:00	20/10/1995	MOPOP
Ben Shepherd	Jacob McMurray	01:54:29 - 03:25:43	25/02/2009	MOPOP
Alex Shumway	Jacob McMurray	01:01:30 - 03:00:50	11/14/2009	MOPOP
Steve Slayton	Malcolm Sangster	13:00:43 - 14:19:26	17/08/2009	MOPOP
Sleater Kinney	Malcolm Sangster	01:01:17 - 01:41:05	13/09/2009	MOPOP
Erin Smith	Martin Laundry	No time	1999	MOPOP
Jean Smith	Martin Laundry	No time	1999	MOPOP
Kim Thayil	Matt Turner	No time	06/29/09	MOPOP
Kim Thayil	Jacob McMurray	00:00:08 - 01:11:52	22/10/2015	MOPOP
Corin Tucker	Martin Laundry	No time	1999	MOPOP
Steve Turner	Matt Turner	01:00:07 - 01:42:04	03/09/1998	MOPOP
Conrad Uno	Matt Turner	20:01:05 -	Jan-00	MOPOP

		21:30:21		
Tobi Vail	No Name	15:08	1999	MOPOP
Butch Vig	Jacob McMurray	04:01:43:00 - 06:31:15:00	15/03/2011	MOPOP
Selene Vigil	Jacob McMurray	No Time	No Date	MOPOP
Kim Warnick	No Name	01:00:37:00 - 02:08:42:00	No Date	MOPOP
Kim Warnick and Ken Stringfellow	Matt Turner	08:03:33 - 09:17:43	1/12/1999	MOPOP
Alice Wheeler	Jacob McMurray	01:01:46:10 - 03:01:38	08/07/2009	MOPOP
Allison Wolfe	Martin Laundry	No Time	1999	MOPOP
Kim Thayil	No Name	No time	Jun-00	MOPOP
Jane Higgins	Jacob McMurray	01:00:36 - 01:49:04	11/16/2009	MOPOP
Layla Gibbon	Sue Fox	00:00 - 31:05	No Date	MOPOP
Sue Fox and Layla Gibbon	Martin Laundry	00:00 - 62:00	1999	MOPOP
Ed Fotheringham	Jacob McMurray	01:00:50 - 03:03:24	11/11/2009	MOPOP
Monica Nelson	William Smith	00:00:00 - 01:20:59	2016	Authors Own
Steve Hanford	William Smith	00:00:00 - 01:08:00	2016	Authors Own
Brandon Lieberman	William Smith	00:00:00 - 01:09:31	2016	Authors Own
Ben Munat	William Smith	00:00:00 -	2016	Authors

		01:19:51		Own
George Touhouliotis	William Smith	00:00:00 - 00:35:00	2016	Authors Own
Jacob McMurray	William Smith	00:00:00 - 00:49:48	2016	Authors Own
Mike King	William Smith	Email	2016	Authors Own

Appendix D.2: Ben Munat

William Smith interviewing Ben Munat

Location: Starbucks: Pioneer Square, Portland Oregon

Notes - Ben was the bassist in the band Thrillhammer and a Portland Promoter

Also present in the interview is Jen Reed (JR) partner of Ben Munat who also took an active role within the Portland Oregon Punk scene.

WS: Well, I thought it was quite productive the other night, when we were hanging out at the Doug Fir Lounge, for the gig. A lot of interesting conversation.

BM: Sure, did you have the recorder going in your pocket?

WS: Haha, no, no!

BM: As Jen can tell you, I'm very candid all the time

WS So I just thought we should start with how you came to be involved in the music scene?

BM: Mhmm, sure. Shall I go first?

JR: I didn't know I was speaking, I'm just here to watch. But I'll chime in if I have anything relevant.

WS: Absolutely.

BM: In the mid-80s I was going to college in Massachusetts, ran out of money and ran out of steam but my brother moved to Portland in 1986, so he was like “come out here, it’s a great town”, so I came out and we got an apartment together.

The keyboard player for a band called Cool’r was renting a room in the same apartment block as my brother. That was funny because there was actually a cool’r poster shellacked on the wall of Satyricon, which I thought was really funny because they were a fun, funky band which the Satyricon would not come to be known for. But anyway, my brother said, oh .. if you want to watch bands, you should head down to the Satyricon they have 4 or 5 bands every night. I walked in and thought, I love this place. Started going every weekend, sometimes in the week. Started to make friends and some of those friends was a guy named Josh who wanted to start a band, found a couple of another people and had a band called Grimes and realised Pete was a better singer, got a new practise space, wrote songs and became Thrillhammer.

BM: We played Satyricon a lot, Seattle sometimes and toured down the West Coast eventually. Until we got in a fight in LA and the roadie was basically a guy who bugged us until we let him come on the tour, and we had a fight, the roadie got really drunk and started something with the drummer. Pete eventually formed Hazel, Dave Pands both who were signed by Sub-Pop. I eventually started another band called roader. Dave and I had a house off of N/E Sandy, which we called the Thrillhammer house, was completed Grocery house before that because it was owned by another band. partied there and practised in the basement. Salvation Army had bought the house and were just waiting to buy all the houses on the block to build homes for disadvantaged elderly, so the house was gone, my stuff was in storage. I had no job as I quit to go on tour because I didn’t get much vacation. When I came back from tour, I had no job, no place to live and no band because we broke up. So, I would go to Satyricon every night. By the end of the night, I’d have to find somewhere to crash, and end up doing the couch trip. Pretty common.

JR: Yeah, but mine usually turned into the car trip.

BM: I met a girl called Jen, and she said “I know you’re a raspy guy, but you need to stay here for a while and a while turned into 8 years.

BM: George (owner of Satyricon) had given me some work bar-backing and I found some work setting up PAs for like outdoor shows for a local company called Concert sound. Mark Stem was the co-owner with Tom Robinson. I think Tom’s hobby, or even job now is preserving early and old photos, particularly like 19th century Portland. He’s kind of a historian and, errm, he’s getting old, but he might be interesting to speak to. So, anyway, I was working for those guys. Working around those guys, I started picking up some sound stuff. I did meet Tom Robinson pretty quickly when I met him, I was talking to him for a few minutes and he cocked his head and said you're on 78 and everyone else is on 16. I’m on 45 and everyone else is on 33, he said I could do whatever I wanted in Portland. I did wind up playing in several bands, booking for Satyricon and doing sound, playing in several bands. Another part of my 90s life was music editor for a newspaper called PXS, a bi-weekly free paper, a play on the airport designation PDX, it was a bit like willamette weekly. We were struggling financially and not selling enough ads. I had to find people to write reviews and articles then fill the rest of the space.

(Beeps from a reversing truck can be heard)

BM: That’s really annoying (beeping)

BM: In writing for a magazine, what was funny was nobody really questioned me about the ethics of writing about music shows and been a booking agent. It wasn’t like we were a big paper. I policed myself. The editors were conscious about that and if I wrote all Satyricon shows, they’d be like hey!

JR: That really speaks to the lack of sophistication in Portland at that time, nobody was really nefarious that way.

BM: If Satyricon just had local bands, that would have been weird. But, George at Satyricon had somehow, got connected with maybe a dozen booking agents, national

booking agents who had all of the indie rock. Bands would play kind of Satyricon size venues, in fact Satyricon was maybe a little big. Legal capacity was 225, but especially once the store next door became a restaurant we could get over 400 in. Bands would start at that size, then they would play La Luna which before that was called pinewood. That was on Eastwood, it's gone now.

JR: The building is still there.

WS: Blue Gallery too?

BM: Yeah, Blue Gallery that was around before I was booking like, it was in North West, like half a block away from the intersection of tenth and Everett. It's called Life of Riley now, in the late 80s that was the Long Goodbye. and had bands in the basement. The first show I actually went to was The Obituaries. Monica (singer of Obituaries), her surname is Nelson, she married Pete Nelson he was in a band (singer) called Mule, they got a letter from The Mule in Detroit they were on Touch and Go and they were like "Hey were Mule, you can't use the name" so they changed their name to Apartment 3G, they played for a lot of years, well into the 90s. Pete, he was kind of a drunk, I'm a bit of a drunk, so I can say that right? That first show in Portland was in the basement in Long Goodbye and he was drinking beer straight from the pitcher and he got 86'ed (asked to leave). So I went there before I went to the Satyricon. Monica kept his last name. So, when I was working there 87 - 92/91, so four years of just going there all the time. Seeing a lot of shows. Then once I was working there 5 or 6 nights a week. You had to watch the bands, you were stuck. I would just sit in my office some nights. Satyricon had a Souvlaki window, Gyros.

WS: I've read that the layout was pretty unique.

BM: Yeah, painted black, black and white checkered tiles. The brick was painted as well. I couldn't swear that it was definitely a carriage house. Somebody told me that, and you could see an arch in the bricks. (Shows image) so that was the Souvlaki window here. It made sense, with the big room at the back.

BM: In 95 or 96 errm George got money from the Pullyn development commission, a government fund dedicated to improving the look of Portland. They were putting money into old town to at least make the fronts of places look good. Even if you didn't fix it up on the inside. So, they wanted windows, kind of silly as it's a nightclub, so they wouldn't actually see anything. So Windows with neon beer signs, just to improve the lot.

WS: So, the acoustics in the building? What were they like?

BM: Oh, it was a great sounding room if it was full. But it was very difficult when MoPopty. I did sound there for a number of years. Maybe the hardest room I've done when it was MoPopty in fact. You go through the EQ and certain frequencies would feedback, so we set up the mic's, turned them up and got the EQ in the MoPopty room but then when it was full, it was totally different. Some bands played other places more, you know, I would say Dandys (Dandy Warhols) were more of an X-Ray. (Sirens go off inaudible due to sirens).

WS: So, working in Portland, you mention George was great at tapping into these gigging routes and booking agents. Were you aware in the mid-80s it had it's own scene?

BM: Oh, Portland in the mid to late 80s it was very small. Not enough bands to call it a particular scene or sound as such. I think it was the same in Seattle too at that time. It really grew, aside from Nirvana and Soundgarden, I think there was a huge spike and interest in the underground. It was around in the 80s, Dinosaur Jr and Sonic Youth. The Obituaries bluesy punk, Napalm Beach, bluesy, swampy rock. Slack was a bunch of Reid liberal arts college, real smart students, an expensive south east college. Very hard and difficult school known for it's academic rigour, but also known for it's alternative thinking, smart counterculture and Slack was this funk-groove band. You'd see different bands on bills together, Obituaries and Napalm Beach etc. I think the first time I went to Satyricon when the dude from Coolr told me about it Shellac were playing.

WS: Wipers?

BM: Oh, Wipers had just about stopped by the time I got here. I watched a reunion show once and seen Greg Sage do a reunion tour. But

BM: A lot of people cite the importance of Wipers. Probably one of the top 5 most important bands to come out of Portland.

WS: One journalist placed Obituaries between Wipers and Nirvana. Quite the statement.

BM: Mhmm, Yeah, It is. I mean, I think Obituaries only put out one album. But I mean, Steve Albini from Big Black and Shellac he recorded In Utero with Nirvana. I was a huge Big Black fan in the 80s, so when Thrillhammer split up on tour and got offered a deal with a new offshoot of Rough Trade in Germany, we lied and said we were still a band. Probably still my most un-shining moment, took the advance money, made a record and never played again. So, I found Steve Albini at home in Chicago said we had this advance, wanted to record an album. We flew him out and recorded with him. Had lots of conversations. Anyway, I'm getting to the point. I called him later when Shellac started and tried to get him to come play in Portland. Suburbia on East Side, they played there, anyway in one of those conversations with Steve he was saying "Ah, I don't know" I said "Don't you like Portland?" and he said "Well, it's great for a heroin addled sea-port" haha, of course, we're on a river, it's funny. But he said "As a teen in Montana,

JR: Wait this is Steve Albini?

BM: Steve Albini, he would get on a bus and come all the way to Portland just to see the Wipers. They were a huge influence. They really started Emo. Honest, emotional music about real world things. Not just about girls, drinking and that. A lot of people in Seattle will tell you this.

WS: So Promotion today is very internet based. With the Pacific North West, in the pre-internet age what was your process?

JR: Flyers!

BM: Flyering. Record stores. Record stores were very important. People would hang out there for a while, couple of hours. Browsing and listening to what was playing. The people who worked there would be like “oh, you like Big Black” you’ll probably like this band on Touch and Go or something. I heard Jesus Lizard before anything was released. I heard about their first show very well, because we played at a record store. Audio Attics. It was a Friday night and I asked my band mates to sort my stuff and I ran, all the way to Satyricon because Jesus Lizard were playing their first show, to like 50 people.

It was small back then. We didn’t have rock-stars. Some people would hang out and talk, people in bands would remember you. There were people who came and went to shows, but for a lot it was about talking to people and finding out what was going on.

JR: Flyers were the biggest part for me. I’d be taking the bus to wherever and watching the lamp-posts. See what’s going on. Oh the Accused are playing Saturday night or whatever.

BM: We had, at least in our band. The 30mph rule. Had to get the headliner, when and where zipping past. Many today don’t pass the test. Some today are put on Facebook and never even printed.

JR: I still have a bunch of posters, my entire bedroom and bathroom was all posters.

WS: All the posters certainly, that I’ve seen, have a distinctive style.

JR: Yeah

WS: And there was a social conflict with posters. Seattle banning them.

JR: Yeah, they were always illegal here. At one point it was ok. But always remember them been illegal.

BM: There was a city commissioner called Dick Bogle, he started this massive campaign to ban postering on telegraph poles. He considered it unsightly. So everyone in the underground scene was like “What are you talking about, this is our means to communicate, this is how we get the word out. We can’t afford to put ads in the papers

and nobody writes about our shows, they just write about Duran Duran coming to town. But Dick Bogle pushed this and pushed this until finally they went to Portland General Electric, who own the poles. Because the poles aren't owned by the city the city contracts with the electric company to put the poles in the ground and charges people for the electric which runs over it. And PG said, you don't own the poles, and actually it's against the law for you to even have your signs on our poles, we've looked the other way. And the entire thing went away over night. Because the city would have had to take down hundreds or thousands of signs on the posts. They were supposed to put metal poles in the ground next to the post. So, PG sorta saved the day for us. I don't think it's ever been illegal, but totally un-enforced.

I mean posters nowadays are kinda useless. Because nobody really looks at them. It's like a record. You don't need a record or CD, because people will pirate and steal it, or buy it and stream it. People want to make a record because it's the tangible thing and the art. The same thing with a poster. It's the history. Also, you want something to resemble artwork to promote it. The clubs still put them up. If you go to Dantes, there are posters all over the place. Dante's is probably the air to the Satyricon. Picked up from there.

JR: You know in the 80s, I don't know if this happened in the 90s, but 80s certainly, that area there (points to Pioneer square), probably, when was this built, 82? I remember the first generation punk kids hung out.

BM: I know someone in a drum core, and one of the guys, he's around 61 or something been in Portland a long time, and he has two bricks. If you walk around the bricks all have names on them. The square was a controversial thing. As it's prime real estate and the city somehow owned the square somehow. They were like ok were going to make a square. But people were like what are you talking about, we need to put a tall building there and make money off it. It was hard to get funding so they sold bricks and you could get your name on them. I like it.

WS: It's a beautiful space.

BM: The trains weren't here when it was built. When I moved here they had one train, not to Hillsboro, errm Gresham.

WS: Were people from the city, or did many come in from elsewhere to the scene. I'm interested in the Socio-economics?

BM: Talking to the two of us is an interesting conversation. Jen was going out at 12, sneaking into bars. Hanging out with the punk kids that couldn't go to clubs. When I came to Portland I was already 22 so drinking age. There was very few places you could go as kids.

WS: Were many people involved in the Portland scene coming into the city from elsewhere?

BM: Oh yeah, I remember many from Eugene and Montana.

JR: I don't remember many. I grew up in Portland.

BM: The scene was very working class.

JR: No it wasn't. It was very socio-economically diverse. There was many kids from suburban well-to-do families, who were doing everything they could to escape it. Families who put food on the table, nice house to live in and bought them everything they wanted. I don't know what was wrong with families in the 80s, but they were so disconnected. But it was bad, so bad. Yet, many of these kids were out on the streets raising themselves, I mean, what's up with that, 12 and 13 year old kids on the streets, down in old town.

I mean, that was the thing. Portland then, I guess it's different now. You could be in that part of Portland then, at 2 in the morning. But you could be out on the street then. It was fine, unless you were looking for trouble. I mean, if you were looking for coke, you could find trouble. But, it was fine.

WS: So, the neighborhood was pretty prevalent with drugs?

BM: I've had this conversation many times. People tend to see a dilapidated neighborhood and with people who are engaged in suspicious behavior, probably involved in selling or consuming drugs, which is illegal, so they automatically assume it's a dangerous place to be. I'm a 6ft Male from a middle-class background and I found it fine. What I always told people, just don't look them in the eye. If you're nervous, ignore them. Because if you make eye contact - they would assume you are initiating, you know. So, even then, they are making their living selling this drug. The last thing they want to do is kill you, you know. If they kill you, then they can't make a living or if they make it dangerous, people aren't going to come and buy drugs.

BM: So yeah, I mean.. what there was a lot of in Old Town and going up into South West which has got nicer and nicer is a lot of property break ins, and car break ins. My car got broken into around the corner from Satyricon and the car before that got broken into just up the road from Satyricon. And that's caused by drugs been illegal and cost a lot of money and if you are an addict, and could get the drugs, then they wouldn't be breaking into cars.

WS: You mentioned before, about the local venues and you mentioned how you felt Satyricon was..

BM: Safe?

WS: Yeah, absolutely. "Safe" as a space. I wondered if you could expand on that? Especially Jen, who said as a female this was particularly important?

JR: Yeah, within a certain group. You were fine if you were with a certain group of folks. I mean, Satyricon was a hub of this particular group for all these people to meet up at.

BM: Actually one attribute of Satyricon that I was going to explain, was from the time it opened until 95, so like the first 10/11 years, when it was remodelled, the windows George got a hard liquor license. The way Oregon works is Class A and Class B. Class B is a Tavern license and you can only serve beer and wine. And then, It's changed somewhat in the last few years so if anywhere gets a licence they get a liquor license now, they get the

full deal. So Satyricon for the first ten years was just beer and wine. And the other thing about a tavern license is you could also sell beer to go. So, Satyricon was the hub of the scene for a number of years, where regardless of what you did, like if you went to show at Pine Street Theatre (which became La Luna) or something at the Roseland, or a house-party, if you wanted to keep partying after hours you would go find out where the party was at, so you would go to Satyricon, get your six pack to go, get some Souvlaki, more food in your belly and then whoever the party was at. I for a long time wanted to write a screen play that just entirely took place after hours, because, I've forgotten most of them, but I have so many stories of shenanigans and getting to them.

WS: Were many of the after-hours local to Satyricon?

BM: All over! A lot of people didn't really live in old town. A lot of the buildings were SRO's Single Room Occupancy, a lot of buildings run by CCCs Central City Concern, a group which is like a group which tries to combat homelessness and transition people out of drug addiction. Back into society.

A lot of people lived in North West back then, because they could just walk down the hill. North West been, errm the quadrant is all from the river, to west hills. Even if you go over the hills and North of Burnside, that's still North West. But a lot of people when they referred to North West mean north of i4 or i5, alphabet district. North West, was West of 19th, through to 24th, you would get a studio for 300 and 400 dollars a month so a lot of people lived in studios would walk to Satyricon and walk back. So I went to tonnes of parties there. And west of where Jen lives, pretty far south west about 8 miles south of town, there was a bunch of beat up old houses and a bunch of rock guys that lived there. That's where I met Jay (King Black Acid) when he was like 19, after 91. Lots and lots in South East.

WS: I'm interested in the style which emerged. The Grunge style and fashion as it were.

JR: That Nordstrom window! That one there. Has a Grunge display with ripped Jeans, flannel shirt, white t shirt and ripped up jeans with long-johns underneath.

BM: On the manikin

JR: Flannel shirt, Jeans selling for \$200, I mean who wants ripped jeans you fucking assholes, that's what inevitably happened to our pants because we wore the fuck out of them.

BM: Yeah, I mean I still dress the same way I did then. Like khakis, comfortable loose fitting stuff.

WS: Grunge, or the Pacific North West seems famous for it's aesthetic. Hand-me down logging attire and thrift store shopping.

BM: Yeah

JR: Oh yeah, well, the socio-economic factor too, didn't have much bearing as we all came from whatever family but when we were in our group, we were all on the same level. All young, all poor and Our families had sort of shooed us away so it was kind of us and our street family at that point so that was why we were shopping at goodwill, thrift-store as it was what we could afford. And they had all these great clothes from the 60s.

BM: To be fair, there was plenty of self-conscious dressing. Rock and Roll fashions, a bunch of stores that sold like the punker ware and fashions from England. Anglophiles wanting to emulate like the Cure and goth stuff. White face-paint and dying your hair black. I remember when Flu Bug opened a store and it was all the rage, 200\$ shoes or whatever. So, it wasn't all to the bins.

JR: It was for me.

BM: Yeah,

JR: I could only buy Rock n Roll stuff because I would save up for it my lunch money and buying studs to put on my belt or whatever.

BM: Whereas, I never wore punk stuff. Oh, when I was in Thrillhammer I had a pair of stretch fucking jeans. And uhm, Looked like denim, but they were just elastic, really tight. I couldn't get away with that now haha!

WS: Oh, haha, well.. Corey was telling me about his time in Beauty Stab, with the spandex.

JR: Hahah

BM: Haha, Oh, Corey is a very sweet guy, and he was starting to give me shit about this, but I was kind of a snob about Beauty Stab. And Courtney Taylor was their drummer and they practised in the practise space next to us when I was in Grime, my first band. I remember watching the Dandy Warhols and I thought Courtney is the front man? I watched them and thought I really like these guys. 60s kind of burbly pop, psyche rock. Yeah, I was hooked. Became friends with everyone in the band and had fun with them.

BM: I've actually thought about this a lot in the last few of years. When I went back to school in the 2000s, I dropped out of the scene entirely. Listened to a lot of electronica. Stuff online and barely went to shows, ignoring what was going on in the rock world. When I came back to it, I felt like something was wrong. Uhm, part of that is that it's grown so much, overwhelming choices, no focal point, the record stores are dying and no place to hear stuff by word of mouth. It took me a long time to realise that, people your age, I'm not saying you do this, but young people at some point lost the entire tribal thing. When I was young, people trying to be successful, they should be shunned, or people that wore bandannas or whatever, people thought it was funny to do this hair metal thing. Then gradually people who were growing up took it as there is no us vs them. The underground of the 80s won, it's now mainstream. Now all the papers talk about all the indie bands. Modest Mouse playing at the Moda Centre to 20,000 people in a stadium.

WS: How did Portland react to what was going on in Seattle or perceived to be going on in Seattle?

BM: Ok, did I tell you about the first time I opened for Nirvana for the first time at Blue Gallery? It was when I was in Grimes, and Dave the drummer was trying to get a Seattle

band to come down. Kappo were going to come down and the week of the show we got a call of them and the bass player worked in a restaurant and he was opening a bottle of wine, and the bottle broke and he had bad wounds on his hand, so he had a big bandage and couldn't play. But they said, they had found someone who could come down and play instead, they aren't that well known but they just had a sub-pop 7" come out, called Nirvana. So we were like, oh ok. Go on then. None of us drew that well, but we had friends who came, each band there friends were there. Nirvana gets on and maybe 20 or 30 people. Kurt is rolling around on the floor and Chad Channing is still there with his huge drums with the scoop on the toms! And were just like, these guys are good, there going to be something, no idea that like three years later they'd be huge. I think a lot of people dug Nirvana, weren't threatened by it.

JR: I think people thought they were a victim of what was going on, I never got a sense of any animosity.

BM: Bands like Nirvana, Tad, Mudhoney, Blood Circus, Swallow all Sub-Pop bands. (interruption from someone asking for change)

BM: Ok, what was I saying, erm... Oh, yeah. I mean my ambition in a band wasn't to make million dollars, simply to headline Satyricon. The other ambition was to tour the country. I managed to tour the coast, I'll never do the country at this point. I never met the Pearl Jam Guys, probably really nice, never met the Soundgarden guys, Pearl Jam, Alice in Chains and Soundgarden something changed there. These were success orientated, monetary success they wanted the big rewards, they wanted to play stadiums and it was a different attitude entirely. That's what when these threads on Facebook about the word grunge, that's what people are uptight about. The media and mainstream labels came in and took this word that Mark Arm had said and turned it into something it was never intended to be, started selling 200\$ pre-ripped jeans and it was just crass, all crass. Anyone who was in the scene at that time didn't buy it, and there was people that didn't know any better who did buy it.

JR: Dave Grohl?

BM: Oh he's just so fucking nice though!!! He's a really nice guy.

WS: Haha

BM: Krist too. Kurt was just so super shy. Kurt would just not talk to you. At that New Years eve show, he was putting his guitar away and I went over like "hey man, that show was so great" and he just ignored me. Because he was so shy.

WS: Thrillhammer played a New Years Eve show with Nirvana, Hitting Birth?

BM: It was definitely a fun night. Nirvana, Hitting Birth, Caustic Soda and I was pissed that Caustic Soda got to play after us. Daniel picked the bands.

WS: Odd isn't it how Kurt Cobain, Layne Staley, Andy Wood.

JR: I think everyone had a secret hope of become a big rock star. But nobody thought it would happen, so that wasn't the ambition, the ambition was "oh, if we could play somewhere bigger than our parents basement that's cool". We didn't think it would go anywhere, we didn't think anyone had any interest in what we are doing other than us. I think it came as a shock to everybody when people started to pay attention and wanted to listen to our music, dress the way that we dress, and do the things that we do. It was like what's wrong with everybody, and so when it took off, what are these musicians going to do, erm sorry I don't want that million dollar deal.

BM: Well, I think Hazel turned down a major label deal and just kept putting out on Sub-Pop.

JR: I don't think people knew what they were doing either. That's the thing.

WS: What was the public response to the closing of Satyricon.

George sold Satyricon in 2003. I moved to Olympia to finish my degree. When I came here in 2005, it was Moodys for a while. It was a hip-hop club for a while..

Appendix D.3: Monica Nelson

*Pre-Interview Discussion from Facebook.

Monica co-founded a band in 1987 called The Obituaries. Described by one journalist as the missing link between Wipers and Nirvana the band played shows with Nirvana, Soundgarden, Mother Love Bone and toured the region and beyond regularly. Monica is still involved in the Pacific North West music scene today playing with Monica Nelson and the Highgates.

Note: Interview took place at the Ash Street Tavern, Portland OR

WS: How did you get involved in music, your background?

MN: Well, the music because I started dating someone who was involved in the music scene, he introduced me to all his friends, I started going to shows. I was a singer, but not a punk singer. Was in cover bands before I was 18. Then I seen one particular band and one particular guitar player and I said to my then husband, I want to be in a band with him and my husband said, well you gotta learn how to scream; they are a punk band and that's what he likes.

They asked me to be in their band when they needed a singer, they didn't know I could sing, I was just a pretty girl and that was the only requirement I guess

And I've shown up with a backpack full of lyrics and poems, um which I had many, since I moved out of my parents I couldn't afford therapy anymore so I had to write down my terrible demons and it just worked from the get go.

It wasn't about been a musician or making music, writing well crafted songs, it was just about expelling ones demons. Catharsis.

WS: So, is that the Introvert lyrics, some music journalists describe the scene as self-loathing, not a term I like, personally. Well, I find it a bit dismissive of the melodies and spritely parts.

MN: Nirvana, yes they merge the two beautifully. The grungy desperation and heartache with beautiful melodies.

WS: So where did you grow up?

MN: I was born here, but I grew up in Alaska and Sweden. And I moved back here when I was 13. I never listened to punk music. I never actually listened to punk music when I was in a punk band. Except for my friends. When we went on tour we would swap music with other bands on tour, but I couldn't afford to buy other peoples music, buy records. I never listened to punk for influences, I listened to other genres. I don't think it was conscious. But you bring something different to the table.

WS: A broader perspective?

MN: The guitar player of the Obituaries and I, we once auditioned a rhythm section and we thought, they were really nice guys, but well he said they'd be great if they had something more than punk in their record collection. And we were a punk band, but it informed our, erm, You know, it's good to learn more. I mean, we were still a bluesy, metal punk band.

WS: Like Tad Doyle, a classically trained musician.

MN: Yah, the thing I loved about punk, the thing I loved was there was no rules. For what sort of music you played or how you dressed. It was an attitude and spirit. To this day, even when I'm not in a punk band I still call myself a punk singer. It means no to some it's all about the fashion and flipping people off.

WS: A lot of music journalists seem to have debates over the term and people seem to think grunge went against the punk conventions. People in interviews discussing how they

liked the Beatles, Pop-rock and they weren't afraid to say that even if they risked a backlash from the more established traditional punk scene.

MN: Well yeah, I mean I was listening to , we were just writers and artists and that's how we approached it.

WS: So, what was the Pacific North West community like. You were moving around the region to Seattle to play shows? It was a strong community.

MN: Everybody was supportive of everybody else, helping to promote each other's shows. It was a sisterhood and a brotherhood. People were very protective of each other. Um, then again, not everyone divulged everything that was going on to them. You felt like you had a lot of friends in the scene. Everyone was welcome. It was like becoming a Doctor Who fan, instantly knew about Doctor Who, you were a part of the club. You could have moved to town and you instantly had a bunch of friends.

WS: And so how did the band function in that scene. Was it seeking success or just enjoying the community and playing music?

MN: We wanted to, um, our aim was to make enough money to put back into the band to make more records and go on tour. We had a manager who got us better things, but our goal.. ok so before Nirvana got famous, I don't think anyone thought it was possible to get that huge. I don't think anyone thought that!

WS: Yeah, I mean I've tried not to be Nirvanacentric but a lot of said that.

MN: But things changed! Everyone, everyone in the back of their heads were thinking it was possible.

WS: Well, especially once Sub-Pop are fishing around too. Some people have looked at Kurt Cobain as the case study of someone having to wrestle in the waters that he was thrown, in some sort of unexpected fame. I'm not sure it's accurate.

MN: Elliot Smith too. I know a lot of people who knew him and he was the same. He wasn't comfortable with fame. He moved to Brooklyn and people even recognised him there. But, if you aren't comfortable with fame. Don't sign a contract. I don't feel sorry for those who signed the contract and unable to handle the pressures of fame. I don't feel sorry for those who committed suicide. I'm sorry to say that, you know. If you don't feel comfortable, well maybe it's because I ran away from all that.

WS: So, in terms of the network and getting noticed. The technology of the age fascinates me. Coming back to Nirvana, a great picture of Kurt on a payphone on tour trying to contact home.

MN: If you want to meet 3 people at a movie, or schedule a practice with five members. Today, you do a group-chat. I have no idea how we did it back then. If you wanted to do something, you did it.

WS: Were you active in fanzines and the posters, radio.

MN: I wasn't. But I know many who were. The posters were great art. Even if you had no interest in what was going on. It was street-art.

WS: At what point did you feel the band was getting some momentum, a scene.

MN: People started writing about me, the spotlight was on us pretty quickly. We got, you know. Up the foodchain. We worked hard. Some weren't so supportive, but that's because they didn't do the work to get a good Friday night gig, supporting touring bands. They want bands that will help promote, and that's still an issue in the scene today. I hear "this band doesn't help promote the show" don't lift a finger while others do all the work. Even with Facebook and all this technology, you still have to work hard to promote the shows.

MN: In the 1980s, you still don't know, I still think well, if 1 or 2 show up. I'll still think I'm going to sing like it's a crowded room. You've also gotta be a nice person. If nobody likes you, they won't support you. They can be the most talented band in the world, then

WS: Was the Riot Grrrl thing about?

MN: That was after I left. The Obituaries had a lot of songs about domestic violence. A lot of the lyrics were from a female perspective. I left in 1990 so Brandon could tell you more about that. As a longtime DJ and around in the 90s, he knows those people and familiar with that scene.

WS: From a female perspective I was interested to talk to you about your experiences?

MN: It was rough, but it kind of toughened me up. And, and as a result I can't stand it, I put my fist down if I hear anyone demean a female in my presence. Especially if she's ok with it like "oh, they just made a joke it's ok" and dismiss it as a joke. No. Because I remember how I felt as a young girl when you don't speak up for yourself and guys think it's ok to demean you and make jokes at your expense just for been a girl. How much it hurt, and it hurt more and more.

I don't know If I would of fallen into been a Riot Grrrl. Because I liked the inclusion of, and you know mixed company, In bands and on bills. There was a diversity on bills before the Riot Grrrl thing happened. Remember when you grow up and it was girls vs boys on the playground, girls play with girls and boys with boys. Well, when I was 12 and 13 I was always like well, I want to be in a band because I want to be in a gang with boys, boys and girls. Inclusive. So, I don't think I'd of fallen into the Riot Grrrl thing. But, as an older woman I'm very conscious of that sort of thing, I have a different perspective.

WS: And on tour how was it?

MN: It was a boys club. Especially in the Metal and Hardcore scene. There was not that many girls.

WS: When you think of grunge, well you played bills with a lot of different bands. A journalist classed you as a bridge between the Wipers and Nirvana right?

MN: That's correct. Wipers and Nirvana. We played on a bill with Nirvana in Seattle. Somebody cancelled, so there isn't a poster. They were last minute fill in. So, there isn't a poster with them on it. But, posters, Males Grunge.

WS: The community was mixed and the audiences.

MN: Oh yeah.

MN: We got done with one show in 1989, a guy came up to me and I think he complimented me on my band and said well, want to fuck. I was like NO. He said, well you're the singer of a band. I think that was the perception of any female singer in a punk band or rock band. It was an intimidation tact also. Guys would come up, and they still do it to this day. Some guy will come up and start talking right in front of the stage, just to be an asshole. If he has a hat on, I'll fling his hat across the room. Right now, I can deal with it. But back then, it's like, why would someone put me on the spot. But well, now I realise that behavior is to put you in your place, if you're a girl.

Playing live I was always very nervous. I had anxiety in general. Once I get into a few songs I stopped been so nervous. But also, one of my bandmates and then husband kept telling me. I alway liked to dress up in pretty dresses in the Obituaries, but then I was asked to dress up sexier or more revealing. It made me very uncomfortable. It just made me very uncomfortable. It started making me go the other way, dressing like a slob. If it was a guy up there, they wouldn't care about that. Nobody would say that to punk singer, wear tighter clothes, dress sexier.

WS: So, the style that is marketed today, was that something you recognised.

MN: The flannel shirts. I don't remember it.

WS: That punk, rugged aesthetic.

MN: The flannel. People dressed in whatever they were comfortable. We got all our clothes at the goodwill. So whatever was at the goodwill that's what we wore. That could have been how it all started haha.

WS: Hand me down logging attire and thrift-store fashion?

MN: I'm pretty sure that the grunge babydoll dresses. Kat Dellen and Courtney Love I'm pretty sure that started with Kristina Amphlett - Devinnalls she was a very influential singer, her attitude her sexuality. She got that style from Angus Young of ACDC the school thing. I'm sure that's where the babydoll thing came from. We never thought about fashion much. It wasn't the most important thing.

WS: Yeah, I think with that it taps into the socio-economics.

MN: There was a few trust-fund kids, who were slumming it with everybody else. But they could always go back to their money. If you don't have any money to go away on fabulous vacations, create beautiful art around you.

WS: So why was the Pacific North West unique?

MN: Ok so, well if you listen to Wipers records when Greg Sage is based in Portland, they are very different from when he moved to Arizona. Very different. The mood of it. The rain has a lot to do with it. There was sort of a depression. There was sort of a depression. A lot of alcohol and a lot of drugs. And a lot of rain. And, You know, Conservative parents, because we're talking about parents raising their kids in the 80s. Kids rebelling from their parents. It was really cheap to live in Oregon. There wasn't the noise of the city, like if you live in New York City, wherever you live, there is always going to be noise, day and night you can never have your thoughts to yourself. Here it is the opposite.

there has always been an underbelly of crime and vice, runaways and teenage prostitution which nobody ever seems to like to talk about. That's always gone on. Still happens and people still ignore it. But not the city has become sort of rich and cultured. It's still there, but it's like it's invisible to them. It doesn't exist if you don't acknowledge it. We in the punk scene, we knew those people, we acknowledged it, we were friends with those people, some of us were those people. Like how some of those rappers were pimps etc, well likewise people in the scene had pasts, however they fell into it. It wasn't necessarily

out of economic need, it might have been out of boredom, looking for adventure, looking for things to write about, sing about. Visit the wrong side of the tracks.

WS: And so that was true with Olympia, Seattle?

MN: Well, I know a lot of people in Seattle, but I don't know that was true of there. Grunge, yeah was probably born in Portland, I can't say that for sure, but I know the bands that were here before grunge, and the mood.

MN: I have come across a few people who don't like that term and have suggested don't let the term grunge be associated with the Obituaries. Don't attach yourself to that. And these are marketing people. But, you can't deny your history. Bands in Portland were very grungy.

WS: I think what people were getting at was a lot of bands could be defined as grunge, they were working hard but Sub-Pop seemed to dictate the terms.

MN: Nothing wrong with good marketing. A small faction of people don't like stuff that becomes successful and makes money. It becomes a sell out in some way. It's not a well thought out stance. If you become successful and your making some money and able to support yourself, you don't stop singing about the things you care about.

MN: It's a lazy stance. Make smart choices. Not everyone wants to be famous, not everyone wants to make money to buy their own house. It's not selling out.

WS: Was there a point you remember, a moment when a buzz was about a scene. Seattle thing?

MN: I left in January 1990, but I remember, yeah Seattle bands. A Soundgarden bill I was at. A friend said, look at this stage, remember this, it'll be the last time we see them on a stage this side. They are going to blow up. The crowd, me and people around were just happy for them. No jealousy. They were all our friends in these bands, we were happy for them.

WS: One of the foundations of each discussion has been the kind of community and sense of support. Haha, Corey, from Beauty Stab? I was with him the other evening.

MN: Oh yeah

WS: He was telling me about when he supported Pearl Jam at Satyricon.

MN: Not very much. I played on a bill with Mother Love Bone before that.

WS: Oh, Andy Wood. I bet that was interesting.

MN: Um yeah. Yes haha.

WS: He was saying about how Beauty Stab were playing and some guy down the front were flicking cigarette ends at him, and yelling. Corey was young, 20 and got carried away. This guy was drunk yelling so Corey said he jumped down and took a swing at him. Got back on stage and the guy was still yelling. He said, Pearl Jam came on, started with a mellow song and he said Eddie was unbelievable, could command a crowd and had this aura around him. This guy started flicking cigarettes and yelling at Eddie. Corey was side stage and thought "oh no". The song finished and Eddie went over to him and just calmly said "dude, your eyes are so glazed over, you are so out of it.... we can never be friends" and it diffused the situation, and he said it was just incredible, the guy just melted and faded into the crowd. He said at that moment his stage presence, the power of his presence, knew this band were going to be huge, pretty special.

MN: Yes, well... that, what you describe - is the complete opposite to my experience with the Mother Love Bone singer haha.

WS: Andy Wood.

MN: Because that was my only experience, run in with them. Obituaries played before them and my guitarist came over in between songs and he goes Mon, who's the new goof by the side of the stage? He meant, you know, who's the new stage door Jonny haha. I was like, I don't know who that is. We get off stage and this young man comes up to me,

Hey, That's fantastic, that's fantastic, Were playing next. I'm Andrew and we have a record nearly in the can with a major label and I'd love for you to sing with me on it. I said, well ok, lets talk later because I didn't know what they sounded like, didn't know anything about them. And I couldn't concentrate at all on the music. All I could concentrate on was this desperate person trying to be a rock star and trying desperately like rock star 101, in desperation. And I was so horrified. I couldn't even hear the music. I ran out of the club I didn't want him talking to me, I didn't want to talk to him haha.

I mean, I certainly suffered from desperation, but this was another type of desperation. It was like, I want people to think I'm cool. Rather than, my own - I desperately want to live.

So yeah, I didn't want to talk to me and have him ask me that again haha. You know, and turn him down or anything like that.

I don't remember Nirvana. But my friend in Seattle James Birdishore. He swears that I said that they sucked. If I said it, I meant it haha. I heard Bleach after the fact. I would normally be in the bathroom before shows centering myself and preparing so I missed a lot of people usually.

To go from sucking to vocal melodies worthy of James Taylor. Screaming Trees, now they had a guitar player called Gary Lee Connor he was, an amazing.

WS: What do you think of the scene today?

MN: My favourite Seattle band today is the The Lucky Boys. They have a female singer. They are kind of like Avengers. They are my favourite punk band of all time. I don't know that many Seattle bands truthully. I'm out of touch. When we went to Seattle, we were on a bill with them.

WS: I remember when you were saying with what's happened with Slabtown closing, Satyricon, The Know - which a lot feel is the last authentic place. The landlord is putting the rent going up around 150%.

MN: This place [Ash Street Tavern] is closing next year!

MN: Well, the punk clubs are just going have to move further away from downtown. That's all. Nobody can start a collective. Everyones priced out. It's not the most terrible thing in the world. Things change. You can go to any town in the US, if there isn't a music or arts venue you can just spring one up. It's not the 4 walls, it's the people in those walls. A scene only dies if people let it die.

WS: So the subculture of the 80s 90s, do you think it was that perfect storm?

MN: It was, and there will be another perfect storm, but it'll be a different perfect storm. And those who complain about the clubs closing and things changing, many wont be going out to the shows and engaging with live music.

There was a musician once, and nobody comes to my shows when I play acoustic. He's in a punk band, but he complained about nobody coming to these shows. And, You could, even if your jaded and think music isn't as good as it used to be, you can find your new favourite band just by going and watching shows.

WS: Back then, how prevalent were the drugs in the scene? It's a big part of the narrative. You mentioned it as an influence earlier.

MN: It was slow suicide, it was a slow way to kill yourself, without killing yourself. If you Overdosed you didn't really kill yourself, you didn't commit suicide. We, in the Obituaries made a conscious decision that if any of us were going to do that, then we wouldn't make it a band thing. In my crowd there was a lot of speed and coke. Speed was really cheap. The guitar player and I, early on, because all our friends were in bands and we would see what they were doing. And we would talk and say we didn't want that ritual in our band.

Not saying it never happened, but it wasn't part of our everyday band life. All that mattered to us was the music.

WS: A lot of the areas I've visited that were synonymous with the bands, venues etc the drug thing ... like Aberdeen for example. The memorial park, it still seems a connection to that social drug issue.

MN: When I lived in North West Portland, which is now ritzy, fancy boutiques you know. When I was 18, got into the Obituaries, my mother wouldn't even come and visit me because there were needles all on the ground. It was just drug invested. But for me and my friends, music was a more important drug to us.

I wasn't close friends with anyone who had a big drug problem. Courtney Love was always so nice to me, always, always so nice. But as soon as she would turn around I would run the other way. Not because she wasn't nice. But she always had this drug halo around her. Anyone doing heavy drugs, if that her main thing. I didn't want to be around. Doesn't matter how smart they are. And she was smart as a whip.

There used to be this drug room above the Satyricon. Some of my best friends went in there

WS: Oh, the flop house?

MN: And nobody ever told me about that. I didn't feel left out. I'm glad. I think they were protecting me, from falling in really deep into that stuff. Because, nobody told me about it. I'm so thankful.

WS: Satyricon seems to have had this drug undercurrent right?

MN: Everybody was encouraged to do art and music. Like I told you about how people ignore certain things in town, for me, I turned a blind eye.

MN: Well, you know when people ignore certain things. Well, for me, I turned a blind eye. There was so much, Blake Nelson, wrote paranoid park. He wrote Recovery road, which is now a TV Series. I texted you about hm. Well, Blake Nelson, he did spoken words at my Cabaret Night. He was as serious as business, and he wouldn't hang out with any of us. I'd be there with my beer. He didn't want to be part of our rat pack. He'd get up there and read fantastic things, I'd love having him, and look at him now. A book made into a movie and he used the Satyricon as a platform. To hone his craft, like we all did. But, some of us

had our vices. But he was the one person I noticed who went there for that, didn't fraternise with, haha us drunks.

MN: Bands, I wouldn't hang about much or talk to people, like I said. Soundgarden we opened for them, once I think. They opened for us once. But, My favourite Seattle band were The Gits. The be all, and end all. That singer (Mia Zapata) and that band, wow.

WS: I recall you played with, toured with one of my all time favourite bands the Descendants?

MN: Ooh yeh!!! haha.

MN: Examining the grunge scene? Well, it isn't such a far leap from studying Greek and Roman; orgies and power struggles. All kinds haha, we were pretty interesting too. It makes sense. I mean, I'm very proud of it. Extremely proud of my home town and my homeland of the Northwest. Warts and all.

WS: I mean, it was only really a few years.

MN: All sorts of books about Seattle. But, only now are people realising, there was something about Portland.

MN: What I said before, like, a lot of the people in the scene in the mid- to late 1980s, early 1990s. There was a rebellion to their parents. Conservative parents, but also rain. I mean rain is gloomy. But also a reaction to the drugs, reacting to the drugs or against them. It was such a prominent thing, in every, not just in the punk scene, but also the other musical scenes in Portland. I mean, it's a port town and the fact that this is a very popular place for the homeless, teenage runaways, and with that teenage prostitution. So I think the artists, we were all reacting to these things. And .. the rain. A petri dish.

WS: But what was happening more commercially, did it feel isolated?

MN: Well, you could say that about Alaska! Oregon, hmm, no. It's always been a good home-base for a band. I don't think any artist would have to move away. But, it depends what music you wanted to do.

WS: But, like bands coming North from California, they would be less likely to head north on a tour unless someone like George tapped into these networks to bring bands.

MN: Well yeah, that was genius whatever he did with the Satyricon. But, we did tour around the country. A lot of great bands did come through, but not as many as like California perhaps.

MN: About 12 years ago I started a Myspace page. Portland Underground. I had no idea what a huge metal scene Portland had! Like world renowned.

WS: Do you think grunge picked up any of these traits? Melvin's etc with Sabbath?

MN: Melvin's were a bands band! Also, in Oregon and Washington a lot of people have guns and shotguns, growing up with them in the house. My Dad taught me how to shoot at 8 years old. I grew up in Alaska so, it made sense. You can have a Moose or Bear charge you. It made sense. But, you had guns in the house. You mix the drugs, the rain, the vice, criminal element they want to ignore.

MN: Some people live their lives like the Brady bunch, ignore the abuse, crime, domestic violence - yet, it's there, it still is. From my crowd. A big part of why I think I became an artist, it's not the right way to grow up. Ignoring that. Like our families did, other people did. Been polite, giving money to charity, but not finding out who these people are, or even recognising that.

MN: And the racism nobody wants to. It was around 1989 Neo-Nazis moved in from Idaho.

*Interruption from person sat on the next table. "you talking about Racism?"

*I explain the interview and project to the person sat on the next table.

MN: Yeah, I'm explaining about the Satyricon and Pinestreet, you would see a couple of Neo-Nazis which you could remember.

*I'm 24 from the old school. Just last month, my friend was jumped by three Nazis.

MN: A lot are based in Gresham I think.

*I'm so mad right now. The Police do not care.

WS: So, how were the Police in the 1980s and 90s?

*Just you remember, all those punk. Oi music. It was based on Soul and Reggae, they stole our movement.

MN: That's my big fear. Anyone requests my friendship nowadays. Is this person a Nazi.

*A couple of other people join into the interview / discussion.

Appendix D.4: Jacob McMurray

Jacob McMurray interviewed by William Smith. Interview conducted at the MoPop offices (Experiencing Music Project) - Seattle

Notes - Jacob is the Head Curator at the Museum of Pop Culture Seattle and designed and curated the exhibition Taking Punk To the Masses.

WS: So, I read that you have gone from studying chemistry to archaeology, with a little bit of Danish. So, I'm interested in how it got you to where you are now. Curating such exhibitions as Hendrix, Nirvana and even gaming and sci-fi.

JM: Sure, sure. Well, errm basically when I was in school at the University of Washington, I went there from 90-95, and I worked at the Burke museum in the archaeology department for about 3 years. That department has around 2 million artefacts. When I started working there they had a new director, and she, well nobody had done anything with that collection since the 80s. It was all on cardboard trays stacked to the ceiling, if

there was a fire it all would have melted. So it was cataloguing, shell middens and stuff, basically West coast Native American.

But they ran out of grant funding. So I couldn't, and well I had to find another job. I heard of this Jimi Hendrix museum which was starting up. A cataloguer position which was coming up. That's what I did for the Burke museum, so I kind of put together a point typology for projectile points from this site in South West Washington. So it was up my alley. Just instead of Rocks and Bone, it was well.. Rock. So, I got this job. We were just literally cataloguing Jimi Hendrix material. Pretty quickly the museum realized, and we didn't have a building at this point, but we realized it needed to expand out further than Hendrix to be a sustainable Museum. I started there in July of 94 erm, so, still some kinda grunge stuff was still happening. We started collecting a lot of that material. As material was coming into the collection. I'd be like oh, I recognise this band and this band.

And start recognizing, we'd get rock posters from telegraph posts and realize the artists from the style.

WS: So like Jeff Kleinsmith, Art Chantry?

JM: Yeah, yeah.. and I mean Jeff Kleinsmith is good friend of mine, I met him because I always would see his posters and really like his stuff. Got in touch and asked if we could buy some of his originals pay stubs! Same with Art Chantry and Mike King in Portland who lives in New York now, or the Ames brothers who did the Pearl Jam Posters, or used to. So, I don't know. I just feel that just seeing all this material got me into what was happening.

I mean, I was aware of what was happening Grunge wise. I moved her 1990 from the Mid-West and one of the first people I met in the Dorms was a huge Nirvana and Mudhoney fan. But I gravitated to Alice in Chains and Soundgarden at the time and only later would I like those bands.

Errm... But Yeah, for me. It was like when I was working at MOPOP early on. I was in my early 20s with that kind of fundamental period where I'm getting really into stuff and, you know at that point Up records was happening with Modest Mouse, 76 foot hero and

bands like that. So I was really into that scene. Sort of just post-grunge era stuff. But yeah, it was really just like collecting stuff for the MOPOP. Making those connections and been around other people that were really into music.

WS: So, I suppose if you grew up in the area, for someone like yourself you may look at it differently as someone coming in from out of state. So, the transition to working with modern, pop cultural material sounds pretty smooth, as an archaeologist?

JM: Yeah, for me it's just modern material culture. But I feel that my undergraduate focus really helped a lot, and my sort of love of cataloguing and organising things but also just that idea of not inferring too much from the remnants that were left behind. Not making assumptions and trying to find these primary sources to kind of fill out the gaps. I feel like that is in general the way that I approach the exhibits. It's less about my sort of, story. You know? And more trying to get the primary sources to tell the story.

WS: So, with Taking Punk to the Masses, how did the idea come about for this specifically? Was it a long standing idea in needing to do something regarding this?

JM: Oh, it kept kind of coming up. We really need to do something on Nirvana or Grunge. Been in Seattle, having the music history we have. Prior to Nirvana opening in 2011, we did have this exhibit that was up for 10 years called North West Passage, a broad overview from the 1930s to 2000 when we opened. So, certainly some Grunge hits in there. But yeah, I lobbied for a number of years, we really need to do a Nirvana exhibit. Lets focus on the biggest band to come out of the Pacific North West, arguably, but internally we had some convincing to do. We had a series of directors who weren't really from the North West and didn't really know about it. They were kind of fine art people. They would say, Nirvana, are you sure it's more than a regional thing. We had to come up with all these lists of how many records they'd sold and all that. So, around 2008 or so, we got the go ahead to at least make a start on it. But, that was also when the economy tanked. So I had the chance to really make a start, but didn't have any funds to do it. We really didn't do anything that year as it was all in the gutter. But, I could kind of take some time to think how do we want to focus on this. But for me, how this museum works is that we really try

to reach the broadest audience we can. So, getting butts through the door is the best for sustainability. But you can take something that is known by everyone, so Kurt Cobain and Nirvana but use that as a big jumping off point to talk about a lot broader of a context. So, that's what I wanted to do from the start. Was like it's about Nirvana. But it's about the North West, also about the Western World from the rise of Punk rock on. You know in our collection we probably have 1200 objects related to Nirvana. At the beginning, without even asking or enquiring about other partners, I was like we could do this exhibit right now on our own. But it really changed when I met with Krist Novoselic who just happened to be at the museum one day. I had never met him before, and I just went over to meet with him. I can't remember why he was there, but in any case, I talked to him that about like we want to do this exhibit and he was psyched about this idea that it could be a broader context. I think for him, he didn't want something if it was like the entire focus on Nirvana and that Nirvana was everything and that no other band mattered and all that stuff. So once he got involved then it changed radically. Because I had access to all this materials. Like we went up to his attic and pulled down a dozen bins of material which he hadn't looked at since Nirvana ended. And I, at that point where I had an hour before he's bored with me, taking up his space and time, so I'm just rapidly going through all this stuff.

WS: So, it sounds like you had a wide range of material culture to work with?

JM: Yeah, like 3 bins of T shirts that were his and Kurts, there'd be tons of flyers and magazines and photos, all sorts of stuff. So been able to go through there. He was just like "you can borrow whatever you want". It was great. I probably selected around 400 pieces. Then through, well once I got Krist on board. And I think once people started to realise we were doing a Nirvana exhibit. This is usually the case, it happened with Hendrix, like all these people start coming out of the woodwork. Like "hey you know, I have Kurt and Courtneys Microwave from there house" .. hmm I don't really want it! It took a while to get Krist's ex-wife Shelley on board. It probably took about a year. She's the second biggest lender in that gallery probably half of the photos are heres. Basically when they split, that stuff got split in half. Like a roll of film, would end and Krist would have the

second half. Apart from those two, I think we have 16 other lenders. Erni Bailly Kurt Cobains guitar tech is another big lender. He has a big archive of Kurt related stuff. We do have the largest broken guitar selection with Kurt and Jimi.

WS: So, you have all this material, the design process must have been a wealth of opportunities - you had to look at what already existed, as a pose to "we need this" to tell the story you felt needed to be told?

JM: Well, curating for our space, at least, is an interesting challenge. Because we have weird spaces for one. Like, we don't just have boxes. That Nirvana gallery is long and skinny. It doesn't have a ceiling, so it works really well for a linear narrative. But in the way I usually approach exhibits is that, I have a sense of what I want that narrative to be, so I push it that way, but then I also work from the space backwards. I know what I have, so I can tailor the narrative to that space. But, you can only, sort of, delve into the areas that you have content for. So, the good thing was, we had a lot of great fundamental pieces in our permanent collection, so I kind of, right from the beginning I had the various signposts as to where that exhibit could go. But yeah, once I got Krist and Shelley on board I knew I could take this anywhere. Because I had a motherload of material.

WS: The impression I get is the creative potential you have. But, one of the things that fascinates me is how, a simple artefact, like one of Krist's broken bass guitars for example. If you have someone not familiar with the person, or the music.. how do you bring such an object to life. Giving it a context and significance.

JM: We are lucky in some ways, in that the content we deal with is contemporary enough in its popular culture. So, it hooks into peoples personal stories, the more I can amplify this. It's not a 400 year old artefact that nobody has a connection to. We can have people that were at that show, or people that really love Nirvana. In hooking people personally is more exciting for me. Oh, today is our 16th birthday actually. When we started I felt we were more of a standard kind of history museum where you just had a bunch of shit on the walls, some minimal captions and things like that. I think we've

moved towards this idea that what we can excel at is telling these deeper stories that do have personal connection.

And also, I want people, when they go through any of the galleries, to feel like they are in their own sort of place. So, you know with that Nirvana gallery, the look and feel of that gallery, the Greens and the browns and the rough wood that came from a 100 year old Elm tree which fell at Krist Novoselic property, and I asked if we could use it for the exhibit case and the rolled steel and the cask concrete that all has this sort of working class North West roots to it. And, you know, the score that goes through the Gallery which is a 16 channel score which Steve Fisk a local producer who produced Nirvana, Screaming Trees and Soundgarden etc that, well I wanted something textural which gave you the feeling of the North West you can hear the rain coming down, this kind of hammer going the feedback of guitars, all this going on, the audio, the video, the films all add to that sense of place. For me, it was less important to cover everything in flannel and doc martens, because the content kind of evokes that sense. It's like I wanted a more contemplative space in which people could receive that content. You know, for me, doing a lot of these exhibits you get this sense of responsibility as a curator. You know, a lot of angles you could take with Nirvana or a Kurt Cobain. From the beginning I wanted it to be a Nirvana exhibit - I didn't want it to be a Kurt Cobain exhibit, even though Kurt is a big part. Just because I feel that Nirvana story has turned into a Kurt Cobain story, involving drug addiction and suicide. High drama. And that is certainly a huge part of it. But it's also a story of these two guys who came from Aberdeen that didn't have a whole lot of prospects but with a lot of talent and luck and ambition went from nowhere to the top of the world. So, you know kids could come into gallery and think well maybe I could play guitar, put out a zine and personally MoPoppower people to create, I think that was certainly a big part.

WS: It's interesting that you say the Pacific North West, a lot of what I read and the material I often come across, it has a tendency to gravitate towards a Seattle narrative. Especially when you look at the origins of many artists coming from numerous logging towns.

JM: Well, Seattle it makes sense. Seattle is the big centre. I mean, it's weird because we are two hours from Vancouver, but nobody thinks about it. You know, that country dividing line is a weird mental dividing line. Vancouver and the whole I5 corridor was huge importance in the evolution of Punk rock. Seattle was skipped over all together early on. But, Seattle been the big metropolis in the North West, it's easy to think that way. Sub-Pop as you say, based here. Right at the beginning of the second section in the gallery points at the micro-scenes in the North West you know, points at Olympia, Ellensburg, Bellingham, Aberdeen and all that stuff. But just you know, their really was a lot of these different scenes which did have a unique flavour and are kind of connecting to each other in different ways. You know, Nirvana you could call an Aberdeen band, but you could probably most accurately call it an Olympia band. But, just, you know, the scene in Seattle wouldn't have happened without all that happening otherwise. The idea that, someone like Steve Fisk moves out to Ellensburg, records the Screaming Trees, you know when they first started, connects them to Calvin Johnson and K-Records and that's how this Ellensburg, Olympia and Seattle thing starts coagulating together. And you know, Tacoma, Girl Trouble from Tacoma or the Mono Men from Bellingham all these bands starting to go back and forth. So, I mean, I don't know.. it's easy to say that it's a Seattle thing, and in some sense that's true, but it's much more nuanced.

WS: And a certain degree of marketing by Sub-Pop and especially in capitalising upon the style and flavour of the music emanating from the area?

JM: Oh right, right..

WS: Tad Doyle for example, classically trained musician Idaho. Marketed as some sort of ex butcher draped in flannel..

JM: Yeah, Tad was from Boise and Jeff and Matt from Pearl Jam were from Montana, it shows Seattle were attracting these people, and these connections exist to various towns. You know, only a few places that will have an active music scene. Which is something we explore a little bit in the gallery, what does it take to make a viable music scene.

WS: So, coming back to, what you have almost described as, I suppose a perfect storm of almost a range of influences and connections - and you said it's a nuanced picture. So, I was curious what you think are some other broader aspects. I mean, why the Pacific North West and not other areas that are bounded by mountains and somewhat isolated. Climate, geology for example.

JM: Sure, there is credence to a range of theories. I mean the shitty weather certainly has meant people spend more time indoors. But the big thing is the Pacific North West for example, was nobody thought the North West was somewhere in which anybody thought anything big was going to happen. So, this idea existed that if you wanted to make it, you had to leave and go elsewhere.

WS: Like Duff McKagan for example,

JM: Yeah, or the Blackouts. I mean, that idea that it's, errm, or the U-Men, who never made it at all. They never left, although their main record came out on Homestead on the East Coast. If you were doing music here, you were maybe doing it for different reasons. The goal wasn't to make it huge, because there was no possibility of that, at the time. So I think that's a big part of it. I think there is something about, I mean .. if you look at when Punk rock started happening, 76/77 and especially when Hardcore started happening. Very early 80s. That idea that there was this very dogmatic rule based idea as to what Punk rock music was. And you know, it was shooing all that came before it. So it wasn't cool to listen to Sabbath, or Aerosmith, but by 84, it becomes kind of becomes ok again. It's like "oh yeah, those records are really great" and you have Black Flags "My War" where it slows way the fuck down, and cited by numerous people as a major influence. so all of these things are happening.

But, a big part is this mysterious of the North West whereby, nobody was going to make it. I think the mysterious also helped once the media started looking at the North West. When like Tad Doyle and Bruce and John, it's like they were more than happy to exploit this.

WS: Yeah, I think when you read and listen to, or read the interviews, you hear how they seem happy to rally against what Punk was standing for. Many cite The Beatles and other melodic pop-rock bands! So, again it seems to go against what Punk expected.

JM: Oh yeah, I think with that. Errm, I mean especially with Nirvana, that's that magical balance of Nirvana. They had one side which was noise related and Punk rock but then you had one side that Kurt loved the Beatles, he was capable of writing incredibly melodic, beautiful songs. That's something which Tad or Mudhoney had in that quantity. Mudhoney when you listen to them through the lens of now, you hear the Stooges and The Sonics. Alice in Chains were metal band.

WS: The term Grunge itself is pretty ambiguous. I mean, you use the term taking Punk to the masses? Quite a few people seem to dislike it as a genre definition. Especially in the Portland scene. Mark Yarm himself cites in his Everybody loves our Town book explains he had a similar reaction.

JM: Absolutely

WS: I was wondering in terms to the exhibition, why not Grunge?

JM: Well, I basically define in that intro paragraph for the exhibit, basically stating that Nirvana were one of many bands making inroads into the mainstream. Taking this punk rock ethos and roots, wrapped in this kind of pop package to the masses. So, I'm not really saying that Nirvana was a punk rock band. But that's what everyone interprets that as. And it was really interesting opening that exhibit because I got around a dozen emails and pissed off phone calls saying "you're a fucking idiot, you don't know what you are talking about, Nirvana were a grunge band". What was really interesting were, it was people who had gotten into Grunge, post-91! So, for them, the identity of that music, really is grunge. I mean, if you ask any of those bands, the big grunge bands if they'd of called themselves Grunge bands, none of them would. Kim Thayil (Soundgarden) would say, "we were just playing weird, heavy rock". For me, it was really interesting and I really kind of liked it. It stirred this conversation that their isn't really one truth. For me, I kind of really

understand that hesitancy to call it grunge, because it does, especially in this region feel like a media term, for a collection of bands, that musically might have a little bit in common, but are pretty distinct otherwise. But, as time goes on, I think, you know, all of us will say the grunge era. Everyone knows what you are talking about. So, it's useful, in some ways, but in some ways it feels weird enough, because it isn't entirely accurate.. it makes you hesitate. And then I also think there is this sort of hometown, regional pride that if you were there first, you know? Only the posers call it grunge, but the cool people don't. That kind of attitude.

JM: My point of view, even though I aren't from Seattle originally, it is a very Seattlecentric kind of view, but when you look at Olympia and Portland, there is some animosity because it feels like Seattle gets all the credit and gets to dictate the terms. But those scenes were very different. For example the Portland scene was way more hardcore and dark, serious in some ways.

WS: Bands like FEAR, Dead Moon...

JM: Yeah, bands like Poison Idea. Olympia and Seattle have always had this kind of butting heads sort of thing, just the flavor of K or Kill Rock Stars is way different to what Sub-Pop was trying to do. But yeah, it's pretty interesting. These people that would email me, I'd just start email them back and say "I totally understand, I'm assuming you haven't seen the exhibit, because none of them had. I'll give you two tickets, visit the exhibit, read through the panels" then they would be super polite after that.

WS: The response to nostalgia, I mean when you look at like for example memorial pages on social media - I'd post about my research and the response is huge from people wanting to tell their part of the story. I think I'd underestimated how passionate people are to be honest.

WS: I wanted to ask, briefly about the socio-economics, you've mentioned about how Nirvana are a bigger part of this much broader Pacific North West story, Aberdeen and smaller towns were a big part and also an aspect which seeped into the sense of place -

the working classness. With logging in decline and social-disparity, I was wondering if this was something you could expand on.

JM: Absolutely, well I think, there is a poster in the Taking Punk to The Masses Book "Seattle Scene - Found Dead" around that same time, mid-80s, 84, 85 there was a billboard which someone put in Seattle saying "last one out of Seattle turn out the lights", there was a threat that Boeing would leave, Logging was in decline. Seattle was not a big town, and it didn't seem it was getting any bigger. And that didn't change until the 90s, with the spotlight becoming focused, well music wise and then the tech boom late 90s. But yeah, a lot of those bands were from working class roots, but then a lot, like Steve Turner and Mark Arm they went to the University of Washington, Steve Turner was fairly affluent kid. Grew up on Mercer island. It was a real mix. But, what is important is that the scene wasn't big enough to really have it stratify and diversify out. Especially when you see bills from the mid-80s, there's a lot of weird different bands playing together, you have metal bands playing with punk bands, stuff that you wouldn't expect to mix. Just because there wasn't enough bands. That is a point I make in the exhibition sort of obliquely. There is a big Charles Peterson image which is on the front of this book.

(*Shows Charles Peterson's image December 83 at the all ages Metropolis club). That's Alex from The Accused, That's Sergio Avenia from Deranged Addiction, which was Jeff Aments hardcore band. Beat Happening, That's Mark Arm and Steve, who were in Mr Epp and the Calculations at the time. Then that's Alex Shumway from Green River. The only all ages club in Seattle. We had a city, actively against youth listening to music. Seattle has such a weird history with music. We like to think, today that we totally embrace music. Mayors initiative, Seattle City of music, the museum, the beer project. But in the mid-80s there was none of that, it was worse than Olympia, Olympia always embraced it's music scene.

WS: Did you have any ideas about the relationship between sound and place which may have changed through curating such an exhibit?

JM: Sure! I think I went into it with sort of half formed ideas about sound and place, and some of those bore fruit, and others didn't make sense. One of the things which I wish I focused on a little bit more in the gallery, I think it has just a panel, but it makes sense that a lot of larger cities have a vibrant music scene, but why does Olympia. Like a scene needs to have a recurring source of youth. Because it's always the kids who don't have other responsibilities to do something. You then need a Bruce Pavitt or a Calvin Johnson to spur things on, you have to have record label, a radio station that will play that music like KCMU (KEXP) or KAOS, or people willing to have music venues. All these little components that need to be in place for something to happen. And I'm sure people have spoke about that stuff before. But for me, it was a really interesting process for me to think about. I mean, It isn't random for it to happen in one place and not in others.

WS: Lastly, uhm, I'm interested, more broadly speaking, how you feel about the value of subcultural heritage? With campaigns emerging frequently to save smaller venues, like Slabtown and other and sites synonymous with the punk past. Of course, on the other hand some argue that it's a kind of heritigisation of society, but I was curious how you feel about its value and importance, especially outside the museum environment?

JM: Well, you know, on the one hand I feel it's very important. I feel like I've spent the last 20 years gathering all of this stuff. We probably have 40/50,000 objects directly related to the Pacific North West. From the 60s to 2000 or so. So, for me, I love been able to kind of, try to piece together all of the little bits and their was a time you know, like, throughout the 90s where their wasn't much of a presence of any of this history on the internet. It felt like kind of incredibly magical and cryptic, when I was able to find a like random U-Men digging a hole single and it was like "oh, this is gold"! So, it is incredibly important. I don't know that it is important to turn a place like the building Rock Candy was in, into a sort of historical site, because the physical reality of some of those buildings is so much less impressive than the memories and the nostalgia of a particular event. Like when Rock Candy closed, we got the sign from the top of the building and have the gross disgusting rug that the bands played on. But we eventually got rid of it, it was just too gross. There will always be these successive scenes happening, all equally worthy of preservation and

in some ways we are better capable of preserving things as so much can live on line. You can listen to 10 years of live Crocodile recordings through the Uni libraries, all of Fugazi's recordings now online.

Absolutely, it seems when you look at a venue like the Satyricon, it's this tangible and intangible heritage, and the memories, community and collectivism, which has really shone through.

JM: Yeah, it's those stories, that's what brings the humanity. I mean, you can't get much human out of a punk rock flyer that you ripped from a telegraph post. But the combination of those things is really powerful. That's why, like with our oral history archive. I think that archive is some of the most valuable stuff we have. Some of those interviews are the last ones that person ever did. So, been able to preserve that stuff and people's memories is good. But, at the same time, people's memories are immutable, and you know, it's nice to have that combination. You can't deny the factualness of a physical object, people can change their minds and point of view through time.

WS: Or a bone to pick...

JM: But that also illustrates what I mean with the title of the exhibit, it's totally fine if people have conflicting points of view, unless someone's actively lying, I mean, history is messy and nuanced and comes from different points of view.

WS: Jacob, I think that's a good point to end on. Thank you very much for your time and thoughts.

Appendix D.5: Brandon Lieberman

Interview between William Smith and Brandon Lieberman. Interview location is a Portland Coffee Shop

Notes - Background noise from the Coffee shop. Brandon is a prominent DJ and currently hosts a show on KBOO. Brandon has held a range of roles within the Portland and Pacific North West music scene.

WS: So, I have the information sheet and consent form.

Brandon: You know, you could own a house here for the price of one of those cars... very few people were making that sort of money, and even the ones that were, a car like that wouldn't be practical to use. I grew up in McMinnville, I was born in Washington, but Portland, it's the big city. McMinnville agricultural, steel mills and a few factories. A lot of people worked up the freeway. Now it's all Hops and Vineyards. My sister has a winery! She has some on the market.

WS: Oh cool. I've been talking to Mike King over Email

BL: Mike King, oh he was pivotal, even in Portland before I arrived. He was pivotal in getting stuff off the ground. You say you are talking to him?

WS: Yeah

BL: Oh he's a good score. And of course, he eventually became Mike King the Poster guy. You know, art fans in culture, he laid the ground-work through this scene. Mike King had a band called "The Figs" I don't remember hearing them until I watched North West Passage.

BL: So, on this part of the consent form, I'll put that I don't care for been anonymous.

WS: Ok, so, I thought in light of what you were just saying about your first experience with Nirvana a good jump off point just wanted to pick up on that point we were discussing before we started the interview. When you were talking about your first experiences coming into contact with Nirvana.

BL: Well, my first experience with Nirvana was much earlier than what we were just talking about. Soundgarden were supposed to play at the Blue Gallery, a very small venue.

So Soundgarden, they were, I think had a following out of Seattle which hadn't transpired to Portland yet, many semi-sparsely attended shows. At Blue Gallery they had a sign on the door saying Soundgarden couldn't make it, so sending their friends Nirvana. Most people turned up and did an about turn. This was around the time when Love Buzz had come out. The first one on Sub-Pop.

WS: 1988 I think.

BS: If it was out, it hadn't been out long. Nobody knew them. There was about 25 people including the sound guy for Nirvana. So, I watched the show, and it was really good.

I'd been a DJ in Oregon since '82, I was DJ'ing throughout all this time. Whenever that 45" came out, I picked it up, played it right away. So, I think a few stations in Olympia where Kurt was spending time, who probably played them first, KOAS, Seattle KCMU predecessor of KEXP, who probably played Nirvana first, playing them off the demo tape or something like that. But once the 45" came out, I will be right up there with some of the first. But, it's a hard thing to prove, even though I do have it on tape, I haven't found the tape. I wouldn't mark the tape, why would I? Oh Hey I played Nirvana! They were just one of many up-start excellent bands I followed.

WS: So, where were your early shows?

BL: Well, you know, my first show in '82 and was in Corvallis Oregon, and after the brief use of another name, I changed it to, Radio R (check?) Corvallis and I was playing a lot of the California Punk Black Flag, The Germs, Dead Kennedys were popular back then, you know, Along with Neo-Boys who I'm wearing the T shirt of, The Rats, Poison Idea bands like that. As well as the bands breaking at the time. Social Distortion released Mommy's Little Monster, Suicidal Tendencies who people hadn't heard at that time. So, I would also reach back for other stuff. Then I had a daytime regular New Wave show where I would play stuff which wasn't as punk.

WS: How did this interest start?

BL: Well, you know, I was a big music fan growing up. You know, like I said earlier, I grew up in McMinnville Oregon it was a small town, but much smaller then. Especially before the VHS tape, in terms of ideas. It was like the 1950s but it was the 1970s. Very small town. It was a very homogenised society, we were the first openly Jewish family. We would find out later that there was other Jewish families, but they were going to church and pretending they were not Jewish because for fear of repercussions. Earlier in my youth, on the first day of school when I transferred here and they found out I was Jewish they threw dirt clods at me and called me Jew. Very much different to 2016 Portland. And I had been a music fan in Los Angeles, my Dad took me to shows. I saw Jimi Hendrix when I was 8. So, I gravitated to music as a part of my life, you know, through records, I could be transported from this small town. You know, when I grew up I didn't even know, errm, I had heard references to the Holocaust, but I didn't know that people had actively discriminated, I knew about the civil rights movement because that was very much going on and we had black friends, but in McMinnville, there wasn't any of that. So music was something I gravitated to. Naturally this experience had made me angry. When Punk came along, not only was it music, but it contained this anger, I think that was in me, for what had happened. Even though, in retrospect what happened to me is nothing, when it's you, and you are a kid, and you aren't experienced in the world, the world sort of revolves around you "oh I've been wronged" you know, so I always related to the music of the 60s and what Punk rock held up as worthy antithesis to this. I still really like this stuff. I even liked prog, I'd seen YES 17 times. I'm very much into all that stuff, which punk came out as a reaction to, I really liked it too.

What changed my life. In 1980 in Santa Monica I went to the U2 (check) music awards. The first night, the last 3 bands, well the first band was supposed to be the Human League, and they had cancelled. So, this guy came out and said the Human League had cancelled and this band from Cleveland The Dead Boys, and I hadn't heard them at this point even though they were on Sire. I was blown away, I just thought they were great.

So all these bands, and the the last 3 bands were The Dead Kennedys, X and The Cramps. And by the end of that show, Punk rock became music I became into more equally as I was

this other music and eventually it became the focus of my life. 90 cents of every dollar I would spend on records was punk rock. I started going to shows. Now, because I wasn't.. errm.. you know the Sex Pistols came out of this thing about been destitute, no future etc. So, I never got that. My family were definitely middle class. So, I never got the leather jackets and safety pins. I didn't put on the Uniform so to speak. I went to all the shows. Like amazing great shows.

I mean, I once watched Black Flag play in somebody's basement with the meat Puppets supporting.

WS: Henry Rollins was in the band by that point then?

BL: He was the new guy! They played Starry Night here in Portland that same tour. Which became a live album. But the night before, Eugene, it was in somebody's basement I grabbed a space behind the water heater and like, I was a lot closer than a lot of people haha I just had to do this [mimes reaching to see]. Actually they had been on the station KBBR, I was on that day. I mean, I can just go on and on about the shows I've seen.

WS: So, when did you become familiar with an actual scene? Tapped into the PNW Scene?

BL: Well, I started coming up, well I was travelling up [to Portland] for shows, Junior high school. I wasn't aware of the Wipers and Neo Boys scene until I went to college. It's because there was no internet, obviously. I mean Willamette week didn't cover it and we didn't get this in McMinnville the Oregonian certainly wasn't covering it and I wasn't hanging out with Portland people and I didn't know them. So I didn't know this was going on. I was travelling to Los Angeles to see it. It wasn't until I got on college radio around 82 and started playing Punk and started getting letters from people, The Rats I started realising oh a lot of good music is around. Poison Idea were starting out around that time.

This must have been around 81 maybe 82 at the latest! It was before I was going to OSU. Poison Idea opened for The Movie, the Decline of the Western Civilisation made its first trip to Oregon, been shown in a theatre. Remember this is all before Grunge. Anyway, the guy who was putting on the show, saw me buying some records in the record store. He

thought, oh my god you like Punk? Back then, not many people did. So when you spotted someone who also liked Punk, then you found a new friend. He said “oh, I’m putting on the The Decline, you gotta help me out, I’m really worried, I’ve spent a lot of money”. So, this was at the really popular college theatre, it didn’t matter what the show was, it was a Friday night, lots of people were there, they had no idea about Punk, just a bunch of frat guys with their dates! It sold out, I had to beg someone to find this guy to let me in haha. Full of people who didn’t even know what the film was. Just frat guys and their dates out to the movies. So Poison Idea opened and played, all these college football folks are yelling “what are you doing, this isn’t music”, so Jerry you know, confrontational and the loudest he jumps on this guy, and the cops come, fight breaks out and it’s a fiasco. I think Poison Idea all got kicked out. So, when the movie starts, you see people all going “oh, so that’s what this band were”.

Oh, and then I met George previous to the opening of Satyricon, at the Violent Femmes show. I happened to call down to Slash [records], to say, “Hey, I love the record, it’s amazing”, he said “oh, hear, you just happen to have the songwriter who wrote it right here” so he said ‘well, we have a show in Portland, and one in San Francisco but nothing in between, you think you can do something we need to make some money”. So, I put a show together in two days, the Violent Femmes a really popular Corvallis band and I started playing it on the radio, and of course it just so immediately caught on. The show went wild. They had a great time. So the next day, for the show at Georges previous to the Satyricon, The Mediterranean, that might not be right. But the show was pretty good, but there was this huge contingent that went wild and the band was, you know, really complimentary. So George and I met that night and yeah, the Satyricon started. The first time I actually watched a Grunge band, John Niola, he was possibly one of the first employees at Satyricon, he knew what I liked and he watched this band and he called me and said, “Hey, this band I watched in Green River, you gotta come and see them” and yeh, it was right up my alley, and certainly something I really took to.

WS: So, with bands like Green River, the Deep Six record,..

BL: Oh, I had got that record, and was playing it, all those early Grungy releases. I started getting the Sub Pop singles...

WS: So, you didn't think anything unique was going on?

BL: Not at the time, but in retrospect, especially with the commercial aspects

WS: Just Punk kids doing what they do?

BL: Oh yeah, I mean, nothing through audio or anything, just another good band with something special, I didn't think of them as anything other than the other bands were doing.

WS: So, with retrospect in mind, what do you think created this style, aesthetic and sound?

BL: Well, certainly elements of that which is true, however I'm sure the media played a big role. Everett True, certainly had a hand in that [melody maker magazine article]

You know, I certainly think Pavitt and Poneman, helped start something. They always limited supply to keep demand higher than supply. Maintained a visual aesthetic and a certain vein which ran through the sound.

WS: Well, Jack Endino recording the music [producer]

BL: Absolutely, maintaining the same producer for quite a few of their recordings and creating something to hang their label on.

WS: Did you find their was much to do with, thinking beyond purely sound and product, but some have described the Pacific North West has having a range of influences from geology to it's remoteness as a region. Propagating it's own culture?

BL: Well, a great camaraderie was existing between many of these bands, in hanging out, they could all play together.

WS: So, in terms of touring did many other bands visit?

BL: Many bands would skip Oregon. It wasn't seen as a profitable stop. At the time the music revolution was the subculture, which then became the dominant culture. It all happened earlier in Seattle, bands were much more effected by Sub-Pop, but with Portland it happened a little later in sort of the post-Nirvana after-blast.

WS: So, what do you think of the Grunge term?

BL: Well, it's just a label, that's convenient. Makes it easy to talk about. But, having said that, I was in a band labelled Grunge that I didn't want to be, I'm sure I'd have a problem with it.

WS: Certainly the impression I've got from many

BL: Sort of off the subject but on that point, I was doing an interview with Daniel Ash (Bahaus), and you know for the Saturday Night Live Goth Talk they use Bela Lugosi's dead and anyway he snapped "We're Not Goth!!!" haha! Oh no, they just use your song for the theme haha! So, I can understand the confines to a label could be frustrating. I can relate why Daniel reacted that way to the term Goth. But ugh, it's just, erm, talking about music or writing about music, similar to architecture, you can at least talk about the ball park of the music which you are talking about.

WS: Yeah, Portland and Olympia have a solid base of hard working musicians through this era, yet would you say it seems rather Seattlecentric.

BL: Yeah, that's the other thing. Many bands come about who are after, they are termed Grunge, like your Candleboxes but not part of the whole Green River, core of bands. They just adopted this sound and became huge. So, that... you know. I mean those bands are so off my radar. I didn't listen to them back then. I mean, if you played me those three, erm, what are the other ones. Bush, or, those sorts of bands, I wouldn't be able to tell you. But I guess they do sound Grungy. That's probably why it angers people, the term may have meant something at one time. Then people came along and appropriated it.

Now when I say Punk Rock, I don't mean bands like Charlottes Revenge, or whatever Green Day, those multi-million selling bands, but like that story about Poison Idea, that to me is Punk rock. The commercial stuff.

I once watched Pearl Jam a bunch as Mookie Blaylock errm I watched Mother Love Bone a few times and Green River a lot. Now, when Mother Love bone came about after Green River split up. Andrew Wood once brought a cordless microphone. They were brand new, we hadn't seen one before. Mother Love Bone were good, but they weren't Green River. So, people were in shock, no clapping, maybe a few politely clapping haha. It was not well received. The second time Mother Love Bone came along, the record had come out and people who were Green River fans, might not have come along this time, but all these people came and the place was a sell out! People going crazy, even though the record hadn't really taken off. In Portland anyway, without their Seattle support group, it was quite a shock. Pearl Jam, I watched as Mookie Blaylock and by then those guys were getting popular. A lot of my memories are pushed together.

WS: So, as a DJ, you are always told about these new releases, picking what to play. You must have been in tune with what was going on, and developing sound, especially in retrospect, but how do you think this metal element seeped in? Especially to merge with Punk?

BL: Oh, there was certainly some crossover. One of the guys from Mayhem joining with Poison Idea for example. Certainly people, errm Tom Roberts for example who were into metal. Soundgarden for example has a bunch of metal, but Motorhead though probably has more than any other band more to do with that. I mean, they came out on Stiff records, primarily a Punk rock label. I'm sure they were at the forefront of metal appealing to the punk rock world, and Sabbath earlier with creating the doom metal genre.

WS: So, in the pre-internet world. Where communication is built around posters, word of mouth, fanzines, I wondered if you could tell me about how radio fitted into this picture?

BL: Well commercial radio really ignored it until post Nirvana made it commercially viable. Even KGON the classic rock station here in town added Smells Like Teen Spirit, people wanted it next to Led Zeppelin and Pink Floyd. Grandpas and Grandmas coming into record stores to buy it haha. But previous to that, no.. no. Only college radio stations and community stations. Back then, people didn't really listen to them. Well, KBOO isn't an example as such, it has a little bit of everything. Most of KBOO where I do a show now, it didn't have a great amount. The college station KBRR and KAOS in Olympia those stations could dedicate a greater amount of time into such genres. Portland had some sub-alternative, but they weren't playing a lot on the radio in Portland in general.

WS: So, in Portland, were record stores playing a role?

BL: I think the communities revolved around clubs. Stores were opening which catered to Punk rock. Second Avenue in Portland was always active, hiring musicians to work in the store Greg from the Miracle Workers. But, the communities would use the venues more. They had a hard time staying open. Which is why so many gravitated to be protective of Satyricon. Punk Rock venues, nobody wanted them, it was akin to having a porn shop in your neighbourhood. There was definitely discrimination of punk rock. Especially in the Pre-Nirvana days. People weren't accepting to the way people appeared and that. The so called Satyricon riot, was not a riot. The only people who used force was the police. You seen the Punk rock episode of Quincy? If you changed the Punk rock to any other group of people, it would be... wow. Punk was seen as something people needed to remedy. I mean, after Nirvana people changed. Much more accepting of people who liked such music and more people getting into that sort of music. But, if you went back and played people Bleach, before Nevermind, 9/10 will say "oh that's terrible". But, it's definitely a record which changed peoples way of thinking about music and had an appeal which was broad in a way that no other loud music had.

WS: Oh, and you called it Brandon haha?

BL: Yup, I did!.

WS: Knocking Michael Jackson off the No1 spot

BL: Yeah, nobody believed me, I was pretty mad about it!

WS: Which track was it the label sent?

BL: It was Smells like Teen Spirit! Two weeks ahead of the release. Because, I went to all the Nirvana shows, from Satyricon to all of their local shows.

WS: You ever interview them?

BL: No, they did an interview on KBOO, but the first time MTV asked me about it, I thought they were wrong. But they were playing Pinestreet and they decided to come to KBOO during the opening band. Oh it was a Friday night and we had this guy, who had a show called Outside World. He was a pretty loose guy, and like "sure, come on in". They talked a while on the air, nobody has a tape, they were a band passing through, and pretty wasted, Dave through up in the hallway, I heard about all this later on. MTV called and I said "no way, I was the person playing them, I'd have known" haha.

WS: And you were saying on our way over here about the record store order of Nevermind.

BL: Before that Nirvana record, I had to get all my orders approved in the shop, and after that Nirvana record, I didn't have to get any approved again haha.

WS: So, as the city is changing and venues closing, artists moving. Historic sites synonymous with the past been lost to gentrification processes, arguably Grunge one of the most significant cultural exports do you feel the heritage should be valued.

BL: Satyricon, I saved two bricks hahah and was really upset about it, when it was demolished. Yeah, it was significant. But also certainly a significant place for the people who were there and given what this city has become now, it was really one of the most culturally relevant places. It's hard. You know, and part of the problem is economic in that the people who are a part of that are getting displaced, both economically and

geographically, they just simply can't afford to live here. Other factors go into that, the music with so many people of the same age group coming here, there are only so many jobs. Not everyone can be in a band, you need some people to go see a band.. who aren't on the guest list. That said, you can't say it isn't thriving around here in another way.

WS: Yeah, I have seen a lot of artists advertised and gigs, a lot going on. But, with Slabtown going and even The Know as well. I think they are having to close, rent going up over 100%.

BL: But everyone wants to do the same thing. It's usually the decent owners who treat the bands fairly as well.

BL: My childhood friend Jennifer Karsen was the one who introduced the band to Eddie Vedder, in 4th grade her brother was my best friend. They went to high school and became really good friends with the guys who became Red Hot Chili Peppers. I watched them at Whisky A Go Go when they were Anthem, with a Y. We went to parties and such, nobody was famous then of course.

WS: No way, that would have been with Hillel then?

BL: Yeah, Hillel Slovak

BL: Red Hots just started out as a part joke which seemed to take off instead of their major bands.

BL: When you say Grunge, you are talking about a very small musical aesthetic which you can't just copy forever. As a scene or an artist you don't want to change that style, but people don't want to listen to the same thing forever and ever. People and generations want to rebel and that helps keep it fresh.

It's too bad, this phenomenon, we'll say, called grunge. If he (Kurt) could have not killed himself, and eventually gotten a bit of a clearer head. Got out of drug addiction. He could have used his popularity to create the social change, I know he cared about. He really cared about stuff. He didn't want the responsibility of been a figure head.

Ugh, and.. and.. but he and all of us, really missed out, I mean we might not be in this situation with like Trump running for president if Kurt stayed alive. Like John Lennon before him, rallying for positive social change.

All these musicians copying him aesthetically musically. Even some following him suicide wise. That's a tremendous amount of power, but power he didn't want. But like I said, if he could have just cleared his head a little bit, something he could have wielded for positive social change he that he cared about. And used it to change our world, something you and me probably will never have.

WS: Krist is big into his Politics

BL: He is, but Kurt was in a different position. I don't listen to Pearl Jam, I mean I was more of a Green River crowd, kind of liked MLB, I aren't big on commercial. But, I really respect what they have done with their position. Took a lot of balls to take on Ticketmaster. They have stood up to causes they care about, and not many do. I have all the Mudhoney albums, no Pearl Jam.

WS: What is it about Mudhoney? haha

BL: Well, they retained the edginess of Green River Pearl Jam is just too clean for me. Like I said, I really respect what those guys have done with their influence and popularity. Also bringing smaller indie bands from the North West and trying to help boost peoples careers from the region.

WS: Lastly, what do you think about the heritage of a music scene, would you like to see more heed given

BL: Well, the Oregon historical society did do an exhibit, and I was able to curate the audio portion of that for them. I welcome any recognition the music gets, it was fun to be a part of. You can look at the 60s music and how it helped end the Vietnam war, and furthered the Civil rights objectives, the music had a huge impact. Sadly, the legacy of Grunge doesn't have anything like that, which it can claim for itself. I think, I mean if you go back

to the Pre-Grunge the death of Dennis Boon of Minute Men, was just extremely unfortunate on any level. But, he was the best political voice in American punk at that time and his departure left a void which that really was never filled. Jello voice, was extremely good, but also kind of divisive which Dennis boons wasn't. I wish there was a bit more of a positive political message in the Grunge movement. Unfortunately a lot of the Grunge, well, the narrative is more addiction, Layne Staley story and Kurt Cobain story isn't a happy ending. So, if you look to them for the story of grunge, it doesn't end well, but.. but that doesn't mean it's cultural impact is not significant, because it is.

Appendix D.6: Steve Hanford

Interview between William Smith and Steve Hanford. Steve Hanford was the drummer for Grunge band GruntTruck and also prominent Portland punk band Poison Idea. Cited as one of the most influential bands to originate within the city. Steve has also produced and engineered for a range of artists including Heatmiser the band of Portland artist Elliot Smith. The interview was conducted at Dantes Rock Bar, Portland.

WS: How did you get into music?

SH: Well, music came first, before the culture. I got into music because it touched me like nothing else out there did. I had, not a messed up childhood, but certain aspects of it drove me to be very introverted and weary of adults, and weary of their opinions and you know, their motivations. So, music stopped all that and it made me at one with myself, so that was why I pursued it. And that led me on many different paths and I found myself down here. This used to be a Punk bar, back in 81 this was a punk bar.

WS: So, it was a prominent hang-out?

SH: For a short amount of time, there was a lot, the most prevalent down here was Satyricon. Before that there was the 13th Precinct.

WS: Yeah, yeah.

SH: A lot of iconic bands played there and a lot of shit went down. They were the first punk bands I went to, the 13th Precinct. Butthole Surfers, Black Flag, Bad Brains, anyone touring played there. But when the Satyricon opened up everyone gravitated there. It was the only place that allowed that culture to flourish.

SH: Seattle was a lot different you know, the drinking laws up there are bizarre in the city, you can't do this, but you can do that, it was kind of the same here, but it was a little different, you could get away with a little more. The OCC were a little heavy handed.

WS: Well, a liquor licence was essential for a bars survival?

SH: Absolutely, because the arts aren't supported.

WS: And so, what type of people were hanging out in the music scenes? Backgrounds?

SH: It's fairly accurate that there was a lot of conservative, right-wing families. Fascist Capitalism, a lot of people were rebelling for the sake of rebelling. Quell the status quo for a bit. But a lot of people were

WS: And so, that was your motivation for playing music? Rebelling? Or the music first?

SH: Well, at first, it was that on a personal level. I didn't know what it was culturally I was experiencing. I had no idea all these people that were effecting my life, were conditioned by this culture. I just new I wanted out.

WS: You grew up in Portland?

SH: Yeah, I grew up here. Well, moved here when I was two.

WS: And so, who were your first bands?

SH: When I was in third grade, I was in a band called Terror. Around 77, 8 years old haha, we played middle school and clinton street theatre. A place where they had the Rocky Horror Picture show for decades every weekend. It was the first kind of counterculture place. After that I got into a band called Mayhem. Played the Pine Street Theatre, Satyricon a bunch of times.

WS: Punk?

SH: Erm kind of Metal. A punk element. I listened to Punk and the other guys didn't really listen to it. Not at this time. Then we got a new singer called Matt Court, who was in a band called the wild dogs. He was an old school Rock and Roller from around here, he was friends with Tom Pig, Pig Champion in Poison Idea. He introduced me. He was a troubadour for the Punk scene around here. He had his own radio show, he put out records, he put on shows and he played in Poison Idea, the best punk band, in my opinion, in the city. So he was active and always doing something, so I gravitated towards that, I wanted to get out of my head space, and I wanted to be creative. So that's what I did. Mayhem fizzled out, we recorded an album and stuff, we are re-releasing that stuff and then I joined Poison Idea because I'd been working for them and roadying. I got some of the guys from Mayhem to join Poison Idea too. Make a more solidified, focused unit so to speak.

WS: What sort of time was this? With Poison Idea?

SH: I started hanging around Tom around 84/85.

WS: Oh, so kind of around that mid-80s peak. And you were recording bands by then?

SH: Well, I was kind of obsessive about music. So I would listen to albums, and listen to how things sounded and why. I would deconstruct the recording process and geek out about how good things sounded and what did you do to make that shit sound weird and apply it. Or apply it in a different way. Whatever, but yeah, that's how it started.

WS: And so, was there a point when you became away a scene was emerging?

SH: Oh yeah, absolutely. Back then. It was very, you could say it was incestuous. But at the time, it was also very much influenced by whatever the troubadours of the time, were going out and buying. Because people, had limited resources. And Tom, who I was talking about, Pig Champion. Well, to do all this, It didn't pay for itself. He dealt drugs, he was a cocaine dealer. That's how he funded all that stuff. That's literally how he bought his records. I went up to Seattle all the time and hung out with the guys from The Accused and all those bands up there. I was in a Seattle band called GruntTruck for a little while.

WS: Oh yeah, GruntTruck? Underrated Grunge band right?

SH: I guess, Yeah you could say that maybe, Ben he was a great song-writer. He's dead now. Great writer, and great guy. But, he was effected like all of us, maybe more than others. You know. Haha. Not Me! Haha.

WS: So, commercial or cultural? Any differences between Portland and Seattle?

SH: You know, Jonathan and Bruce at SubPop made it commercial, and codified it in a certain way. They gave it the "We don't give a fuck" thing. It was all great, all that early first wave of Seattle stuff. All the first SubPop releases are really great and once some money comes into it. Things get weird.

WS: Bleach, I think that was my first SubPop record. A reprint of Bleach in Track Records, York.

SH: Well, it's where it all comes from, they are all different but all those bands grew up on the same stuff. Led Zeppelin, MC5, The Stooges, The Damned, The Sex Pistols, Black Sabbath. All that stuff.

WS: What about The Melvins?

SH: They were part of that, but those guys are different. Compared to every other band up there, The Melvin's are the one true troubadours of that scene. They are the tree, but the fruit they produced is 100s of other bands that sound like The Melvins, but there is only one Melvins.

WS: So, the term Grunge, a useful term?

SH: I don't know. I don't care. You could codify Grunge is very much a Seattle term. I wouldn't call any Portland bands a Grunge band. When I think of actual Grunge. I think of Mudhoney and that first Nirvana record. That's kind of it.

WS: Jack Endino sound?

SH: Well yeah, Jack Endino helped with that sound. But the actual songs, Grunge to me is that Stooges, MC5 derivative sound, but now it's just a fashion statement. And every band up there is classed as a Grunge band. It's nonsense, it's silly.

WS: So talking about the scene? The social dynamics. Riot Grrrl and the New Waves of movements going through the scene. Do you have any memories?

SH: Sexuality and feminism was a big part. One thing I hated about the metal scene and playing in metal bands was the people were so xenophobic, they were just these boozy fucking assholes. And they didn't care. So I didn't want to play this music, I didn't want to be around those people. I went to high school with Kathleen Hanna. But, the Riot Grrrl thing was a direct response to these kinds of attitudes.

WS: So, did it change any of the social scenes?

SH: We played with Clalmittee Jane, Babes in Toyland, we played with a bunch of female bands. Because we weren't misogynistic assholes, I mean, we got labelled as that. A bunch of men drinking. Sorry, heterosexual men. But myself, Jerry etc, we were all in the LGBT scene. Although, it was known as the Queer culture back then. They were taking a stand, proud to be queer. Where as today, it is this victimhood thing. My opinion. But, you know Riot Grrrl they took a stand against that misogynist bullshit and good on them. I supported them.

WS: How did the music scene, and the drug culture come about?

SH: Portland, has a lot of engrained drug addiction. It was prevalent then and they have been for ages. For me, how I got started it was just people who were disenfranchised and had no way of communicating that they needed love and needed to get out of their heads. The only way they could do that was to seek oblivion and to engage in that oblivious activity. And then there you seek out the culture of oblivion. William Burrows or the Velvet Underground the Stooges, MC5 all these bands are victims of that. Good or bad, they have become what they are today. Strangely enough. The musicians that I aspired to be around. Many of them were heighnous drug addicts. If they weren't playing music they were just getting wasted. They were amazing musicians. But, I kind of got sucked into that. I had a kinship.

WS: A community, and common goal.

SH: So that's what we did.

WS: The first two Heatmiser records. That sound, just emanates.

SH: Elliot was very different. He was very tortured. I never got into why. But, I spent many a night getting wasted with Elliot. At the same time a lot of brilliance exists in this town. But Elliot was able to Marshal his artistic talent in a way that many others were, dare I say, afraid to. He was very brave in his oblivion seeking.

His brilliance and ability to write songs, rivals that of Lennon and McArtney, and people that are so relatable and identifiable, but they are more relatable because they are of this era. Whereas Lennon and McArtney were peace and love etc.

WS: But does sound change, when he moved from Portland.

SH: Well, he could focus more away from Portland and cultivate his art. Also focus on other things. You know haha.

He was a nice guy, a very silly, crazy person. If you were his friend. Other than that. He was very stand-offish. Which was how I was, at the time. He didn't talk. Journalists, he hated that shit too.

Kurt, he didn't like that shit either.

His is kind of the same story. Well, personal taste. But his song-writing ability, he was able to distil it down to the essence of what he wanted to get across. But, if he didn't know you, he was very cold. If he warmed up. The silliest, nicest person in the world. But that was rare, very troubled soul. I came across him often, played with Nirvana. They played at Satyricon a tonne and seen them in Seattle. All good times. Krist a good guy, hates to be a rock-star. Tried to get him to sign a bunch of my singles. Wouldn't do it, Kurt did. Of course, Dave did haha. Krist is very standoffish. Very political guy.

SH: Now have a lot of tools available. But, a lot take away. We are talking about Governments which support arts, but this one doesn't. Now we have Youtube, it's a free juke-box. It's all cheapened and taken down to the point of, I deserve all this stuff free. Because I'm American. The artist is somehow an asshole or a leach for saying, I want something for what I'm doing. Which is ridiculous. Of course, I want something for my art. Now you have to pull a bunch of people into a club, in the hope you sell a lot of booze. It's all different. There are a lot of different subcultures, which don't interact because of the commodification of music.

WS: So, on heritage and the changes in society. When you look at The Know, Slabtown, Satyricon all going and the very things of generations to find their voice, what do you think about such changes?

SH: Terrible, it's terrible. It's all about money. Art, human beings, don't matter. It's worse than it was in the 1980s. Then you had communities which supported each other. All these pseudo-hippies today, it's all about the mighty dollar. Venues and culture should be cultivated in each and every city.

Appendix D.7: George Touhouliotis

Notes: George opened and owned the Satyricon Nightclub in Portland until 2002

WS: So, how did you first come to be involved in music

GT: It wasn't the music as such, it was the idea of having a place that reflects my inner character. I've always liked the alternative, or .. the none-mainstream. I went to school and college but I never had the inner discipline to become a professional. So, I wanted to have a place that would support me, and a place that reflected my personality, support people who were young and fresh who had ideas. They were young punk rockers, or grunge rockers, not the mainstream, it was a freshness. So somebody said I have this place, it's a bit of a dive, but you can put on a show. Come on. So the place because of music it was so loud and poetry, more so than poetry. My idea was to have a place that encompasses music, but as just one component. But it was clear that the music was so fresh and exciting. Because the place was on the Seattle corridor we had a lot of bands wanting to stop. It was a great explosion in my mind and I was very happy to be there to see this .. errm..

WS: New culture?

GT: Yes, absolutely. I grew up in the 60s, and was lucky to experience that, the hippy culture, free love and distinctive thing from the past and I love that

GT: That to me, in the early 80s was the same feeling that I had.

WS: So you were aware when you opened the club this new scene was emerging?

GT: No, no, it was not something in my mind. If I do this, this might happen. It was, me learning about new bands. I had good advisors like Ben Munat. But I booked the place myself for the first 8 years.

WS: Yeah, Ben sounds very tuned in.

GT: He was a very important person. I had advisors because I didn't get the music in the way the musicians did. Brandon Lieberman was another. He is phenomenal, his show in KBOO. He was invaluable too. I would ask about bands to them. I would also go to record

shops. Brandon at Music Millennium. I was open to been introduced to other, experimental things.

WS: So you purposely tapped into the touring network and I5 corridor?

GT: I never called a band to come and play, they would need to be touring. So, our place became known enough as bands went to Seattle, they would call me. I would have time to choose, because we would get lots of bands wanting to play. So, I could pick the best bands, and most talented or who was popular, what type and everything else. It was easy. We were in a position where we could pick and choose. Ultimately, we had to pay the bills.

WS: The Off Ramp and the Metropolis, it was rare for youth to find somewhere to go and watch? As they were dependent on a liquor license?

G: Oh yeah, you had to balance it. If you didn't manage it right, you could lose a lot.

WS: So, how did it fit into the broader scene?

G: We had problems with the liquor commission, they set the rules on alcohol, 21 and over. We also had some issues with the Police and commission. Young people, excited and crazy. You know what I mean. We had some problems like that. But overall, the scene in Portland I thought it was a welcoming place. There were some individual Policemen who didn't understand the scene, that people act different or speak different, act different. They were against that and they had some power and discretion to create a little bit of problems for us. But overall, it was 19 years and it only went down because it got old, we ran out of ideas and it is a different culture now.

G: The Satyricon riot, it wasn't a riot, but the police perceived it as much. Who was playing, The Dahma Bums. I was near the door it was packed. So I went outside to pee, as it was packed. As I pee someone grabbed me, I didn't realise it was a cop, so I pushed him off. There wasn't much resistance, come on. So I didn't realise who it was, I went inside. They came in and arrested me. Put me in jail, I came out the next day, came out the next

day, closed the place, they yanked the license for about a week. Went to city hall and told them i'll be a good boy. They could have, if they wanted to, could have had grounds to close us. They let us be. The city of Portland let the place be, to their credit. So, I'm kind of thankful for that. Because fans would come from other places and say in Los Angeles, they wouldn't let it. So, it was there because of the city. And that one incidence, was down to one particular cop.

G: I can't tell you that. But I feel as though, again I mentioned the 60s, hippy culture, somehow in the mid-70s it got old in the 1970s. I feel each generation has different fashions, different interests and different ways to express themselves. This sort of scene, it wasn't as fresh anymore, it just wasn't. It was to do with what, I don't know. It's a natural phenomenon. You have the 20s, 30s, you look at the movies, the scenes. You look at how they dress or dance. Each generation has something. Each generation has something. Frankly, now I hardly ever go out. So I aren't aware of what is going on. But each of those kids, a lot of those bands who played. The good ones, the true ones. The music is still played today.

WS: Pearl Jam with Eddie Vedder and Nirvana etc?

G: Yes, yes. That's right. As I said, it was the energy about it, it felt good. It made me feel young, like, I liked what I was doing. Sometimes as it was difficult, dealing with 300 people. One night, like 3 different people broke their arm or leg, and lawsuits and terrible stuff. But that was the package deal, you had to deal with that you know.

WS: So, the heritage of the Satyricon. As an outsider, even in Seattle, everyone mentions the Satyricon in Portland. I was curious how this 300 capacity venue held such a pull and nostalgia, in the region.

G: That's good. I didn't see it as special, maybe it was like that. I was there, so. Errm, I think we approached it with honesty, this is what it is, you are here, do your thing, it's ok. Other than that, it wasn't that special. Possibly, it might have had a basic respect. A lot of

bands complained about venues which treated them as maybe, I don't know. I don't know.

WS: Any favourite memories?

G: The first night, who had this show, it was called the Urban expose. Or something like that. They were about to play in this venue, but for some reason it had fallen through, so we said lets do the show here. Without any advertising the place was packed. A lovely energy. I walked outside to take a breather and went inside, it was one of the most exciting things I had ever seen. I mean I had seen people in fights, the Satyricon riot, but as far as the music, I was much older than they were, but I would get my energy just watching the crowd.

WS: The toilets? Haha, a lot have mentioned them.

G: Oh, well, many thought they were interesting. It was a tight place, we cleaned it, we painted it up. You almost instinctively want to...

WS: Yeah, yeah

G: Yes, you almost instinctively want to do a colour. But, it went with the scene, the music you know.

WS: The graffiti and flyers just grew?

G: It was like a, I'm Greek you know, it was like a Byzantine church, you know, it was just painted with sayings, candles and photographs, weird stuff stickers, a lot of stickers and weird stuff.

WS: How did it come to close?

G: Well, I left in 2003, someone took it over and turned it into a dance club. But they didn't do very well. Then someone bought it from them and they reused the name Satyricon. I had nothing to do with that. My time was, I kept it for a few years 1984 - 2003. They wanted to revive the scene, but like I say, when the scene is gone, it's gone. The

freshness was gone. There is a certain freshness, it's bright and beautiful and then when it's gone, it can't be brought back.

WS: The authenticity has gone?

G: The authenticity has gone.

WS: What was it that made this scene so unique? Was there anything that you thought made it unique? Style, aesthetic?

G: What I kind of deliberately wanted was to have all the facets of the subcultures, I wanted to purposely have a variety of music. Punk, Heavy Metal, big bands, Jazz bands. I purposely tried to have a variety of things and music. So, but the grunge, or whatever it's called, that thing took over the scene and, once those bands took over. Errm, Does that answer your question?

WS: Yeah, I was also thinking with the style and sound?

G: The bands, could probably describe or analyse the style better than I. Right, erm I thought about, you know sort of having a variety of shows, a variety of music, from Jonathan Richmand, a single guitar to Poison Idea where Slayer Hippy used to play. My mind, it is so back of my mind, you know. Nirvana New Years Eve, Mark Arm and Mudhoney, but the first show they did it was Green River, members of Green River, the others became Mookie Blaylock who became Pearl Jam.

I can't talk about specific names right now, it's so so back. But, plus I sort of forced myself to learn about bands and names, but I was not part of, I mean I was almost 35-40 and they were in their early 20s. I was a great uncle so, I didn't really hang out at the end of the night. They left and I would go to sleep and they would come back next day. You understand, I had a family. A home to go to. They were young, they didn't care.

WS: So, there was a barrier?

G: Yes a barrier, a natural barrier. But I also consciously didn't get into the politics of the scene. I also wanted to maintain my health. When I opened the club, I quit smoking. The bar was long, and as I'm serving and going around I would have a cigarette there, and another there. So, you see. I thought about my health.

G: The other aspect was that we pursued art. We had art shows. There is a popular thing in Portland, like tonight for example, is the first Thursday in the month, in the so called Pearl district area the galleries show the new art for the month and for the last 20 years people flood the streets. We used to have art shows, all night art shows long before this, we would have artists work on the walls the backdrop. Real artists come in and stuff like that. It was really important to me. I think that was the thing which distinguished this. Because we also paid attention to art. Art transcends, people say it was a dirty punk rock place, not quite, because we did that too, but art and more. And it survived because of this. I think it survived because of that, it wasn't just one conventional place.

WS: And so, how did you relate to other venues? Were you competing?

G: Yes, Tres Shannon from X cafe, it was UFO and then X-Ray cafe, now it's like too many venues, then it was one, or one and a half. Now it's spread out. Then it was just a few venues, now I guess it's like spread out and there is a lot. They say there are more bands than ever before.

WS: Could you tell me anything about the venue layout?

G: No plans in existence. It was narrow, and it opened up to the stage area. People could have drinks or sit and as a band played everyone moved in. Industrial build bleachers almost like an amphitheatre on each side.

Appendix D.8: Mike King

Mike King is a prominent poster designer from Portland Oregon. The Interview conducted via Email on the 22nd of July 2016.

WS: Firstly, I'm interested in how you became involved in the music scene and a career in poster design?

MK: I started designing posters for bands and shows I was involved in. I played in bands and someone had to make the poster,

having always having an interest in art, it might as well be me. Later I made them for a variety of clubs and bands in exchange for admission to shows, eventually I was able to charge for poster design and a career was born.

WS: I read previously that you used to play in punk bands. Did this hold any influence upon the approach you had to art and the way you could relate to bands and the punk approach?

MK: I am not sure actually playing in bands had much influence on the work I did for others. It's not like playing gave me an inside track as to what bands need in their poster

WS: Could you describe your approach and process, from briefing to delivery?

MK: The approach and process have evolved over the years, My earliest posters were done with a minimum of technology, usually just pen, scissors and glue. Mostly it was about getting the information on the page in a readable manner and then filling the leftover space with whatever design elements I could dig up, often a picture from a book or magazine. As my design skills and copier technology improved (copiers with the ability to enlarge an image weren't readily available until the early 80s) I moved into more of a "Xerox" style, spending hours copying, manipulating and cutting and pasting images, since all the type had to be copied and cut up, I still focused on the type first. Eventually the copier was replaced by a computer and now the cutting and pasting is mostly done on screen, that freed me from spending as much on the type and I was able to put more attention on the imagery and made it possible to focus more on the concept and the overall design, instead of just the type. I am unsure if that answers your question at all.

WS: Do you have any notable sources of inspiration which you look to for ideas? Other artists?

MK: I am pretty “spongey” in my inspiration, I see a lot of stuff that eventually makes it way into my work. I love advertising of all kinds, comics, packaging, propaganda, pop culture whatever....

My style and aesthetic has been rooted in punk, and that seems appropriate

WS: What do you see as key factors in a strong design? Especially, given the function of a poster in the 1980s – 90s (tagged upon lampposts and walls) has this function changed in the post-internet world?

MK: When I started making posters I didn’t want to make the doodley hippie art that was everywhere when I was in high school. I have always hated psychedelic poster art as elitist and needlessly obscure, the idea that you would spend a your time staring at a poster just figure out what the fucking thing said is the height of arrogance, the bottom line is concert posters are advertising and if you can’t read it, your design has failed.

In many ways the poster is a relic of a bygone age, before the internet access to media was limited for most bands to what they could put up on the street.

WS: More broadly speaking how has the internet impacted upon the design artists which are associated with music?

MK: As time goes on posters are becoming less of a tangible “thing”, the design that appears on the website of a band, or club may have the layout and format that say poster, and hundreds of people may have seen it, but few will experience it as a object, a piece of paper tacked up somewhere.

Perhaps, the poster transcending from something on paper to pure design is a good thing, or maybe not.

WS: Did you ever identify with the notion that a specific scene was developing in the Pacific North West (punk/ grunge)? If so, what made the 1980s and 1990s scenes unique?

MK: I think the isolation of the Northwest contributed to its “uniqueness”. For many years the outside world didn’t know anything about our corner of the country. Portland is twelve hours from San Francisco by car and Seattle is even further. The United States is fucking huge and the Northwest has always been pretty far away from the action. We figured out a long time ago that if we wanted anything to happen, we would need to do it ourselves.

MK: I am not sure how “Successful” I have been. I guess if success is defined by having completed something, or in my case many thousand somethings then I guess I have been successful.

WS: Have you ever considered the historic value of Music posters?

MK: Until recently, no.

Appendix E: Sketches

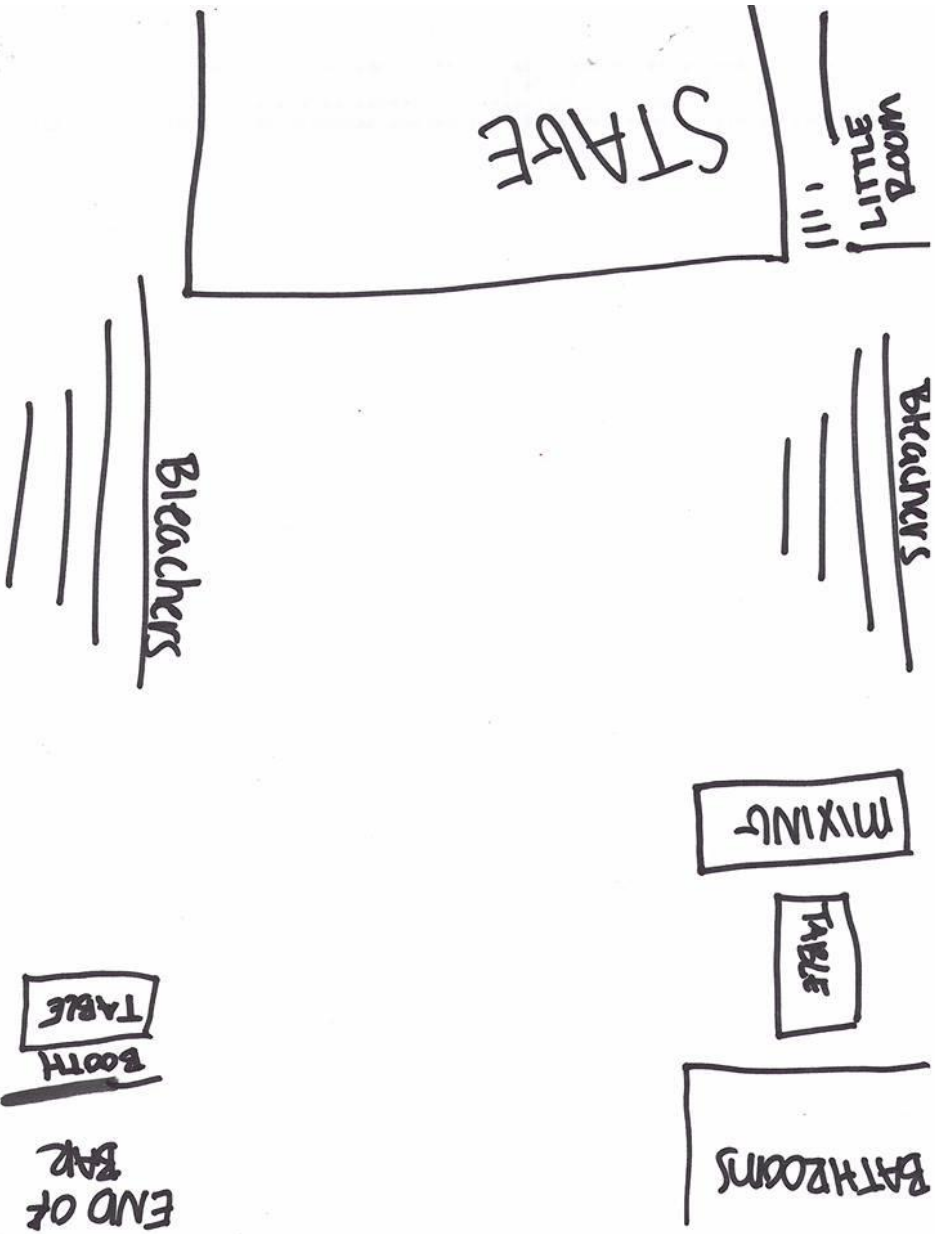
Appendix E.1 Karen Ferrell sketch of the Satyricon Venue Portland Oregon.

Provided to the author in 2016 via Facebook.

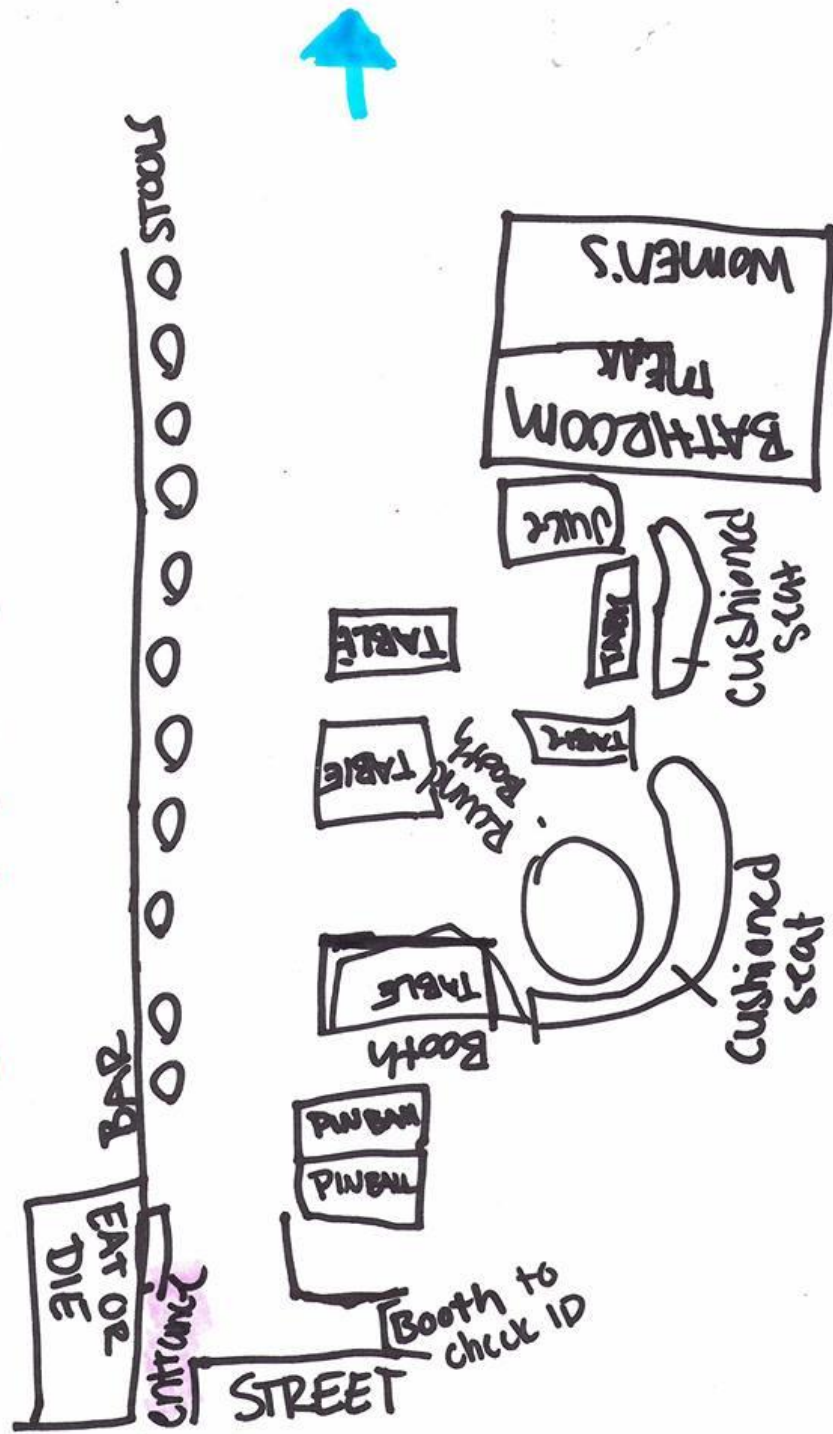


Appendix E.2: Ben Munat Sketch of The Satyricon Venue Portland Oregon.

Provided to the author in 2016 via Facebook

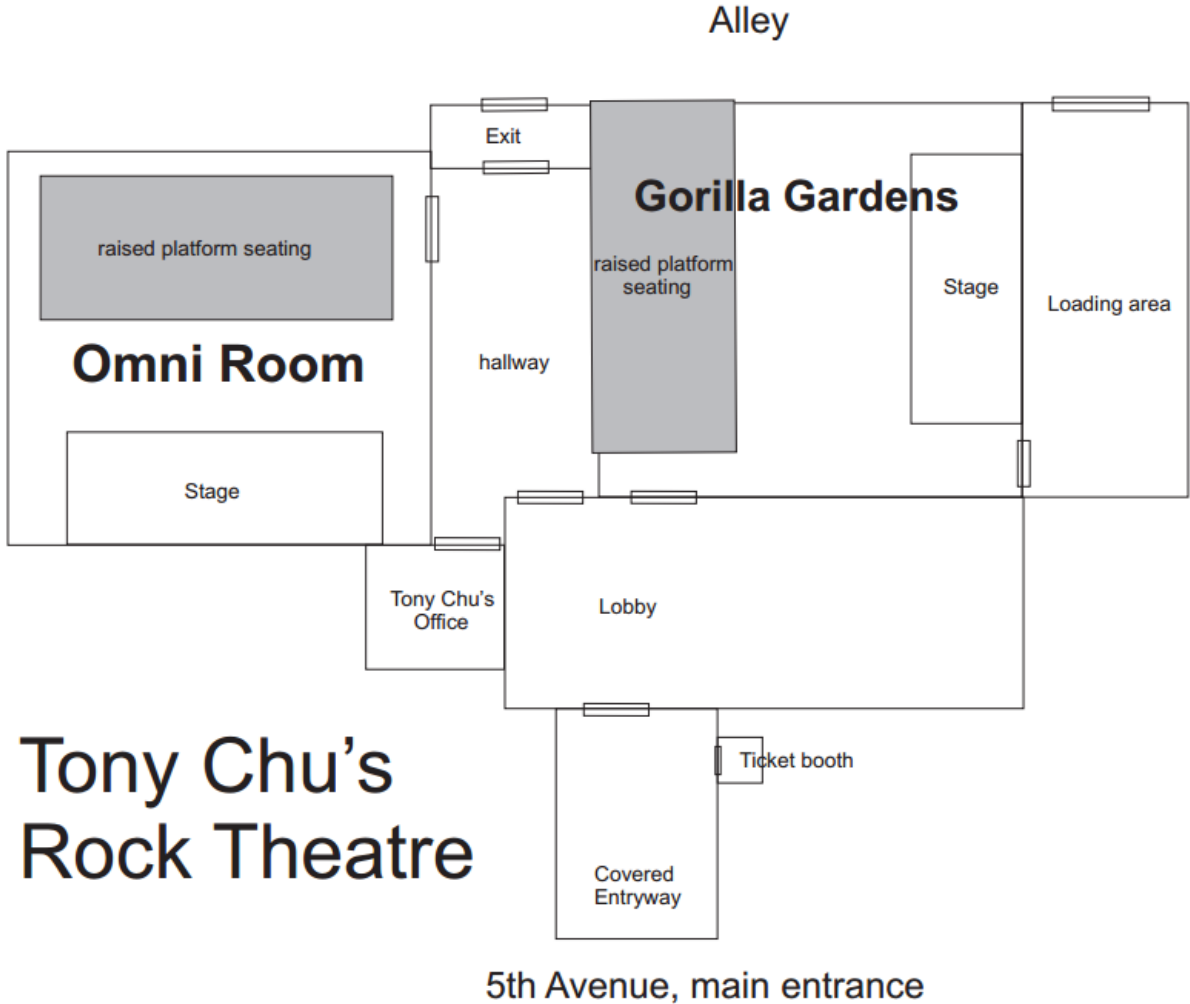


SATYRICON 1st ROOM



Appendix E.3: Plan of the Rock Theatre by Kevin Bean

Provided to the author via Facebook in 2016. As described by Kevin Bean, he was a security employee at the Rock Theatre venue for the majority of the time it was opened.



Appendix F: Facebook Memory Page


I hung out at the Satyricon back in the day

- Home
- About
- Photos
- Likes
- Posts

Create a Page

Like Following Share More

Posts See

 I hung out at the Satyricon back in the day shared Jeff Walter's photo.
8 hrs · 🌐