

**Loose Fit? The Impact of the
Manchester Music Scene on Youth
Fashion 1986 to 1996**

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Abstract

This thesis questions the stereotype of the loose fitting silhouette of the Mancunian music scene from 1986 to 1996, exploring the links between the city's music scene and local youth fashion. It establishes the important contribution of fashion to culture in the music scene and the distinct local "looks" that resulted. The thesis explores the literature of subculture and identity, enriched by the concepts of bricolage and local fashion. The contributory influence of the Manchester music scene is investigated in its public and private sites of creation and consumption.

Combining cultural studies, dress history and fashion theory, the research is based on oral evidence in the form of active interviews, supported by analysis of contemporary images. Interviewees were pre-identified for their role in Mancunian fashion and music. These revealed previously unidentified aspects of Mancunian dress, which inform a discussion of the nature and context of local fashion in the period. Salient findings included the eloquence with which men can talk about clothes, and the sources and methods of the quest for authenticity through "looks". The thesis repositions subculture, in the light of the shift toward more mutable groupings, and affiliations that can change with site. These formed a multi-faceted movement that was able to embrace both mainstream culture and its subversions.

The contribution to knowledge centres on: (1) the importance of authenticity in subcultural movements; (2) identification of the several looks co-existing under the banner of Madchester; (3) establishing that these looks were understood differently from inside the movement because experiences shared by participants depended on tacit understandings rather than purely visual judgements; and, (4) the concept of fashion in motion to describe the interrelationship of garment and wearer in movement and its connection with identity. This led to (5) the addition of "attitude" to Brake's practical aspects of subcultural style. Attitude is the outward expression of the inward state produced by dress upon the body, sometimes visually sensed (as swagger on the Madchester scene) but also encompassing less tangible projections.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Has to be a loose fit

Has to be a loose fit

Go on move in it

Go on do your bit...

It's gotta be a loose fit

It's gotta be a loose fit

Don't need no skin tights in my wardrobe today

Fold them all up and put them all away

Won't be no misfit in my household today...

The Happy Mondays.

“Loose Fit” (Ryder, S. et al)

This thesis considers a particular contribution of fashion to Manchester’s cultural identity in the recent past. It focuses on the dress of Mancunians participating in the local music scene and considers their contribution to distinct local “looks”. Manchester is a post-industrial city that in recent years has had a strong popular music sector built upon associations with urban youth, street-centred visuality, market stall entrepreneurship, and counter-culture. These characteristics reflect a rebellious stance toward mainstream society that appear to be infused with working class, left-wing cultural and political roots. Such associations have been adopted as promotional tools for those building the city’s current civic identity while also figuring in a mythology fed by the popular media and local urban legend. One

recent example is the range of postcards, stationery and homeware exhibiting quotes from musicians amongst other modern-day Mancunian luminaries with their *takes* on the city. Designed by Marketing Manchester and offered for sale in the city's tourist information centre since 2009 (see figure 1), the Visit Manchester website declared: "this range features quotes about Manchester from some of the city's most famous and iconic names. As unofficial ambassadors for the city, they draw on their personal experiences to express, in their own words, why Manchester really is worth shouting about" (Marketing Manchester, 2010). Radio disc jockey Mark Radcliffe's "A city that thinks a table is for dancing on" sits beside ex-Manchester United footballer Eric Cantona's "Here, there is an insane love of football, of celebration, of music". But these straplines, with their focus on Manchester's sporting and musical heritage, betray an important gap in the combination that forms the city's present-day cultural phenomenon. This research project has investigated that most overlooked part of the cultural mix – Manchester's fashion culture.



Figure 1. Marketing Manchester designed products on sale in the city's tourist information centre since 2009.

One catalyst for this research was the launch of musician Liam Gallagher's clothing label, Pretty Green in November 2009. Gallagher was the lead vocalist for the band

Oasis from 1991 to 2009, and subsequently sang with Beady Eye, which evolved out of the old group from 2009 to 2014. His clothing label features garments that are inspired by Gallagher's personal and performance style (see figures 2 and 3). Being Manchester-born-and-bred Gallagher has lived in London since the late 1990s, yet the label retains a distinctively Mancunian feel in both the design of the garments and the musical associations. But what does this mean? Are there features constituting a Manchester "look" that might be identifiable? Are there other such looks closely linked to the music scene, as with the Pretty Green label? Taking as a starting point the loose fitting, baggy silhouette that was widely associated with the Mancunian music scene during its developmental years, this research probes the major influences and looks of the local fashion and their musical links.



Figure 2. Image from Liam Gallagher's menswear clothing label Pretty Green's A/W14 collection. The campaign was shot on location at Liam's favourite Manchester childhood haunts. Model is pictured in Castlefield, Manchester city centre. Dick, R. and Reid, D. (2014).



Figure 3. Image from Liam Gallagher's menswear clothing label Pretty Green's A/W14 collection. The campaign was shot on location at Liam's favourite Manchester childhood haunts. The model is pictured outside at Sifters record shop, which featured in Gallagher's band Oasis' single Supersonic (1994). Dick, R. and Reid, D. (2014).

Georgina Gregory (1995: 1) briefly explored the visual culture of Manchester-based blue-jean firm, The Legendary Joe Bloggs Inc. She found that “During the late 1980s a number of young Manchester bands started to wear Bloggs’ T Shirts and baggy jeans. The distinctive musical style of groups like the Inspiral Carpets, Stone Roses and The Happy Mondays was combined with an equally distinctively visual style of flared jeans, baggy tops, and psychedelic imagery.” However, Gregory saw Bloggs’ involvement with popular musical performers as a form of marketing, part of a larger promotional activity aimed also at football fans with the idea of creating a “non-elitist designer label” (Gregory, 1995: 2). Although she posits a connection between Northern style and dance music, this is not explored in her short text, and Gregory’s work has since focused on the representation of identity in popular music. Popular music historian Hillegonda Rietveld, in a brief survey of the visual

imagery of the Manchester Rave scene (1992: 1), also explores dress, this time identifying that of the raver as essentially baggy: “over sized t-shirts, baggy shorts, track suit bottoms, baggy jeans, even baggy (shapeless) haircuts. Other details were added to this comfort-conscious dress-sense, like skull caps and ‘ethnic’ prints, which were part of the revival of psychedelic imagery.” Although such texts support the suggestion of a Mancunian look allied to loose fit, there has been no in-depth analysis of the fashions that were worn at the time.

1.2. Aims of the Research

Questioning the caricaturing of the loose fitting, baggy silhouette in the dress of the Mancunian music scene, this research elicits the essential looks generated by the local fashion producers and consumers, and explores their legacy.

The thesis addresses the following aims:

- To explore the links between the city’s music and club scene and local fashion culture during a key decade from 1986 to 1996.
- To describe the most significant Mancunian “looks” to come out of the decade and trace the contributions of local fashion influences and influencers, and to question the style concept of “loose fit”.
- To contribute to a conceptual theoretical framework for considering local fashion identity and image using Manchester as an example that may serve as a basis for further study.

The research takes as its focus the years 1986 to 1996, from Madchester to the bomb. Madchester describes Manchester’s reaction to the “rave revolution” which was the focus of British youth culture at the time (Haslam, 2000), and is now seen as a seminal period in the city’s cultural history. During this time, the Manchester fashion scene saw independent labels and retailers launch and thrive, supplying

locals with clothing reflecting the burgeoning music and nightclub scene. Some of these organisations grew, maturing into labels that supplied to stockists nationally and internationally. The period ends in 1996 with the bombing of 15th June, when a blast ripped through Manchester city centre causing widespread damage. The impact of the bomb on all city centre retailers was acute; many independent Mancunian fashion businesses lost their retail locations. The urban renewal and regeneration that followed brought about a change in the retail culture that had surrounded Manchester, marking an end to the scene.

Manchester's popular music cultural heritage has been documented within the popular media and specialist publications; Robb (2009) and Haslam (2000) have produced accounts of the history and culture of Manchester's music scene, but these contain little reference to the styles adapted, or clothing worn by musicians, disc jockeys, clubbers and music fans. There is also a focus on London when writing about youth culture in terms of fashion and music scenes, such as the notable recent contribution, the 2013 "Club to Catwalk: London Fashion in the 1980s" exhibition at the V&A and supporting publication, "80s Fashion: From Club to Catwalk" (Stanfill, S. [ed], 2013). While the catalogue title suggests a non-geographical focus, the subjects within the book were all firmly situated in the UK's capital. There is clearly a gap in the literature, which perhaps reflects a general trivialising of fashion, but acts to infer a perceived insignificance of the Manchester fashion scene. This metropolitan bias is confronted by this research.

Published material on the Manchester music scene contains little on women's roles in its music making, either as musicians or in a diverse range of supplementary functions. This paucity of discussion is paralleled in academic discourse on music making (such as Bennett, 2001) and on subcultures; these consider mainly male youth, and particularly white, working-class, male youth (see Jenks, 2005: 121). At the forefront of the popular imagination, the music and images of white, working-class male bands such as The Happy Mondays and Stone Roses, even more so in fashion terms as their looks were more cohesive and easier to understand than those of women. However, women were integral to the Manchester music scene and its image, albeit at first largely confined to associated roles such as band

managers (for example Martine McDonagh, manager of the band James) and both graphic (for example, Central Station's Karen Jackson) and fashion designers (such as interviewee Alison Knight of Baylis and Knight). This situation shifted somewhat towards the end of the decade as female lead singers became more prolific in Mancunian acts. These performers emulated the increasingly popular House music genre that was prominent in Manchester night clubs such as The Hacienda, with its use of impactful, often female, soul vocals. It was also reflective of the shift in gender relations in contemporary dance music and club culture noted by authors who wrote at or immediately after the time¹. Although women had active roles throughout the decade, the shift brought women into greater visibility, not just as performers, but in contemporary documentation of the scene. At all times throughout the period studied, both men and women were partakers in the scene as audience and crowd. This research seeks to understand dress worn by both men and women during 1986 to 1996.

The project addresses the hypothesis that *Loose Fit*, the baggy silhouette associated with the decade, is essentially Mancunian. The title is posed as a question firstly because in examining how this form of dress emerged and proliferated, it is asked whether this was in fact a regional phenomenon at all, if indeed this constituted a singular Mancunian look. Importantly, this research situates Mancunian fashion within the current theoretical debates on subcultures, street style², tribes and their forms³ so that it can be related to other non-metropole local or "glocal" fashion cultures.

¹ Redhead, 1990; Merchant and MacDonald, 1994; Thornton, 1995; Pini, 1997; Malbon, 1999 and Bennett, 2001.

² Street style is a term used to loosely describe "fashions and styles not as they are produced by designers or seen on the catwalk, but as they are observed on the street" (Woodward, 2009: 83). Street style is about how looks are assembled by individuals, sourcing from vintage, high street and designer fashions and inspired by media and local nuances.

³ Current theoretical debates are elaborated in: Polhemus, 1994; McRobbie, 1994; Evans, 1997; Crane, 2000; Entwistle, 2000; Muggleton, 2000; Clark, 2003; Walker, 2008; Woodward, 2008 and 2009 and Rogers, 2010.

1.3. Chapter Structure

Chapter 2 addresses the methods for this research, placing it within the fields of cultural history and fashion theory from a cultural standpoint, with a focus on subcultural theory (and its continuing debates) found in both these fields. The chapter briefly reviews the oral interview as a method of collecting evidence. It looks at considerations when interviewing, and describes the selection of interviewees, interview procedure, and provides a list of interviewees for ready reference. The chapter also analyses the contribution of photographic evidence to the research. It ends with a brief description of the distinct themes that arose from analysis of the literature and were refined in terms of the research findings.

In order to refine the research direction, it was important to ascertain what had already been written on and around the subject of the impact of music on youth fashion, which is the focus of Chapter 3. Despite a trickle of recent academic writing covering relevant subjects, gaps were found in the specific areas of interest for this research, notably the contribution of Manchester and local fashion, but also in general, popular music culture and the youth fashion scene outside London. Nevertheless, contemporary accounts of the history and culture of Manchester's music scenes and youth culture can be found within the popular media and specialist publications. Therefore, in addition to a conventional literature review, the chapter also contains a contextual exposition in order to offer necessary background information.

The chapter goes on to investigate the changing concept of subculture, looking into communicating identity through clothing in a western context. It considers traditional subcultural presentations and current debate in which traditional subcultures have become less relevant due to continuous discourse and a more fluid, multi-faceted mainstream culture. The principle of bricolage is brought in to expand the workability of subcultural theories and how young people dress. Useful comparisons are made to linguistic functioning and the remixing of music but reserving these to the level of analogy.

Chapter 3 concludes by contextualising specific topics necessary to the research. It covers local fashion scenes and “looks”, viewing work on cities such as London and Nottingham in the UK, Toronto in Canada, Amsterdam in the Netherlands as well as urban Denmark and Greenland. It examines key looks in Manchester during the time period studied, such as the loose fitting *Baggy as Fuck* (BAF) (Haslam, 1999: 184); *Scallydelia* (Champion, 1990: 131), which translates as the influence of the working class male; and the resistance to branding on garments. The chapter defines the Manchester music scene from 1986 to 1996, in particular the scene that is known as Madchester. Finally, it examines the influence of urban dance music and its bricolage quality on sub- and club cultures.

Chapter 4 is divided into the six key themes that arose out of the research evidence, presenting the most important findings and seeking to discover just what is the nature of the relationship between music and dress. Ultimately questioning whether this relationship is simply a manifestation of taste or whether there are more deeply embodied relationships. The chapter questions the importance of local sites and geographies to the Manchester music scene. “Fashion in motion” questions the concept of dressing for movement. “Northern dialect” investigates Mancunian and Northern distinctions in dress. “The working class male” asks how important class identity was on the Manchester music scene. “Authenticity” examines the importance of creating a sense of the authentic by reference to perceived origins. “Discursive Distance”, considers the term “flight from discourse”, coined by Evans (1997) to define the desire of those associated with rave culture to avoid identification and be deliberately anonymous. This chapter addresses whether this was also the case for Manchester. Finally, “A shift in attitude” investigates the move away from traditional subcultures towards an amalgamation of looks and attitude.

Chapter 5 analyses the findings in Chapter 4 in relation to the initial aims of the research and beyond, answering the question raised in the thesis’ title of the commonplace assumption that there was a loose fitting style associated with the Madchester music scene. It also addresses how the music and club scene inspired Mancunian fashion designers and brands, reflecting the “local buzz” of

Manchester's cultural heritage. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis, examining the methods used and outlining the research's contribution to knowledge. I will also relate these to further research directions and answer the question of whether Manchester's fashion identity is all about *Loose Fit*.

2. Methodology

2.1. Introduction

This research is located within the fields of cultural studies, dress history and fashion theory. In the foreword to the 2010 reprint⁴ of her key work *Adorned in Dreams*, fashion theorist Wilson writes, “dress (and in western societies dress is fashionable dress – a continually changing phantasmagoria of styles -) is socially central, a symbolic system of crucial importance; and that garments as objects, so close to our bodies, also articulate the soul” (xi). Wilson here emphasises the centrality of dress and its position at the core of our social being. Fashion plays a crucial role in cultural studies, standing on the cusp of culture and society while also presenting a construct of identity to an audience. With this in mind all the aforementioned fields present tools with which to study fashion. As cultural historian Breward (1995) states in *The Culture of Fashion*, the application of elements of approaches to art and design history, together with cultural studies can provide a rigorous, yet fluid framework in which to study fashion.

The research is supported by theoretical background in both cultural and fashion theory. Subcultural theory appears within both cultural and fashion theory. In particular, fashion historian and theorist Evans’ (1997) investigation into the changing nature and fluidity of subcultures; and the sociological approach taken by Crane (2000) and Entwistle (2000) that sees subculture as establishing and communicating both personal expression and group identity; have been fundamental in this research. The work of sociologist Woodward⁵ on dress has also been key to this study: her consideration of how identity expressed through clothing emerges from the relationship between the individual and particular social groups and occasions; as well as the wearer’s perception of how an outfit “feels”. These concepts reflect the consumption of fashion and music as cultural practice, and are central to this research.

⁴ *Adorned in Dreams* was originally published in 1985.

⁵ See Bibliography for the works of Woodward

Fashion and music scenes and locations are integral to the innovation and development of the “creative trinity of music, fashion and design” (Stanfill, 2013: 9), consequently, the work of geographers, such as Crewe and Beaverstock (1998), has been studied. Music culture theory has also aided this thesis, in particular, the work into club cultures by sociologist Thornton (1994, 1995) and that of popular music and culture theorist Bennett (1999, 2000, 2001, 2004).

Despite a growing body of theoretical literature around the subject (Skov and Melchoir, 2008: 3), in-depth academic studies are lacking, notably in discussion of Manchester’s popular music culture and youth fashion scene. It was therefore necessary to make use of descriptions from popular media, with particular interest being paid to specialist publications that offer contemporary accounts of Manchester’s music scenes and youth culture. Journalist and disc jockey Dave Haslam, and journalists John Robb and Sarah Champion are key commentators on the Manchester music scene and its fashions. Despite their popular and non-academic nature with no attempt at citation or the substantiating of evidence, the writers give an insider’s view into the local scenes.

It is essential to be aware of the nature of the material. In her chapter on utilising literary sources, Taylor (2002: 90) raises the issues of journalistic writing as a source of evidence unless it is studied critically. She cites Moore (1949: 16) who noted that journalists may prefer to be entertaining rather than accurate, or to quote occurrences that were exceptional rather than the norm (95). Hence, journalism can present an artificially heightened view, even when grounded in fact. Just as fiction can be used as a source of fashion evidence for a historical period in the information that it presents tangentially and for its cultural understandings, popular and journalistic writing can be equally valuable when examined with critical regard to the author’s assumptions and intentions. Looking beyond the problems of this genre of writing, each publication studied for this research gives an insider’s view into the music-fashion-youth scenes; these are “eye-witness” accounts, personal and opinionated, not thoroughgoing academic arguments and they have to be balanced alongside a full range of complementary sources (Taylor: 98).

It is also important to state that while contemporary accounts can be treated critically as primary source evidence, later writings must be viewed more sceptically, given the time that has passed since the occurring events. Interviewees in the popular literature studied may have embellished or over-played their role and part in the Manchester music scene, actively participating in feeding the mythology surrounding the Manchester music scene of the time (for further consideration of this issue see section 2.4, page 26 for considerations when interviewing). While such mythologizing is not irrelevant to the subject, it became clear that to find more reliable information, or fuller corroboration, and especially more detail about fashion, new sources of evidence would be required.

2.2. Oral Evidence

Oral testimony appeared to be the primary way to gain evidence in areas that are not currently documented in company archives or published literature. Fashion historian Lomas (2000) argues that oral history is a valuable research tool for accessing first-hand experience, while also having the potential for uncovering hidden or neglected aspects of the past. In particular, responses of interviewees through oral evidence highlight experiences from the everyday in a rich and immediate way. Though such material is often undervalued – for example, dress and textile historian Taylor describes it as being marginalised from ‘big’ history (2002: 242), interviews can capture information from sources that might otherwise go unrecorded. Writing about approaches to oral history, Taylor (2002) cites historian Tosh (1991) and folklorist Bornat (1989) when defining oral history. She explains it as recovering lost areas of experience from respondents with a variety of backgrounds and treating their recollections as valid evidence for research into aspects of living memory, in this case dress. Taylor proposes, “Since clothing is such a fundamental factor within everyday life and human experience, memories of dress should be able to make significant contributions to the field of oral history” (242). These spoken memories highlight and reflect important social and cultural

experiences, ranging from individual to community. In this, dress is not separated from other cultural fields.

2.3. Active Interviewing

Sociologists Gubrium and Holstein use the term *Active Interview* (1995, 2002, 2004) to describe the interview as an exploratory, two way process between the interviewer and the interviewee. Believing that the interviewee should be seen as more of a raconteur with their narration obtained in a form of conversation, Gubrium and Holstein draw from the work of Converse and Schuman (1974) and Douglas (1985) who describe interviewees as vessels of knowledge or “answers” (1995: 30; 2002: 13). It is the interviewer’s role to extract the knowledge and keep the interviewee on track, speaking directly from their “vessel of answers”. This conversational approach avoids interference through leading questions or pre-conceived opinions, yet responds to the interviewees’ answers openly, giving a sense of cooperation and a search for mutual understanding in a way that standard interviewing, with pre-ordained questions strictly adhered to could not achieve. Despite its relative flexibility, the active interview must be organised, guided by the interviewer and their research agenda. Hence, the interviewer should be familiar with the subject, not only to better keep the interview on track and to understand the interviewee’s perspective and interpretations, but also to form a basis for interview conversational interjections. The process of active interviewing was adopted for this research, with knowledge of the Manchester club and music scene, locations, and key influencers forming the basis for the conversational approach.

2.4. Considerations When Interviewing

There are a number of considerations to be taken into account when using interviews as a source of historical evidence. The uncertainty of the individual’s memory and the articulation of that memory at one moment in time is always an

issue in the interview method and one that oral researchers identify as a concern (Suterwella, 2013 citing Perks and Thomson, 2006 and Abrams, 2010). In the case of this project, interviewees were recalling events from the recent past (1986 - 1996), which made some aspects more verifiable. However, it is worth noting that in some of the social events around the creative processes to be discussed, use of alcohol and recreational drugs no doubt affected the memory. It was also a possibility that interviewees held back evidence that they considered confidential or commercially sensitive. As Slater posits in her doctoral study, based on oral testimony, when discussing silences, “the current self chooses whether to report a particular memory in full, in part, or to remain silent” (2011: 224). This may be due to either holding information back in a sense of responsibility or accountability (Poole, 2008: 149, cited in Slater, 2011: 224) or the desire for accuracy (Lummis, 1987: 120 as cited in Slater, 2011: 225). As Slater states, it is the responsibility of the researcher to respect the interviewees’ silences (where they did not divulge their memories), at the same time as questioning why the silences have occurred.

While Taylor’s studies (2002) have found that images can serve as a prompt to memory, she has also determined that they can complicate matters by influencing opinions. In order to avoid potential skewing of evidence, images were not used as an aide memoire within the interviews conducted, with the exception of former *City Life* editor Andy Spinoza and his wife Lynn Cunningham where looking through back copies of his magazine, fanzines and other publications. This was familiar territory for the interviewees and felt like a natural way to proceed. In the interviews that were conducted in small groups, interviewees often acted as prompters to one another. Taylor experienced this effect when interviewing women in pairs with them prompting one another and re-living memories through oral interchange. Gubrium and Holstein (1995) believe that group interviews not only allow the prompting effect, but also enable a fleshing out of points raised when viewpoints change in response to discussion or challenges. I found this the case for both the women and men when they were interviewed in a pair and groups: not only were points challenged if recalled incorrectly, or omitted, but deeper analysis took place.

Another consideration is the possibility that the interviewee may try to embellish or over-play their role in a situation; this is made more attractive by the mythologising surrounding the Manchester music scene during the time, a myth some participants had been linked to and interviewed about before.⁶ This is an issue that Suterwalla (2013) recognised in her interviews with women who were part of sub- and counter-cultural movements, in particular British “Punks” and Greenham Common protestors where “the self-reflective perspectives of the older self can romanticise the younger self, and that as one grows older the tendency to over-invest or over-connect with particular experiences of youth can become stronger, creating a web of deeply subjective emotional memories” (2013: 28). Mythologising is illustrated by historians Samuel and Thompson’s *The Myths We Live By* (1990), where case studies from recent European history, classical Greece and indigenous North America were used to show that memory is continually reshaped to make sense of the past from the perspective of the present. Samuel and Thompson posit that even while the facts being recalled may be true, the omissions and shaping of the stories told are what make them a myth. Thus, even recent history can be mythologised; guarding against being taken in by this requires active searching for corroboration between independent sources.

2.5. Interpretation of Interview Evidence

Interpretation of the interview evidence must also be carefully considered. Taylor (2002) stresses that there is little value to oral history when studied in isolation. While the interviews conducted in this study have proven to be the most crucial aspect of the evidence gathered in this project, they are illuminated by other information, photographic and archival, offering visual insight and the corroboration of facts. The interviewer must also be aware of their own social conditioning in relation to the interviewee, not only during the interview process where there may be influencing of the interviewee, but in the dissecting of the evidence. Taylor

⁶ Phil Saxe and Leo Stanley have both been interviewed on and around the subject of Madchester in Haslam’s *Manchester, England* (1999), and Robb’s *The North Will Rise Again: Manchester Music City 1976 – 1996* (2009). See Section 2.8 for further insight into the interviewees.

(2002: 262) cites Borland in the *Oral History Reader* (1998: 321), when she defines the process of interpretation as, “a second-level narrative based upon, but at the same time reshaping the first”. Taylor stresses that this reshaping is at the heart of interpretation. While some see this as problematic, acknowledging the contribution of the interviewer to the process is more realistic than espousing that some form of objectivity is possible. All history is built from evidence that has inherent weaknesses, and interview evidence is no different. Critical reflection is required with regard to all evidence. These were the approaches followed when interpreting the interview evidence for this research.

2.6. Selection of Interviewees

The research began from key thematic areas arising from the review of literature and contextual exposition. Interviews were sought with pre-identified figures who appeared to have played key roles in the interplay of Mancunian fashion and music, such as fashion label owners, employees of fashion firms or retail outlets, band managers and photographers. The criterion for selecting people to interview was that they had to have been directly involved in creative output during the time period studied, and contributed in some recognised way to the look and style of Manchester. Contacts were made through mutual friends and associates, making use of social networking and business websites. Initial contact was made via email or telephone. To counter the risk of reluctance of potential interviewees to make time available (or sufficient time to give depth to their responses), telephone or email interviews were offered as an option. However, all those who agreed to participate were also happy to meet in person.

Once the interviews began, a secondary process of “organic” selection came into play as interviewees introduced their colleagues. Suterwalla defines this as “snowball sampling” (27), a procedure where at the end of the interview the interviewee was invited to recommend others. While the recommendations in the interviews for this research were voluntary rather than requested, the recommendations proved valuable, acknowledging that participants would have

proved difficult to find by other means. For example, Ian Tilton recommended that I contact Lee Daly because of his importance in the formation of the Madchester look. Similarly, Alison Knight introduced Ursula Darrigan, a retailer of local fashion, and she agreed to be interviewed with Knight. A small focus group was formed spontaneously during the interview of photographer AJ Wilkinson when colleagues who had also been contemporaries of the interviewee during the period in question came into the room and participated in the exchange. The conversational approach of active interviewing, easily made allowance for such adaptations, and is another merit of this manner of working.

2.7. The Interview Process

Interviews were unstructured and based upon thematic areas rather than specific questions. The precise line of enquiry depended on the individual interviewee and the nature of their business or involvement. The themes discussed included:

- Design (or retailing) sources and inspirations.
- Styles of dress, individual garment types and how they were worn.
- Key locations and venues (design offices, sales locations, social locations).
- Social and musical events and happenings; and associated activities.
- Northern-ness, social class and perceptions of the media.
- The time period: beginnings, endings, changes of mood.

The idea was to gather as much detailed information as possible about individual fashions, their rise and proliferation, to link such fashions to local sites and geographies; and to capture their association with music and other social activities. But also, to lead interviewees to reflect more generally upon the time and wider cultural influences.

Interviews varied in their location to suit the interviewee's convenience, either in their workplace or their chosen social meeting places. This was not ideal in terms of sound quality of recording, or for the likelihood of an uninterrupted session. On

the other hand, the self-selected locations helped to put the interviewees at their ease and mitigated against any stilted formality. The planned length of interviews was one hour although some overran due to the interviewee's enthusiasm for the subject. This was seen in a positive light, and added significantly to the evidence gathered. Again, the flexible, conversational approach of active interviewing, easily made allowances for such adaptations, and is another merit of this manner of working.

2.8. The Interviewees

Overall, nine interviews took place that involved thirteen interviewees between September 2011 and July 2014:

Phil Saxe, 22nd November 2011, 10.00am, Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts (LIPA). Saxe co-owned a market stall on The Arndale Market, Manchester which sold casual wear. He was also The Happy Monday's first manager and the head of A&R⁷ for Factory Records during the time period studied. Length of interview: 1:15:14.

Bruce Atkinson, 1st November 2011, 5.00pm, The Stretham Fox, Antrobus, Cheshire. During the time period studied he was employed by Manchester based men's and women's wear label Baylis and Knight. Length of interview: 0:35:03

Alison Knight, 9th February 2012, 7.30pm. Hilary Step, Whalley Range, Manchester. Alison Knight is the co-owner of Manchester based men's and women's wear label Baylis and Knight. Length of interview: 2:08:12.

Ursula Darrigan (with Alison Knight), 22nd February 2012. Baylis and Knight's studio, Whalley Range, Manchester. During the time period studied she was the

⁷ A&R stands for Artists and Repertoire. It is the department of a record label or music publishing company that is responsible for talent scouting and artistic development of the organisation's recording artists and songwriters.

owner of Manchester based independent clothing label and small retail chain, Wear it Out. Length of interview: 0:54:44.

AJ Wilkinson (with Terry Kane and Andy White), 10th April 2012, 12.00pm. Mid Cheshire College, Northwich, Cheshire. During the time period studied AJ Wilkinson was a photographer for *City Life* magazine, Terry Kane was a Disc Jockey (DJ) and Andy White was a freelance photographer. Length of interview: 1:19:38.

Ian Tilton, 25th May 2012 at The Hacienda's 30th Anniversary exhibition, Photographer's Gallery, Tariff Street, Manchester. Ian Tilton is a photographer who specialises in the music industry. Length of interview: 0:39:36.

Lee Daly, 7th May 2012, 8.00pm. The Bar, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester. During the time period studied, Daly was a friend of band members from The Stone Roses and The Happy Mondays. He is credited with initiating the Baldrick / Madchester look and was one of a group of young men photographed by Tilton for an *i-D magazine* photo shoot in October 1987. Length of interview: 2:40:07.

Andy Spinoza (with Lynn Cunningham), 3rd May 2014, 11am. Spinoza and Cunningham's home, Heaton Moor, Stockport, Cheshire. During the time period studied, Spinoza was editor of *City Life* magazine and later editor of the Diary page of the *Manchester Evening News*. Lynn Cunningham, Spinoza's partner worked for Manchester City Council. Length of interview: 1.42.44.

Leo Stanley, 17th July 2014, 11am. Identity Offices, Unit 8.4, Tameside Business Park, Windmill Lane, Denton, Manchester. Leo Stanley is the owner of Identity, a t-shirt brand and shop in Affleck's Palace that was open during the time period studied. Length of interview: 1:01:58.

See Appendix 1 for transcripts of the interviews. See section 2.11 for the transcription methods.

2.9. Photographic Images

To add value to the oral history evidence (Taylor, 2002) image analysis was used as a parallel research method in support of the topics suggested by the oral evidence. As Craik, author of *Fashion: The Key Concepts* (2009) acknowledges, interpreting a particular look through photographs cannot be done well in isolation. Analysis of photographic images is at its most successful when there is documentary or historical information linked with the photographs. In this study, context of location, social background and histories of the subjects were established by the interview process when subsequently analysing images. Taylor acknowledges within *The Study of Dress History* that photographic images are “percolated” (2002: 163) through the lens of the photographer along with the photographer’s cultural standpoint. Taylor writes that the meaning of the photograph is inseparable to social consciousness, culture and custom so when garments in photographs are analysed, the photographer and context of the photograph (when, where, why it was taken and for who) must also be considered (168).

The photographs used in this thesis include personal snapshots, such as an image by interviewee Atkinson, of his wife on holiday in Paris (figure 9), as well as professional work. While the snapshot may not show the dress well, it highlights the everyday way that the dress was worn, as opposed to the studio images taken by professional photographers, for example, those of the *Baylis and Knight* crochet collection (figures 23 and 24) and the *Joe Bloggs* shirts (figure 51). These were taken to promote these ranges and are also included in this research. Here, garment details can be seen clearly but the use of model, location and styling of the garments is limited to the labels’ briefing to the photographer (and stylists, hair and make-up artists and the models themselves) based on the labels’ self-perceptions. Fashion photoshoots in magazines have also been used, in which looks have been styled as part of feature articles. Most notably, there will be a

discussion about *Scally Culture* in *City Life* (see figure 14) and *Bar None* in *MNE*⁸ (figures 31 and 32) in sections 4.3.2 and 4.4.3 respectively

Photographs used in this research also include the documenting of nightclub events. These were taken by professional photographers, such as Kevin Cummins (figures 4 and 10) and Ian Tilton (figures 5, 13, 40 and 42), the latter an interviewee for this thesis, often to be used as a visual reportage of the events in lifestyle and listings magazines. Although such images have been framed by the photographer to include or exclude certain figures, the clothing shown has not generally been influenced by the photographer, rather these are likely to be clothes selected and self-styled by the wearer for “going out”, as opposed to “everyday” or professionally styled.

2.10. Music

Although music was not used directly as evidence, it was important to undertake extensive listening in order to develop an understanding of the Manchester music scene and wider musical context, though hearing this music today was inevitably done under very different conditions. Soundtracks were compiled, and music listened to in order to more fully experience the tempo, rhythms, energies and lyrics of the music produced. Though it was not directly analysed, this study provided necessary background, somewhat as a literature review, and became a reference point that could be drawn upon in interviews as part of the active interview process. However, it is worth noting that this background study aided and influenced my analysis and interpretation of the interviews and images. See Appendix 2 for a discography illustrating the Manchester music scene.

⁸ *MNE* stands for *Manchester North of England*.

2.11. Recording and Preservation of the Evidence

I transcribed all the interviews with the exception of Lee Daly, whose interview was transcribed by a professional transcriber due to its great length. Initials were used throughout the transcripts to denote who was speaking after their full name was used once. The use of dashes, “ermms” and ellipses were employed when appropriate to indicate when there were pauses, interruptions or trailings off in the conversation. This was utilised in order to give the reader a fuller understanding of the tone of conversation. Unfortunately, this was not done in the Lee Daly transcription. The Lee Daly interview also required alterations once completed due to the transcriber’s lack of subject knowledge. Band and magazine names required correcting and some of the text required insight into the wider context of the subject and interviewee’s background for correct transcription. This also indicated how crucial the initial research and background information was to the interview and transcription processes.

There were noise issues in some of the interviews due to their location. There was a lot of general background noise in those that took place in social meeting places that was difficult to filter out at particular times. This led to extra time being spent on transcribing, trying to recoup elements that were poorly audible. Fortunately, none of the inaudible sections were integral to the content of the research, and therefore this was not a major concern, although it may be worth noting for any future researchers using the material.

Some sections were left out of the transcriptions when they related to personal issues and were irrelevant to the subject matter. Often in these sections interviewees discussed partners and children. Any sections that have been omitted due to lack of relevance have been indicated in the thesis by the use of “[...]”. There were no other reasons why material was purposefully left out even though some interviewees talked about illegal activities such as their use of recreational drugs during the time period studied. The interviewees were candid in these discussions and it forms an integral contribution to the research. All interviewees signed a consent form that allows the interview to be used, attributed to them by

name and archived. The recordings and transcripts will be deposited in an archive, although at this time further consideration is necessary before a decision is made as to which is the right one. Consideration is being given to local archives first in preference to national.

Photographs and magazines were lent by some of the interviewees, the originals of which were scanned in for the purpose of this thesis and then returned. In the case of the *City Life* listings magazine and fanzines, which were lent by Andy Spinoza, the PDF files of the scanned images (front covers and key articles and advertisements) were emailed to him for his own archive.

2.12. Analysis

Distinct themes emerged when broadly considering the interview evidence. This led to the initial research objective of producing case studies being abandoned, as these became less relevant. The case studies were to include the T-shirt label *Identity*; men's and women's wear brand *Baylis and Knight*; and the "Big Two" bands (*The Stone Roses* and *Happy Mondays*), which were important magnets for the key fashion looks. Instead, the themes resulting organically from the evidence were given priority. Most of these themes also arose in the literature review and were substantiated and advanced throughout the interviews, such as "Fashion in motion", "Northern dialect" and "The working class male"; others came directly from the interview process, such as "Authenticity". The themes are presented under their own separate headings, forming the structure of the findings chapter:

"Fashion in Motion", which relates to the notion of dressing for movement, in particular dance.

"Northern Dialect". This section focuses on Mancunian and Northern distinctions in resistance to London.

“The Working Class Male”. This section addresses the importance of the working class on the Manchester music scene and its impact on the clothing worn. It also addresses the focus on men and groups they form in a quest to belong to a gang or tribe.

“Authenticity”. This section addresses the desire to seek out original garments and elicit authentic looks, in particular from the 1960s and American workwear.

“Discursive Distance” explores the interviewees’ perceptions of the media which includes the resistance to London based media as well as the impact it had on the individuals and movement as a whole. It also explores resistance to branding, both in terms of the media and as a whole.

“A Shift in Attitude”. This chapter addresses the interviewees perceptions of the change in music, dress and overall attitudes during the time period studied.

The interpretation of evidence draws upon visual analysis, narrative analysis, and thematic analysis, according to the information given within the interviews and source material.

3. Literature Review and Contextual Exposition

3.1. Introduction

In order to identify the impact of Manchester's music scene on youth fashion it is important to ascertain what has already been written on and around the subject. Despite academic literature covering relevant subjects, in particular on identity through clothing, sub- and club culture, gaps were found in academic writing on the specific interests of this research, most notably, popular music culture and youth fashion as experienced in the Manchester scene. There does exist writing within the popular media and specialist publications that provides contemporary accounts and reminiscences of the history and culture of Manchester's music scenes and youth culture. Therefore, this literature review contains a contextual exposition that includes some of this literature in order to offer necessary background.

Firstly, current debates on the much-contended concept of subcultures are presented, leading to a working framework for the purpose of this research. Secondly, local fashion scenes and "looks" are addressed, focussing on both street fashion and mainstream fashion from Manchester and other cities in relation to their locale. From this, research questions based around Manchester fashion are raised. Finally, the chapter looks at the Manchester music scene during the time period 1986 to 1996, evaluating the impact of this scene on youth fashion, addressing both the music and the context within which it is situated. This exploration leads to additional research questions around music, media and fashion interrelationships are raised.

3.2. The Changing Concept of Subculture

3.2.1. Introduction

The subject of subculture is complex, the meaning of the term is much debated, and even the existence of the phenomenon is contested. Academic reassessment of the concept of subcultures has led to broad, all-encompassing definitions. For example, urban and historical geographer Gilbert (2000) identifies subculture as ideas, phrases, practices and images that may be manifested as popular parlance, media representations, assembled outfits, exhibitions or academics' accounts. Such definitions may represent a conscious move aimed at minimising the potential impact of academic discussion on subculture members, as this has been criticised for intruding upon the groups under study and affecting their very nature (this subject is explored more fully later, see section 3.3.6). The sociologist Woodward (2009) has clarified that popular understandings of subculture, and depictions in the media, are interconnected in the production of the meanings that surround subculture groupings. However, many basic issues that the term raises remain unresolved. Since the concept of subculture is important to this thesis, a clearer view is needed. This chapter aims to establish a working framework for subculture specifically applicable to this research by exploring the concept under three relevant themes.

Firstly the chapter offers a brief overview of theories concerning identity as conveyed through clothing in contemporary British culture, focusing on the subcultural context. It highlights how clothing is appropriated for cultural signs, while simultaneously marking social belonging and serving the need for individual expression. Secondly, it addresses the recent debate around "traditional"⁹ subculture and investigates the move toward the concepts of lifestyle and neo-tribes. Finally, it considers the consumption of fashion and music as cultural

⁹ The "traditional" concepts of subculture refer to those of the initiators of the term, including Hall and Jefferson (2006, 2nd edition. First published in 1976), and Melly (1972). Hebdidge (1979 and 1988).

practice, investigating the concept of “bricolage”¹⁰: how garments are re-mixed, and used with subverted and transformed meanings. Here, the context of localism as well as globalism in clothing culture is emphasised.

3.2.2. Identity Through Dress

The literature on identity and dress is large; it has continued as a major theme in studies of fashion and dress since the 1980s. My review has been selective and focussed, with a view to finding the key elements relevant to my study.

In *Adorned in Dreams*, Wilson (2010) outlines her theory that a move from dress as display to dress as identity arose in the nineteenth century when clothing became the vehicle for announcement of individual personality. The importance of clothing in personal and collective identity has thereby become an important theme in the literature on dress of later periods, especially the twentieth century. A reassessment of the subject by American sociologist Crane (2000) finds that identity is a social construct, in which it is clothing that “performs a major role in the social construction of identity” (2). Wilson goes so far as to stress “the fashionable dress of the western world [acts] as a means where an always fragmentary self is glued together into the semblance of a unified identity” (2010: 11). Wilson’s idea of dress as a unifying tool for identity is adopted here, but it is important to make clear that dress does not just refer to clothing itself. Sociologist Entwistle (2000), in her study of embodiment speaks of the dynamic relationship between the body and dress (11). She sees the dressed body as a site both of identity, and personal expression through the act of wearing. It is this expanded concept of dress as the dressed body that is used in this dissertation, in order to emphasise the interaction of garments with the body and also considering its movement.

¹⁰ Hebdige, 1979; Evans, 1997; Calefato, 2004; English, 2007, based on the work of Levi-Strauss; 1994 new edition reprint. First published in 1962; and Certeau; 1988.

Identity through clothing works on a dual system of, on one hand, articulating a sense of uniqueness or difference in relation to some, while on the other, establishing and strengthening connections to others. Woodward (2008) confirms that identity expressed through clothing emerges from the relationship between the individual and particular social groups - the desire to stand out and to fit in, or rather, to belong. Within her study of Nottingham street style, Woodward refers to the philosophy of Simmel and his ideas of the tension between the desire to be part of a social group while simultaneously separating the “individual element from it [as] a core part of being human” (2008: 549). Craik elaborates that although fashion is a cultural practice that is bound up with a sense of self – self as both individual and member of a group. In this sense, fashion choices have to “balance reflecting the contemporary consensus about fashion with the specific arrangement of signs and symbols that mark out an individual as appearing to be unique” (2009: 2).

Craik outlines several social practices that are entailed in the individual’s interrelation with fashion: the selection of clothes, (which includes garments that go in and out of popularity), the accenting of certain aspects of bodies and apparel through the use of decoration and accessories, and the ways of wearing and combining clothes on the body. She sees clothes as structured into social processes and meanings by the ways in which the details and rules about wearing them are perceived as social markers; namely demarcating status, gender, social group allegiance, personality, fashionability and sexuality. Cultural theorist Hall (2007) describes this combining of clothes to form an ensemble as a “syntagm”, which is any combination of things that conforms to a specified set of social rules, in this case, the appropriateness of dress. He goes on to describe the rules of substitution, for example, one t-shirt can be substituted for another without detracting from the syntagm (122). The selection of clothes, the method of combining them, and the distinctive ways of wearing (whether conscious or unconscious) hold the potential for signalling individuality and the membership of social groups simultaneously. I have found this conceptualisation relevant and useful for this study.

The potential of clothing for communication (the communication of the wearer's identity) has entailed an extensive literature, much of this based on Barthes' semiotic theory of dress (1984, 2006). Referring to Barthes, Craik maintains that fashion is a language or set of signs, elaborating that symbols are internalised and naturalised so they are understood almost automatically. Cultural symbols are culturally specific and historically variable: "Types of fashion symbols are organised into symbolic systems that are specific to a culture or subculture and intelligible to us, but only among us (whoever "us" might be in a particular fashion milieu)" (2009: 5). In this theory, fashion is a system of communication made up of a vocabulary (a collection of items of clothing typical of a culture), syntax (the rules about how clothes can be combined or organised) and grammar (the system of arranging and relating garments) and conventions of decoding and interpreting the meaning of a particular look. Craik acknowledges that this approach (much espoused in the late twentieth century) has been contested. As considered in the Methodology (see section 2.9.), Craik finds that interpreting photographs of subjects wearing various outfits cannot be done successfully in isolation without additional material from the lived experience of wearing clothing. Photographs will provide only the decoding of an illustration of behaviour rather than the behaviour itself and therefore visual analysis of this sort is at its most successful when there is further information alongside the photographs, such as environment, social background and histories of the subjects. But Craik remains confident of a general literacy of fashion codes among designers, consumers, academics and the media. However, even this straightforward interpretation of semiotic theory has been challenged, and the critiques offer useful nuances to the understanding of communicability of dress.

Davis (1994) also refers to semiotics, in finding that clothing styles constitute a form of code, but qualifies this as dissimilar from cryptography and the language rules that govern speech and writing. According to Davis, there are no fixed rule-governed formulas; what is communicated is mostly to do with the self and social identity, framed by cultural values bearing on gender, sexuality, social status and age. He questions whether clothing is a visual language, with its own distinctive grammar, syntax and vocabulary or instead, whether it is less tangible, making a comparison to music where meanings, such as emotions, allusions and moods are

presented and sufficiently share-able, but it is far less clear how this happens. Davis suggests that it can be viewed as quasi-code, or metaphorically:

“...although it must necessarily draw on the conventional visual and tactile symbols of a culture, it does so allusively, ambiguously, and inchoately, so that the meanings evoked by the combinations and permutations of the code’s key terms (fabric, texture, colour, pattern, volume, silhouette and occasion) are ever shifting or ‘in process’” (1994: 5).

The semiological interpretation of dress adopted in this study follows this more nuanced expression; in particular, Davis’ concept of the continually changing nature of the metaphorical meanings expressed through dress. And also the idea that there are less tangible aspects, such as emotions and moods, that operate in the social perception of dress, that these are in flux, being reconstituted and renegotiated.

Entwistle believes that in a post-traditional world, the balance of exhibiting difference and similarity is exaggerated due to identities no longer being as stable as they were, especially in modern cities where the relative anonymity of people on the street opens up the possibilities of playing with identities and experimenting with appearance. Davis further elaborates that social identities are rarely the stable amalgams we take them to be. This, according to Davis, is due to social and technological change, the life cycle, visions of utopia and occasions of disaster; our identities are forever in ferment, giving rise to numerous strains, paradoxes, ambivalences and contradictions within ourselves. “It is upon these collectively experienced, sometimes historically recurrent, identity instabilities that fashion feeds” (1994: 17). Crane (2000) argues that within a highly fragmented society, in which individuals move from one interest, lifestyle, or allegiance to another and evolve, they make choices of what and how to wear in order to project self identities that are meaningful to themselves at any one time. Woodward (2005) illustrates this in her essay which studies women’s wardrobes, exploring how particular outfits conveying certain messages, tried and tested in defined social occasions, “feel” right or not, depending on the situation and mood.

Clark (1976, cited in Crane 2000) argued that the most important elements in *subcultural* identity are style and appearance, aspects that are widely expressed through dress. Crane (2000) suggests that young people associated with subcultures who are not part of the workforce have freedom and control over the way they dress, using it to make statements about themselves and their attitudes towards their surroundings. While individual distinctiveness is an important element within subcultures, styles (elucidated further below), particularly in the dressed body, are worn to articulate a clear group identity to members and outsiders. In other words, to establish a sense of similarity (Entwistle, 2000). Brake (1985), argues that this is done to express commitment to the group, which Entwistle (2000) calls “connective tissue”. This accords with Wilson (2010), who refers to the heightened sense of connectedness within a particular group that serves to distinguish group members from the dominant culture. Brake (1985) further argues that youth subcultures have used such connectivities to subvert mainstream ideologies, while promoting their own. In this research, this oppositional stance is not seen as a necessary condition for subcultural membership. However, Brake offers a valuable concept categorising three practical aspects of subcultural style (which Entwistle has also adopted): 1) image, in this context the dressed body, accessories and artefacts (even, for example, motor vehicles); 2) gait or postural expression (Entwistle uses ‘cool’ for Mods and ‘angry’ for Punk as examples: 2000: 136) and, 3) argot - the delivery of the particular vocabulary of the group. This conceptualisation has been foundational in this study.

In modern western society the body has become a major site of identity with dress used to articulate a sense of uniqueness as well as establishing connections to others. This research shares the view that when wearing certain clothes in a particular way, something less tangible, more instinctual like emotions and moods, can be presented and shared. These moods are fluid, responding to both internal and external factors, as well as the projection of self-identities when individuals move from one group, interest or allegiance to another. The balance between the individual and allegiance to particular groups has been a shared interest in the literature studied in this section. This use of fashion as “connective tissue”

(Entwistle, 2000) can heighten the sense of connectedness to a particular group and distinguish participants from the dominant culture. The striving to establish a sense of uniqueness and to form connections to others is the basis upon which classical subcultures have been identified, and will be explored in the next section, together with the contention of their traditional view.

3.2.3. Subculture: the Traditional View and Current Debate

Seminal work on subcultures at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) by Hall and Jefferson (1976); Melly (1972); Hebdidge (1979, 1988) established the traditional notion of subculture being a form of working class resistance against the previous generation's conformist attitudes seen against the dominant culture in post-war Britain. It has been argued that the notion of subculture in its traditional sense is no longer relevant in the twenty-first century. For example, Clark (2003), states that traditional subcultures "died" when they became the object of social inspection and nostalgia (and became commercialised). Woodward (2009) and fashion historian and theorist Evans (1997) discuss how the defining, describing and reporting of subcultural style has impacted on groups studied, both in their self-perception and the practices of members - The nature of the impact changes as the individuals within the group become more self-aware. Such discourse can also contribute to the construction of a myth and hence elevation, or immortalisation of the group. Evans cites four main categories of discourse: academic, journalistic, curatorial and marketing. She argues that publishing information on subcultures "releases knowledge that threatens the exclusivity of the group studied" (1997: 175).

Polhemus (1994) is one such documenter. His book *Streetstyle*, linked to an exhibition curated by Amy de la Haye at the Victoria and Albert Museum, is a highly visual and accessible publication. However, it has received much criticism since its publication because of the oversimplification of groupings, for describing them as mutually exclusive, and therefore for being overly reductionist. Woodward (2009), for example, sees *Streetstyle* as a popular account that does not stand up

to academic scrutiny, while Thornton (1995) finds its simplification borders on stereotyping. Evans (1997) highlights the problem that the groupings are not self-identified and the documentation of them fixes their identities, which in reality are fluid, unstable, complex and shifting. De la Haye acknowledged these issues in her own critique of the exhibition in 1996 (Taylor, 2004). Even within *Streetstyle* itself, Polhemus ultimately states that clear groupings were becoming less relevant. However, the exhibition and publication created a legacy of subcultural types and acts as a useful means of talking about groupings that did occur, if only framed within a particular time. However flawed, there have been few other attempts to document these groups in alternative ways.

Despite the criticism of *Streetstyle*, Evans (1997) supports the theory that subcultures do exist and are still relevant as they change in response or even resistance to the dominant culture of the time. Haenfler (2014) contends that many people identify with and actively participate in particular cultural groupings. Clark (2003) supports these arguments, using Punk as his example. This movement has shifted from being a stereotype (as it was documented) to being an expected part of the social landscape, commercialised as a style choice, and accepted as an alternative lifestyle. But Punk is now less tangible, more of a mindset and attitude, in search of what the group believe to be an authentic existence through an anti-hierarchical, autonomous, anonymous do-it-yourself culture. Despite these changes, the notion of subculture still holds resonance for popular culture in the current century. Clark's analysis of Punk sheds some light on the subtleties of the movement. It also raises the issue of how to study identities that have become less fixed, and how we can recognise and designate such movements.

Nevertheless, not only the concept, but the term "subculture" has been contested. This section charts the recent debates about the term. Woodward (2009) suggests the "creativity of individuals" (87-88) as an alternative. Evans believes that subculture is now "lifestyle" (1997: 169). Sociologist Maffesoli (1996: 72) uses "neo-tribes", stating that they are better understood as "aggregations", or looser affiliations. Redhead (1997b) cites Thornton's "club cultures" (1995) as more relevant. The same documenters are also questioning if the need for subculture

identification is relevant in today's society; it was valid in the 1970s, especially when describing youth movements arising in the 1950s and 60s in which young people resisted conforming to the dominant culture of their times. As a consequence, they produced subculture that was, in style and content, oppositional and "in your face" (Evans, 1997: 171). However, western culture has changed; Evans believes subcultures are now based in leisure (rather than work) classifications, and questions if we need a new model of dominant culture in order to chart new subcultural space (183). Subcultures are traditionally defined in opposition to the mainstream, which is characterised in this model as sterile, unimaginative and conformist in dress. Subcultures thus form an antidote to the perceived lack of authenticity of mainstream culture (Woodward, 2009). But if subcultures are merely countercultures, why not define them as such? It seems that subcultures have moved away from their beginnings as countercultures in working class rebellion to centre ground, functioning in the context of dress as avant-garde fashion, anti-fashion, youth fashion and the dress of alternative movements and scenes:

Most usages of the term imply a group with common interests whose identity and social status are, somehow, against the grain – marginal rather than central, in opposition to, and disenfranchised from the mainstream (Evans, 1997: 169).

Alternativity¹¹ is another concept that might be applied. This is seen as the actions of establishing individuality, thus moving away from the mainstream, while still defined by it, and belonging as part of a group. This balance, unlike the opposition of counterculture, is part of finding a place within social culture. So as mainstream culture has widened to embrace more diversity, alternativity can replace oppositionality, apart from at the extremes.

Popular music and culture theorist Bennett (1999) states that despite the problems that can be associated with the term "subculture", it continues to be widely used by

¹¹ Alternativity is the practice of alternativism: the practice or pursuit of an approach or lifestyle which is considered unorthodox or outside of the mainstream. (Oxford English Dictionary, 2016)

academics and the media, “reducing subculture to a convenient ‘catch-all’ term” (605). For want of a more appropriate, identifiable term, and because it is the term of common parlance for the concept, “subculture” will continue to be used in this thesis to designate the theoretical concept of alterity.

Jenks (2005) states, the problem in identifying a model for subculture is that the nature of mainstream society (what he terms the centre) in the postmodern world is so fluid and multi-faceted, rapidly shifting, and therefore difficult to identify. Evans (1997) suggests that a “more fluid model of subcultural identity” is required as a result, one that is more unstable and heterogeneous (183) taking into account global and local difference in cultures and subjectivities. She references Brake’s idea that the traditional account of subculture offers “symbolic elements (style, music, and drugs, primarily) which can be used to build an identity outside the restraints of class and education” (1985: 189). Evans continues, suggesting that subcultural identities are not so much “built” as solid edifices, but are constantly made and unmade, layered over one another; fluid and mobile, constantly mutating. As society can no longer be easily identified and defined by class or race, “to express pockets of agreement and to reaffirm our faith in the collective life”, culture, community, even subculture is now defined by more micro, more flexible “standpoints” (Jenks 2005: 135-136). Jenks also sees subculture as a rear-guard attempt to establish islands of social stability, which belies the traditional notion that they are, in part, resistant to the apparent stability of mainstream society. With no definitive mainstream culture and many subcultures existing, all with their own beliefs, interests, passions and pastimes, individuals are able to be part of one or many, selected through a choice of language, activities and dress.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1998), philosopher Certeau, refers to this as a *Brownian*¹² movement into the system: irregular partaking in events and opportunities, combining different elements. Another version of the Brownian

¹² Brownian Motion, named after the botanist Robert Brown, is the random motion of particles suspended in a fluid resulting from their collision with the quick atoms or molecules in the gas or liquid. Brownian motion is also a mathematical model used to describe random movements.

movement, *random walk*,¹³ is mathematically a more appropriate metaphor. A common example is the case of a drunkard walking home from a bar; however random the movements may appear, the drunk chooses the direction he/she walks. In the case of subcultures, the irregular combinations of activities of youth groupings (their dress, language, musical choices, hangouts) are informed by individual choices based on their standpoints (interests, beliefs, pastimes and tastes). These standpoints shift in response to the times (even times of the day), community and mood. While Certeau's reference to movement is metaphorical, the word movement is also used in a more literal sense for people united in a direction. In this sense, movement is commonly applied to loose social coalitions. It has been adopted here when designating the less-defined affiliations of youth, particularly those centred around shared activities or geographies that form the subject of this thesis. Such movements, it is proposed, are able to encompass temporary coalitions of subcultural groupings. Hence, movement is an appropriate term used to refer in general to the fluctuating youth groupings described in this thesis.

It is widely accepted that we are in an era of the individual with items and outfits styled and worn that are particular to these individuals, chosen from a range of cultural references. It is now more difficult to identify and distinguish between specific groups (Polhemus' "Supermarket of Style", 1994; also McRobbie, 1994; Muggleton, 2000; Walker, 2008 and Woodward, 2008 and 2009). There seems to be no defined path taking us from well-delineated subcultural groups to this individualism. Polhemus hints at an underlying driver: that late twentieth century youth have been raised on a "constant diet of television programmes and magazine articles about previous decades and Jurassic styletribes. They are *knowing* in a way that previous generations were not" (1994: 130). This is a concept that Redhead (1990) also refers to in *The End of the Century Party: Youth and Pop Towards 2000*, testifying that the increased prevalence of post-war pop music, with its own genealogy (which includes other related aspects of culture),

¹³A *Random Walk*, first introduced by Karl Pearson in 1905, is a mathematical formalization of a path that consists of a succession of seemingly random steps – where more than one path is available. It is used to represent a seemingly random variable or system over time. For example, a foraging animal, the financial status of a gambler or fluctuating stock.

means that a variety of musical genres are readily available to draw from at will. This generation (at the time of *Streetstyle* and *The End of the Century Party's* publication), and those since, have this knowledge of past subcultures, which is drawn from in any way they desire, in an attempt to seek out individuality and communicate their distinction through evidencing their well-formed and transposable cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2004). However, as will be elaborated on later, there are still clear “looks” and “taste constellations”, with people dressing inspired by their environments and responding to fit into them. Woodward’s (2009) research of Nottingham street style shows that not only is there reference to subcultural pasts but also mainstream high street and “the history and present of street style as it is told to us by fashion magazines” in what is being worn (98). Woodward argues that the language of clothing being worn is now more complex and harder to read; “What matters is a more subtle understanding of the nuanced ways in which style groupings are differentiated; from the common ground of the high street and style magazines, there is a more understated way in which new looks emerge” (98). Her analysis concludes, citing Maffesoli’s discussion of neo-tribes, that they are better understood as “aggregations” (Maffesoli, 1996: 72 in Woodward, 2009: 98) with emphasis upon where the clothing items are from and how they are combined. This idea is adopted in this research.

To summarise, subculture in its classical sense, as identified by the CCCS as a form of working class resistance is no longer relevant due to a less tangible dominant culture and lack of a need to resist it, although it is agreed in academic writing that there is still a need for an antidote to the mainstream. As this mainstream culture is now more fluid, so too is the counter culture, which has become more of a mindset and attitude. With no definite mainstream and non-oppositional subcultures, individuals with their own beliefs, interests and pastimes are able to be part of one or many groups, collectively arranged in “movements”, identifiable by language, activities, dress and localities. In this sense, there seems to be a more understated way in which looks emerge from a range of cultural influences that are modified by individual taste and environment. A new emphasis on where garments are obtained and how they are worn, or *remixed* is worth closer examination.

3.2.4. Bricolage: Remixing Consumerism

Much theory around subculture also includes notions of consumerism with its product or brand orientation. Maffesoli predicted an era of *Neotribalism* as the institutions of modernism declined and were replaced by nostalgia for the organisational systems of the distant past. In his view, mass, dominant culture has gone; we are now fragmented tribes of humanity, organised around catchwords, brand names and sound bites from consumer culture (1996). Bennett (2001) suggests much of any subculture's oppositional stance is based on forms of expression, articulated through music and style expressed through commercially available products. Evans (1997) argues that we construct our identity through things: shopping and consumerism. This thesis will adopt a different stance, one espoused by Hall and Jefferson (2006): that subcultures have an alternative relationship to consumerism from the dominant culture. The consumption of fashion and music in the subcultural sphere is a cultural practice, not bought or acquired because of aesthetic style values, but because of their meaning to the individual and their ability to express individual identity and existence. For subcultures, this can be regardless, or in opposition to certain symbolic "cores" of taste judgments inherited from their social origin (Lash 1993: 205; based on class and social position as identified by Bourdieu 2004).

Subcultural fashion is built upon what is done with items of dress and how these are worn. The term *bricolage* is applied (Hebdige 1979; Evans 1997; Calefato 2004; English 2007) to the assembly and manipulation of a collection of apparently incongruous objects – not necessarily articles of dress – into a whole outfit, thus subverting and transforming the original meanings and uses and revealing cross-cultural or counter-cultural ideals (English 2007). For example, in Punk subculture, the use of swastikas and fetish wear are expressive of the rejection of artificial codes of courtesy rather than espousing fascist politics or deviant sexual behaviour. Certeau (1984) uses the term to describe an "artisan-like inventiveness" (xviii) of making do and re-using items. Within his work, Certeau to some degree

dismisses the term *consumer*, believing it to be a term that conceals the models of action undertaken by the dominated in society, and how the “common people” make use of that which is imposed on them by “the elite” (xiii). Certeau uses the term *poaching* to describe how everyday life invents itself (xii), that it is the ways of using products or culture imposed by a dominant economic order that allow a non-dominant group to represent itself. Certeau uses the example of Spanish colonisers of the Americas and their imposition of rituals and laws that the natives subverted in their own interpretation of them. A more contemporary example is the subversion of the fashion house Burberry’s signature check by Chavs in the first part of this century.

Certeau uses a linguistic model to analyse the differences between the production of an image or representation and the secondary production in its use;

In linguistics, “performance” and “competence” are different: the act of speaking (with all the enunciative strategies that implies) is not reducible to a knowledge of the language. By adapting the point of view of enunciation – which is the subject of our study – we privilege the act of speaking; according to that point of view, speaking operates within the field of a linguistic system; it effects an appropriation, or reappropriation, of language by its speakers (1984: xiii).

This model addresses speech, communicating messages in both the user’s native tongue, imposed by the dominant order, and through their own accent and “turn of phrase” (1984: xxi). Certeau asserts this as a process of *bricolage*, whereby users make “innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules” (xiv). According to Certeau, this can also be found in many other practices, he cites walking and cooking as examples. It is a model pertinent to this research and one that will be investigated further.

The concept of *bricolage* in Certeau’s usage was first introduced by cultural anthropologist Levi-Strauss in *The Savage Mind* (1994),¹⁴ to describe solutions to

¹⁴ *The Savage Mind* was originally published in 1962.

cultural necessities that are created by using disparate resources that already exist: making do with whatever is at hand. As with Certeau, Levi-Strauss refers to linguistics, specifically the work of Saussure on linguistic signs – a link between the images (signifying) and concepts communicated (signified). For Levi-Strauss the *bricoleur* must discover what each of the objects they have could signify before utilising it or them. In this sense, he believes that the *bricoleur* is constrained by the particular history and features of an object's original intended use and any modifications it has undergone since, "restricted by the fact that they are drawn from the language where they already possess a sense which sets a limit on their freedom of manoeuvre" (1994:19). However, in the case of subcultural movements where an oppositional stance to the dominant culture was a key characteristic, this linguistic sense provides the opportunity for the *bricolage* - as the *bricoleur* uses their knowledge of the intended use and any modifications in mainstream culture as a way to subvert that original meaning. Within fashion, this can be the way a garment or item is worn, or even that it has been selected in the first place. The aforementioned use of the swastika by Punks is a prime example; so too, is the wearing of suits by Teddy Boys and Mods. The second hand Edwardian suits originally worn by the upper classes donned in pristine fashion by the working class Teddy Boys (the name derived from the suits) were in resistance to the post war dereliction they found themselves living in. For the Mods, the smart narrow fitting tailored suits were worn in resistance to the manual employment roles of their fathers (BBC, 2008). In terms of fashion, these tactics from the *bricoleur* form the difference between subculture and mere youth fashion consumption.

It is accepted that subcultural styles have become commodified, used, some more literally than others, to sell products through design, styling and advertising. This can be explained by Polhemus' (1994) "bubble up" theory, wherein street style inspires mainstream fashion;

Do new looks still begin life within high fashion and 'trickle down' for mass consumption? It is undoubtedly true that the mass-market 'mainline' fashion industry continues to take a lead from the more exclusive, highly priced designers. But do the creations we see on those exclusive, cameraflashlit catwalks all

originate in the minds of the world's top designers? Not on the evidence that I see. To my eyes an increasingly frequent chain of events goes like this. First there is a genuine streetstyle innovation. This may be featured in a pop music video and streetkids in other cities and countries may pick up on the style. Then, finally – at the end rather than the beginning of the chain – a ritzy version of the original idea makes an appearance as part of a designer's collection (1994: 10).

Arguments that the subculture loses authenticity as it bubbles up into the mainstream can be contended. If we understand mainstream in this case to be design for mass commerce, ranging from the catwalk to the high street as street stylings become established, these interpretations of subcultures displayed on rails and in magazines can actually be re-interpreted. As wearers combine, visually and literally items from charity and vintage shops with designer and high street product - seen as “stylistic promiscuity” by Polhemus (1994: 131) - they create looks, based on inspiration ranging from the mainstream to their own locales where they “hang out”, for example the bars and boutiques they frequent. Shields (1992, cited in Bennett 2001) describes a “postmodern ‘persona’ moving between a succession of ‘site specific’ gatherings” (2001: 605). Bennett (2001) believes that the multiple identifications of individuals take the focus away from the group towards distributed affiliations where a role or identity can be temporarily adapted before relocating to an alternative site, and assuming a different identity. Bennett sees this as close to Maffesoli's concept of tribes:

Without the rigidity of the forms of organisation with which we are familiar, it refers more to a certain ambiance, a state of mind, and is preferably to be expressed through lifestyles that favour appearance and form (2001: 98).

Walker (2008: online n.p.) supports this concept of consumers not just buying into one core trend or look, but creating their own by “appropriating eclectic influences and remixing them like a DJ does with music”. Within her studies into the role of fashion in music, socio linguist and anthropologist Calefrato (2004: 121) also uses DJ terms ‘sampling’ and ‘mixing’ as metaphors in contemporary dress culture for what she terms an overthrowing of stylistic and subcultural specificity in a form of

bricolage that “exaggerates, juxtaposes unpredictably, and quotes self-consciously and deliberately from the world”. In the case of the music itself, it is currently difficult to pin point groupings due to the nature of how individuals listen to and buy music; the use of mp3 players and the ease with which it is possible to download tracks means that it is possible for the average Western consumer to listen to nearly anything they choose at any time. As Rogers (2010) notes, when this is the case you are less likely to hold onto tribal loyalties; they do still exist, just in a looser and broader way, more difficult to define than classical subcultures. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1979 [French] 2004 [English reprint]), Bourdieu claims that how an individual chooses to present themselves and their social space (field) is based on their taste level. This taste level has been established in the individual’s youth, inherited from their social origin, and acts as a means of class distinction. Bourdieu posits that the development of aesthetic dispositions are primarily determined by social origin rather than accumulated cultural capital and experience over time. However, the very nature of subcultures subverting the dominant culture, often a parental one, seems to refute this (Lash, 1993), or at least to show that it does not operate in a straightforward way. Individuals from different class backgrounds can share subcultural relationships based on a common ethos and wearing the same fashions, although there might be class differentiation over the longer term, say in the way the clothes are cared for or kept. Further breaking down of the boundaries surrounding social stratification is noted by Polhemus’ (1994) final chapters in *Streetstyle*. He describes the end of classical subcultures and the move towards hybrid looks that stem from the fragmentation of youth culture in the late 1980s,¹⁵ alongside the growing influence of the media.¹⁶ The historical period studied in this thesis is positioned at this transitional time.

Another concept that cannot be neglected here is that of globalised street style. Walker (2008) states that the internet has been a key factor in the globalisation of looks worn by those who he defines as “hip”. Blogs, often posted by the wearer

¹⁵ Described by Polhemus as *The Gathering of the Tribes* (1994: 128).

¹⁶ Described by Polhemus as *Supermarket of Style* (1994: 130).

and readers' peers have, it is said, ensured that the eclectic styles of "tribes" throughout the world are quickly integrated into a single, global street style to immediate and democratic effect. *Guardian* journalist Alex Petridis, investigating the current state of youth subcultures (2014, online), argues that the twentieth century idea of subculture is outmoded because of the internet spawning movements with potentially little sustenance and a brief life-cycle: "They catch people's imagination, get appropriated by mainstream culture then die away: it was ever thus, but now happens at warp speed". This thesis proposes that the routes of global influence are less dominant than this as despite the possibility for online, virtual groupings, the need to hang out and be seen in real-time localities still prevails, with specific looks continuing to evolve in response to the location and surrounding people. The Man/Madchester music scene was reaching global audiences through musical success (Till, 2010: 177) and media attention¹⁷, but the internet was not in common usage during the time period studied in this research,¹⁸ so this constitutes a different quality of Globalisation. This multi-faceted nature of Globalisation as it has evolved over the last forty years will be further considered in the discussion on local fashion (see section 3.3).

To summarise, in terms of fashion (Hebdige 1979; Evans 1997; Calefato 2004; English 2007), the remixing of items and dress by individuals to create their own looks is part of the practice of bricolage. The items, bought or acquired because of their meaning to the individual, and influenced through an eclectic range of sources including the media, internet or the locale, are used to express individual identity through their combination. These meanings are often subverted from what was their original context, transforming them to reveal trans-cultural or counter-cultural ideals. Certeau posits that it is the ways of using products or culture imposed by the dominant culture that act as a means of a submissive group representing itself. Using linguistics as a model, the notion of communicating messages is presented, in both the user's native tongue, imposed by the dominant order, and through their

¹⁷ International press on the Madchester scene included American publications *Newsweek* and *Details* (Haslam, 1999)

¹⁸ The Internet came into common usage in the western world from the mid to late 1990s, beforehand being used primarily by military and academia. The term Internet to define it was passed in a resolution in October 1995 (Internet Society, 2016)

own accent and “turn of phrase”. Certeau’s concept of bricolage can also be found in many other practices; it is a model pertinent to this research, in particular the notion of local fashion and one that is explored further in section 3.3.

3.2.5. Conceptual Framework for the Research

It is worth reiterating here the key concepts arising from a review of the literature that have been chosen to frame this research. Theories on dress and identity propose that dress is used by an individual as a means of constructing a sense of self. Entwistle (2000) broadens this understanding by acknowledging the important role of the body; it is the dressed body that forms the site of both identity and personal expression through the act of wearing. Selfhood is created within a social milieu. Craik (2009) delineates how clothes are structured into social processes and meanings by the ways in which their details act as social markers (demarcating status, gender, allegiances, personality, sexuality). Hall’s concept of syntagm (2007) explains how substitution of individual garments can take place without change in overall meaning. Social identities are rarely stable amalgams. Integral to this research is Davis’ (1994) stance that the relative anonymity of the urban street environment opens up possibilities for playing with identities and experimenting with appearance. It is upon these collectively experienced identity instabilities that fashion operates.

The communication of meaning through dress has a long history of being compared to a visual language. Davis (1994) offers a more nuanced approach, seeing the operation of dress as less tangible, making a comparison to music where meanings, such as emotions, allusions and moods are presented and sufficiently shared to be mutually understood. This view seems particularly appropriate to this research. Dress can be viewed as quasi-code, working metaphorically with meanings continually in flux, being reconstituted and renegotiated.

Sociologists (Woodward 2008, Crane 2000, Simmel 1971 and Craik 2009), perceive a tension between the desire to display individuality and to belong to a social group that is “at the core of being human” (Simmel 1971, cited in Woodward

2008). The balance between the individual and allegiances to particular groups is a common concern of both the literature studied and this research as a whole. Entwistle's (2000) term "connective tissue" describing the heightened sense of connectedness to a particular group, distinguishing them from both other groups and the dominant culture is an appropriate way to refer to the relation of the individual to the collective.

While it is agreed that in the twenty first century culture is less tangible and there is less of a need for resistance against the mainstream due to a breakdown in traditional class and race distinctions, there is also agreement that an alternative to the mainstream does still exist and is relevant in the actions of establishing individuality while still needing to belong to a group. There is currently a debate on how to identify subcultural groups now that identities are less tangible, constantly mutating, and what they should be termed.¹⁹ For want of a more appropriate, identifiable term, and because it is the term of common parlance for the concept, "subculture" will continue to be used in this thesis. However, the term "taste constellations" (Crewe and Beaverstock 1998; Woodward 2009), used to define a looser, broader approach is also adopted, as is "movement", particularly when defining the less-tangible, loose social coalitions, shared activities and geographies that reflect the fluid, multi-faceted and rapidly shifting postmodern culture (Jenks, 2005).

With no definite mainstream culture or subcultures, individuals are able to be part of one or many groups, tapping into their own interests, pastimes and beliefs as they choose. They also have well-formed cultural capital (Bourdieu): knowledge of history and streetstyle, or subcultures, because of the widespread discourse on them. This research takes the standpoint that the consumption of fashion and music is a cultural practice, used to articulate an individual's identity and affiliations. For fashion this is about what the individual does with the garment and

¹⁹ "Taste constellations" (Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998 and Woodward, 2009), "supermarket of style" (Polhemus, 1994), "neo-tribes" and "aggregations" (both Maffesoli, 1996), "lifestyle" (Evans, 1997), "standpoints" (Jenks, 2005), "syntagms" (Hall, 2007), and "creativity of individuals" (Woodward, 2008), are all examples mentioned in this section as suggestions.

how they wear it. As such, individuals are able to take a bricoleurian²⁰ approach and draw upon a range of cultural references, often subverting them, to communicate their individuality. Here, emphasis is on how items are acquired and combined, or styled to form “looks”, and how such looks feel to the wearer in particular locations. Walker (2008) describes an individual’s creation of their own look from a range of eclectic influences rather than buying into one concept or trend, as a DJ re-mixes music. As well as being an appropriate metaphor for this thesis, it is also apt in the sense that a DJ will create sounds (a blend of individual pieces of music) inspired by and reflecting the locale. The concept of local fashion will be explored further in the next section, with particular focus placed on Manchester to establish the context of this research.

3.3. Local Fashion Scenes and “Looks”

3.3.1. Introduction

Crewe and Beaverstock, researchers in human and economic geography respectively (1998: 301), write that subcultural fashion culture has been the development of “taste constellations” based around fashion, alongside music, clubs and dance. These are seen as the basis for creativity and innovation, which as Gilbert (2000) states, are the pivotal processes with which British style is associated (20). This applies particularly to fashion in the context of music scenes and locations (Beward, 2004). For example, writing about nightclubs in the 1980s, lecturer and curator Cole (2013), posits that the clubs and their clientele made innovative statements about their identities through music and self-presentation, and these were integral to one another. Contemporary fashion curator Stanfill²¹ calls this influential conjunction the “creative trinity of music, fashion and design” (2013: 9). This is a phenomenon also highlighted by Calefato (2004) and Miller (2011) who both describe a correlation between fashion and music.

²⁰ Hebdige, 1979; Evans, 1997; Calefato, 2004; English, 2007, based on the work of Levi-Strauss; 1962; and Certeau; 1988.

²¹ Victoria and Albert Museum

These writers concentrate on London. In the case of Cole and Stanfill, in *80s Fashion: From Club to Catwalk*, focusing entirely on the capital. Cole in particular goes into some depth, analysing the identities of particular London nightclubs and associated scenes,²² and describing the interplay between the music played, the clientele and their presentation through performance and dress. Breward writes particularly on the Camden area. Gilbert (2000) cites London specifically, but does not make mention of other “Zeitgeist cities” including Manchester. In the 1980s, these places became the domains for subcultural innovations: places to hang out, to “see” and “be seen” (McRobbie, 1994: 32). This section looks at literature that includes cities other than London, in order to explore the concept of local fashion and address the void created by focussing solely on the capital during this 1980s when, as highlighted by the V&A’s *Club to Catwalk* promotional writing, the “vibrant mix” of nightclubs, music and fashion, “saw British [not just London] fashion at its most novel and diverse” (V&A, 2013: booksleeve).

The literature offers examples that highlight the difference between shopping in distinct localities with their particular cultural associations. Academic writers have also identified certain ways of selecting and wearing fashion, or “looks”; and these looks can be associated with particular localities. While not all of these concern “street” fashion, they nevertheless illustrate distinct local looks, and pose some potential mechanisms for how these looks develop. This section then explores Manchester fashion, and distinguishes the key looks in youth fashion during the time under examination that are documented in the literature.

3.3.2. Local Fashion

Local fashion scenes occur today in every country. For example, Paddington in Sydney; the Lace Market in Nottingham, and the Northern Quarter in Manchester, (this latter location is pivotal now and was in 1986 to 1996). Gilbert (2000: 10-11)

²² For example, *Blitz*, *Hard Times* and *Taboo*.

states that despite the “mall and modem” vision for shopping in the future, the pleasures of shopping, especially for clothing, are bound up in the efforts spent in finding and choosing the successful purchases. Purchasing an item in a city, with all its associations can have a much different personal meaning from an identical item bought over the Internet. While I accept Walker’s stance that there is now more of a global style in the way people dress, it has also been found that in certain urban locations high fashion and high street fashion is mixed with a “local dialect” of street labels and local designers. Insight into the local brands can act as a marker of “higher cultural competence on the part of the consumers” (Woodward, 2009: 12), understood by others who are part of a local group. This evokes the idea of a local fashion identity where global youth culture is “translated, appropriated and creolised to fit into local social structures and issues” (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006: 234). Woodward (2008) found in some of her Fashionmap cases,²³ a shared identity focused on specific sites: particular bars, clubs and streets. She also noted that for others, it was about making an allegiance to an area – using territory to construct an identity. Discussing her findings about the subtle nuances of these groups, whose emphasis is upon where clothing items are from and how they are combined, Woodward highlights the importance of the act of hanging around with particular people, in particular locations and how this results in style convergences, the markers of difference often so subtle they are only readable by those on the inside. There is very little documented on this concept of localised fashion “looks” and it is a subject that this thesis will address.

Palmer investigated Torontonians taste in dress through looking at the 1950s to ‘60s wardrobes of elite Toronto women in conjunction with local fashion journalism (2001, 2011). This approach would probably be less successful with “street” fashion of recent years, which depends more on how clothing and body adornment are combined - personal styling - than on single garments that can be appreciated in isolation. However, Palmer showed that local fashion was able to operate by a process of careful selection from international standards (Parisian couture), and to

²³ Fashionmap is an ongoing study through Nottingham Trent University (since 2001) of young people in Nottingham through photographs and interviews with the aim to document various style groupings and how these change over time.

set itself up in contradistinction to neighbouring regions, such as the extravagance of New York interpretations based on the same Parisian styles. The selection processes used by Torontonians; the customers themselves (buying both directly from Paris and in boutiques in Toronto) and the buyers working for such boutiques, included consideration of fabric, colour and details. These concepts of selection and differentiation through detail point towards how localising operates and also indicates that local fashion does not just concern youth.

Professors in marketing Kjeldgaard and Askegaard (2006) investigated youth cultural consumption styles based on consumers in Copenhagen, Denmark and Nuuk, Greenland. Their research argues against a homogenisation effect produced by the globalisation of youth culture (citing Hassan and Katsanis, 1991, Tully, 1994 and Moses, 2000 as examples), looking towards the re-interpretation of globalised forms by local youths to fit into their local contexts. Kjeldgaard and Askegaard use Robertson's (1992) term "glocalisation" to describe the notion of similar consumption patterns taking place globally with their analysis highlighting how there are distinct differences in the meanings behind these common practices, translated and appropriated to fit into local social structures and preoccupations. In the case of both the Denmark and Greenland studies, these included identity construction, location in relation to centres and peripheries, and local youth culture such as music scenes.

Wenting et al. (2010) looked into the locational behaviour and success of Dutch fashion entrepreneurs, notably those based in Amsterdam, a city which they term as a "typical 'second-tier' player with Paris, London, New York, Milan and Tokyo being the world's first-tier fashion centres" (1334). Their findings indicate that urban amenities attract creative people to certain cities. Their definition of urban amenities encompasses many aspects that go beyond the physical environment of the city, alongside the social and cultural atmosphere of a place. Examples of urban amenities that are said to attract creative workers are a tolerant social atmosphere, ethnic diversity and cultural activities, which are typically present in large cities: "The personal motives of creative workers to locate in particular cities have to do with 'qualities of life' that fit with their values, aesthetics, lifestyles and

consumption patterns” (1337). As these creative individuals live and work in a place, it becomes more desirable: as Wenting et al. state, the importance of ‘being there’ increases. Being a part of the ‘local buzz’ becomes vital for gaining new insights in trends, techniques and marketing (Bathelt *et al.*, 2004; Storper and Venables, 2004) (2010: 1336). This description applies to places like Manchester’s Northern Quarter.

Fashion design is highly dependent on photography, music, media and advertising to expose the public to its goods as well as to get new symbolic input for the next season’s designs, and reflect the ethos of the local scene into “looks”. Fashion design entrepreneurs thus profit from being located in cities with ‘related variety’²⁴ (Frenken *et al.*, 2007). With this in mind, as well as for more practical issues, interaction, collaboration and networking are especially crucial in cultural industries, where localised economies, or clusters of creative individuals, provide the basis for knowledge exchange in social networks on a *quid pro quo* basis (Scott, 2000; Banks *et al.*, 2000), similar to the role of social networks in knowledge spillovers between inventors (Breschi and Lissoni, 2009).

The literature suggests that localised fashion works through purposely selecting in order to be distinctive. Becoming in tune with local trends requires engagement with cultural and commercial aspects of local urban environments, through shopping or just “hanging out” on the part of the consumer; or by creatively absorbing the atmosphere and responding to activity on the street on the part of the designers.

3.3.3. Manchester Fashion Trends

This section examines the literature about the general look of Manchester fashion during the time period studied and investigates its origins, focusing on the music

²⁴ Related variety is defined as industrial sectors related by shared or complementary competences (Boschma and Iammarino, 2009).

scene's impact on youth fashion. Writings on the Manchester music scene are the essential literature here, despite their popular nature. Journalist and disc jockey Dave Haslam, and journalists John Robb and Sarah Champion are key commentators on the Manchester music scene and its fashions. Haslam's writing style is poetic in tone but Robb and Champion are more straightforward and journalistic. Looking beyond their genre of writing, each gives an insider's view into the music-fashion-youth scenes; these are "eye-witness" accounts, personal and opinionated, not thoroughgoing academic arguments. References to Haslam are to his 1994 publication, *Manchester, England*, which traces the city's musical heritage from the early 19th century to the early 1990s. References to Robb refer to his 2009 publication of oral histories from key figures in the music scenes of the times, *The North Will Rise Again: Manchester Music City 1976 – 1996*. Citations to Champion refer to her anecdotal studies of Manchester bands during the Madchester era: *And God Created Manchester*. Luck's *The Madchester Scene* (2002) is also covered; his journalistic background and "pocket guide" approach lead to an informal writing style.

The following sections consolidate three key looks of Manchester youth fashion, separate but with crossovers in style and semantics, and the issues surrounding them that arose from examining the literature about youth fashion in Manchester from 1986 to 1996. "B.A.F." refers to ultra-loose fit clothing. "Scallydelia" designates the dress of working class men in Manchester but raises issues of gendered participation in fashion. Finally, "Brand resistance" indicates the Rave subculture of the Manchester music scene (see also section 3.4.3) and its dress strategies.

3.3.4. B.A.F: Fashion in Motion

Woodward's research (2008) indicates the importance, not simply of clothes, but how they are worn. They have to meet certain criteria of fit and comfort in terms of walk, movement and bodily stance: how they look, make the wearer feel and how they project. For Madchester, this was a loose silhouette; bands from the era were

described as “baggy bands” (Luck: 85) and it had an impact across the globe, as evidenced in U.S. style bible *Details*, quoted by Haslam (184), “The new look can be best described in its own vernacular in which B.A.F. stands for ‘baggy as fuck’ and sums up the stylistic aspirations of a generation”. As Haslam portrays it (Robb: 237), “By the end of 1987 people had lost that raincoat-miserable world. ...There was already a sense of something new, a new generation of people that weren’t dressing in that dark raincoat way. By the end of ’87 there was a good mix of students, street kids, black kids, gay kids, designer kids, hairdressers, all sorts at the Hacienda.” As Robb further elaborates that in conjunction with the use of Ecstasy, there was a step change; everything from clothing, music taste, hairstyles, and people’s speech to the way they walked – all was “looser, baggier and weirder” (241). Outsized t-shirts, huge hooded tops and flares became the usual wear across the Manchester scene. (Luck: 85).

The literature suggests that the looser clothes were in response to the need to feel comfortable when dancing. Calefato (2004) describes the music events of the times, raves, as bodily, rather than musical performances, which is substantiated in first-hand accounts. For example, in those detailed by Robb, dancing gained in importance as clubbers reacted to the new sound of House music alongside the use of the recreational drug Ecstasy²⁵. The drug instilled a desire to move in tempo with the music through rushes of euphoria, and both men and women were doing so. The influence of dance on the dress during this period; how men and women interacted when dancing and socialising; and whether this was reflected in dress warrant further discussion.

²⁵ Thornton (1995) describes Ecstasy as the prototypical drug of the late eighties / early nineties rave scene. In his book *Generation Ecstasy (1998)*, journalist Simon Reynolds states that the drug became widely available in 1988. Although it is a London-based nightclub, to highlight the prevalence of Ecstasy use in this movement it is worth noting that Thornton (1995) offers an unofficial figure of ninety percent of the crowd were taking the drug at Shoom night club (running for three years from November 1987). Ecstasy is the street name for MDMA, although often it can be a blend of amphetamines and LSD, which together have some of the same effects as pure MDMA. Thornton describes the effect of taking the drug to be reduced inhibitions and increase energy. Reynolds (1998) elaborates that in addition to these effects, the drug also offers sensory intensification, auditory enhancement, empathy and insight.

The baggy, extra large t-shirts that were being worn not only responded to movement through their size, shape and stretch jersey fabric, but also in colour and images used. Often, there were images or logos extending to both front and back of the t-shirt design. In the case of the band James, income generated through merchandise was a determining factor in their ability to survive. Consciously seeking to design and market a t-shirt as a fashion item (band manager Martine McDonagh, as cited in Robb: 215), they adapted one worn by a fan. It was not only designed with print front and back, but also on the arm. This spelled the name of the band: JA (front) M (left sleeve) ES (back). This use of print around the body responds to it being seen in movement, revealing its full message only when the wearer turns around in dance.

Leo Stanley, who DJ'd at the Limit²⁶, also sold band t-shirts in the local youth emporium, Affleck's Palace. With his own brand Identity, he responded to baggy clothing with a new t-shirt range, adding t-shirts every week designed with graphics and slogans in a witty, tongue-in-cheek manner. For example: "Manchester North of England", "Born in the North, Return to the North, Die in the North" "This is not Manchester... This is a Trip" "Woodstock 69: Manchester 89". These articulated the pride of Mancunians in "Northerness". Stanley saw them as tourist t-shirts. At the time, he believed that Manchester would become a tourist city and that these t-shirts would be its merchandise (Champion: 133).

Stanley also produced the notorious t-shirt emblazoned with "On the sixth day God created MANchester t-shirt" on the front of the t-shirt, the back states, "Manchester: Created in Heaven". This linguistic pun, referencing God and religion, plays on a metaphor of the subcultural movement as a religion, the nightclub as a church. As Ross and Rose (1994: 3) state, youth music is a "daily companion, social bible, commercial guide and spiritual source.... the place of faith, hope and refuge". Champion quotes Catholic Stanley as saying that he came up with the concept leaving a club high on drugs and feeling very spiritual. Stanley is quoted as "Jesus was a raver. He preached love, peace and let's everybody get together" (133).

²⁶ The Limit was on Whitworth Street, city centre Manchester.

The Legendary Joe Bloggs casual wear label,²⁷ were known for loose fit, flared jeans, ranging from seventeen inch hems up to thirty-inch which, as Luck cites weren't commercial (18) Owner Shami Ahmed claims that they began to sell flares because the youth at the time had not worn them. But Champion notes they were already selling elsewhere by smaller businesses, such as market stalls; the styles were widely accessible. Luck identifies their effect on posture: hunching up of shoulders, scuffing of feet on the floor and swinging arms. Champion cites Cairney in the April 1989 *City Life* (132), "of course it is a uniform, but it is by designer standards, an inexpensive one. Try some Joe Bloggs mega-baggy jeans with 20" bottoms. Put them on and try not to assume a John Wayne 'big-bow-leggy stance". This soundbite reflects the light-hearted attitude to the B.A.F. look, even its proponents mocking the posture elicited by wearing the associated garments, and acknowledging these as standard dress for partakers in the style.

3.3.5. "Scallydelia": Dress of the Working Class Madchester Male

Champion (1990: 131) was one of the first to describe Manchester's youth fashion scene as purely working class and to label the scene as "Scallydelia" (131). The scant published documentation relating to Scallydelia concerns menswear only. "Manc pop is male pop" according to Champion (1990: 3). Bennett (2001) also raises the issue of gender in music-making stating that it is male-dominated in all aspects of the industry: musicians, writers, technicians, engineers, and producers. Frith and McRobbie (1978, cited in Bennett, 2001) felt that women should challenge the repression of femininity in the music industry and contend with the objectification of sexuality. According to Bennett (2001: 145) "such mistrust and indifference on the part of male musicians towards female involvement in music-making limits the opportunities for female musicians to join bands and gain experience of playing in a band situation. Nevertheless, women were integral to the

²⁷ The Legendary Joe Bloggs is an offshoot of a family wholesale business, Pennywise, based in Strangeways, Manchester.

Manchester music scene, if confined to supportive roles (for example, band management and editors of fanzines). The paucity of literature on Madchester's women parallels the academic discourse of subculture that considers mainly male youth, and particularly white, working-class, male youth (Jenks, 2005: 121). This may also be due to the traditional employment-based (and therefore male-biased) class focus of sociological studies of the preceding period.

Polhemus states that the Northern manifestation of Rave, found in Manchester and Liverpool, came from the football terraces: in Liverpool this group was called "Scallies", in Manchester, these were "Perries" (derived from the Fred Perry polo tops they wore²⁸). Collectively, these groupings were later called Casuals, a term which appears to have stuck.²⁹ It seems most likely that the Casual movement grew out of the Northern Soul music scene of the 1970s, although one commentator insists that Casuals began as a white working class post-mod, post-skinhead youth movement in the 1977/8 British football season initially on Merseyside, closely followed by Manchester then London (Thornton, 2003).³⁰ The dress of Casuals evolved in the 1980s when Northern football fans, travelling to Europe to support their teams, returned with European sportswear brands.³¹ Redhead (1991: 19), in his work on football culture and football fanzines sees in the "flash and defiance" of this style of dress a celebration of its working class roots: a form of dressing for impact. Manchester nightclubs' door policies of smart dress meant that this way of dress; smart and clean cut, yet still sportswear and casual, together with the Casuals' reputation for hooliganism at the time, led to their being turned away from nightclubs. However, disc jockey Mike Pickering

²⁸ According to the Fred Perry website, in 1977, a look based around the Fred Perry shirt was constructed Manchester. The Fred Perry tops were worn with designer jeans, trainers and wedge haircuts. The men who wore this look were called Perry Boys or Perries.

²⁹ It is unclear from the literature studied from where the term Casual derives. However, it is apparent that there were sub-groups, with subtle differences in their "look" according to their geographical location and football loyalties, under the umbrella term of Casual.

³⁰ According to Steve Redhead (2004), journalist Phil Thornton's *Casuals* (2003, updated 2012) is the best journalistic account of British youth cultural history since the 1970s.

³¹ With close ties to football hooliganism, the Casuals wore expensive designer sportswear, which could be seen as both a means of disassociating themselves from stereotypical football hooligan looks and subverting perceptions of wealth by wearing expensive designer garments for working class activities (football and fighting) (Hewitt, 2002).

(Robb, 2009), notes the open door policy of the Hacienda, where Casuals were not barred. The DJs and management of the Hacienda wanted a place that like-minded people could go, irrespective of their backgrounds. This did not go without attracting some disparaging comments that “black kids and scallies” dominated the floor (Greg Wilson in Robb: 237).

The Manchester football terraces bore witness to a change in the way Casuals dressed, a new silhouette evolving out of a shift from the smart, clean-cut Casual look towards a more relaxed feel: flares, loose t-shirts, hooded tops and page boy haircuts. The clothes were a response to the music, dance and drugs scene found in the nightclubs that they were now attending. Despite what could be perceived as a sharp turn away from the dress of the Casuals, there is a logical connection between the type of detailing found on European sportswear brands and Scallydelia, the new dress of the music scene with its slogan and band t-shirts. T-shirt graphics both mimicked and mocked the text and symbols of sportswear. Often obscurely defined, such as the Stone Roses t-shirt with an image of a lemon, referencing the band’s first album cover; and the Inspiral Carpets’ cow with spiral eyes, perhaps referencing the psychedelic influences of the band, and “Cool as Fuck” slogan, a reference to the Milk Marketing Board’s “Cool as Milk” campaign.

Redhead (1991) states that subtle regional differences found in the Casual style became eroded by the London-based mass media’s application of the term “Scally”,³² to practically anyone wearing this style. This perceived lack of regional differentiation will be returned to later in this research. Polhemus claims that those wearing the style called themselves “Baldricks”. There is little support for this in either the literature or the interview evidence gathered for this thesis, although the cognomen is mentioned by Pickering, where he claims that the name was given by The Happy Mondays’ first manager Phil Saxe who “got all their clothes together” (Robb: 235). He had a vision of bowl haircuts and clothes too big. Pickering (Robb: 263) continues; “The Mondays started coming into the Hacienda in 1985/86. Phil Saxe, who had the stall on the underground market with his brother, said, ‘I’m

³² The term “scally” is derived from *Scallywag*; a streetwise, sometimes delinquent youth.

going to start a movement with these lads – they look like beatniks, like Shaggy from Scooby Doo with little goatees, baggy jumpers and flares.” There is something quite appropriate in comparing these individuals to Beatniks, itself a subculture associated with music, poetry, drugs and a nightclub scene.³³ However, the misuse of the “Baldricks” term will be clarified later in this thesis.

Redhead (1991: 87) describes the bands (in their Scallydelia dress) as “street/terrace models getting on stage”. Indeed, the musicians came from working class backgrounds and frequented the football terraces. McLaughlin (2000) defines the relationship between popular music and fashion as one in which the music plays a powerful role in ‘shop windowing’ the clothing. The clothing, in turn is a central to providing an image for the music. There is a sense of empowerment in being able to wear what the musicians and performers (working class heroes) are wearing. The Joe Bloggs brand “sponsored” bands, giving away clothing to bands such as the Inspiral Carpets and Happy Mondays in return for endorsement. Conversely, the Stone Roses manager Gareth Evans even gave away his band’s t-shirts understanding that their wear would raise the profile of the band. While the literature has offered insight into the “scally” element of Champion’s description of the Madchester look, it has not presented much evidence to the “delia”³⁴ part, aside from some allusions to recreational drug use. This will be expounded upon later in the thesis.

3.3.6. Brand Resistance

The aforementioned music-led styling and sponsoring of brands supports arguments that youth styles in the late 1980s and ‘90s had more in common with the lifestyle marketing of the fashion industry than with a counter-culture, resisting the clutches of consumerism and mainstream culture. However, Evans (1997)

³³ There is photographic evidence from the time showing the band, working class males themselves, “hanging out” at the Hacienda before and during the band’s success. See Figure 13.

³⁴ “-delia” derives from the term psychedelia, a 1960s subcultural movement, encompassing music, art and fashion, that is associated with and derides from the effect of psychedelic (hallucinogenic) drugs.

argues that ravers' ethic of getting along enjoying themselves was their own form of resistance. She holds that the amount of public discourse about subcultures since the 1980s, in all areas of publication, meant that there was no possibility of resistance, hence that sub-cultures in the traditional sense had undergone a change.

Evans coined the phrase "flight from discourse" for the disappearance tactics of Rave culture. Its baggy and loose clothing described as bland or sometimes cute and infantile, would be easy to interpret as a version of lifestyle. However, "this would be to underestimate the sophistication of the wearers' motives to be deliberately anonymous in response to the moral panic created by Rave culture. The drugs and illegal raves position Rave as an identifiable subculture rather than the clothes" (178). Haslam notes that media coverage sensationalising drug use and the acid house scene accelerated the use of Ecstasy, and it became a key part of the underground clubbing lifestyle, but this is not to say that dress did not remain a central part of how music, and hence the scene, signified its identity.

Evans argues that avoidance is resistance – in an age of information and public discourse, avoiding and disappearing is a tactic to resist being fully identified and becoming fixed identities of established discourse. For Rave culture this translated as their desire to avoid attention from the media, influencing the very nature of raves – fugitive, fast-moving, underground,

...the flux of the crowd, the experience of the dance and the drug Ecstasy, the endless rhythmic patterns of the music, all combined to provide a kind of shamanistic 'flight from fixity', from the certainties of subcultural surveillance, be it the surveillance of a hostile press or of sympathetic magazine coverage (1997: 179).

Haslam concurs that Rave was based in resistance to branding and over-design through the raw and direct appeal of nightclub environment, and that designer packaging was not required; dance hits were being made by DJs who put them out on "white labels": pre-releases used to test their success on a dance floor with no

label information or designed packaging. Even the popular casualwear brand, Joe Bloggs, despite the sponsoring of bands with hand-outs of its clothing had an anti-designer brand concept with its use of a name associated with anonymity. Sociologist Melechi, writing during the timeframe in study (1993), suggests that the sense of invisibility that Rave attempted to attain took the movement into a new form of resistance. However, the movement did not escape documentation in the media, both nationally and locally: Manchester photographers³⁵ covered ravers in the national music press, and there was documentation in local fanzines,³⁶ as well as the London-based *i-D* and *The Face*. It is through this representation in the media that Thornton believed that members of subcultures acquire a sense of themselves and their relation to the rest of society and as such, “authentic” subcultures are actually largely constructed by the media. Hebdige (1988), writing during the timeframe of this research, describes subculture as forming in the space between surveillance and the avoidance of surveillance. He describes it as “*hiding in the light*”, where being under scrutiny is translated into the pleasure of being watched, or acknowledged. In her writing Evans recognises that she is fixing Rave as subcultural activity and identity, just as Polhemus, Hebdige and others had done, attracting much criticism. In the same vein, this research, in seeking to identify the essence of the movement’s influence on Manchester youth fashion is drawn in to the very discourse that the movement shunned.

3.3.7. Research Questions Around Local Fashion

Despite the existence of global youth fashion being generally acknowledged, (Walker, 2008), the theory that localisation occurs has also been recognised. This has been termed glocalisation (Robertson, 1992 as cited in Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006), a process whereby global culture is translated and repositioned within local social structures and cultural issues. We have seen that location or territory is part of identity construction within youth culture. Both Woodward (2009)

³⁵ Manchester photographers including Kevin Cummins and Ian Tilton, for example.

³⁶ Local fanzines include; *Buzzin'*, *Rip It Up*, *Debris*, *In The City*, (Manchester District Archive, 2011). For further examples of Manchester-based fanzines see Appendix 3.

and Wenting et al (2010) highlight the importance of the act of hanging out (see also Polhemous, 1994) with particular people, in a particular location. Being part of a location, such as a major city where creative industries can inspire and promote one another is an attractive prospect where being a part of the 'local buzz' (Wenting et al: 1337) becomes vital for gaining insight into localised trends and looks. A review of the literature has shown that Manchester was a site for several manifestations of local fashion in connection with music culture during the period studied, three of which have been broadly outlined. A precise formulation of these looks has not been found. We have also seen that facts have undergone mythologising and are largely unsubstantiated. Meanwhile, the forces and processes behind the development of local looks remain somewhat sketchy. This research aimed to uncover new and more reliable information to amplify our present knowledge. But first it remains to describe this music scene more closely in order to understand the nature of its influence.

3.4. Manchester Music Scene: 1986 to 1996.

3.4.1. Introduction

This section looks at the Manchester music scene during the time period 1986 to 1996. In evaluating the impact of this scene on youth fashion, it is essential to address both the music (in the broad sense including style and performance) and the context within which it is situated. The Manchester music scene during the time under study encompassed and responded to the urban dance or Rave movement. Bugge (2002) argues that studies of urban dance music cannot be ignored in assessing youth and youth subculture during this time frame. The issues raised in such studies include arguments on the definitive terms used to describe the movement and challenges to existing ideas about subcultures. These issues will be further addressed here.

Social anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Cohen (1991) states that music is notoriously difficult to describe and analyse, because, as she explains in her study

on the Liverpool music scene, the local music industry is rife with feuds, gossip and legend. The literature on Manchester music shows a similar pattern of disparity and mythologizing. Examining the literature, it is clear that much of the discourse will not stand up to academic scrutiny, consisting largely of anecdotal evidence compiled in mainly descriptive writing. Fact and fiction can be blurred, contributing to the unreliability of documented information. This chapter reflects upon what can be derived as relevant from this literature, while incorporating wider debates on youth culture and identity in their specific relation to local music cultures. As with the previous discussion, this one will draw from a selection of non-academic literature; in particular Robb's *The North Will Rise Again: Manchester Music City 1976 – 1996* (2009) and Haslam's *Manchester, England* (1999).

Three key themes are explored. Firstly, the forging of a positive Northern identity in opposition to the dominant London centred culture. I examine the importance of this identity to musicians and audiences. Secondly, the chapter investigates the concept of local music and the development of Manchester's local music in the face of misrepresentation by metropolitan media. The Rave movement and its media coverage in particular is discussed. Finally, I will return to the issue of subculture, with the chapter considering theories that move beyond subculture to "club-culture" and "neo-tribes", evaluating whether these concepts adequately describe Manchester's local music and local fashion scene during the period under study, hereafter referred to as Madchester.

3.4.2. Positive Northern Identity

It is widely agreed that music and sport play an essential part in Mancunian culture: Haslam (1999) marks Manchester's pop music and football heritage as engaging, inspiring, and often obsessing people. This he expresses in terms of a collective consciousness: "The dreams and imagination of Manchester people have always needed sustenance" (xxvi). Russell's (2005) portrayal of northern England stresses the importance of the Manchester music scene for local residents, figuring largely in their understanding of the city's image and representation. In Liverpool, a city

close to Manchester both geographically and financially, music-making has also been identified as characteristic of the city's identity, in addition to its economic function in an area of high unemployment (Cohen 1991, cited in Bennett 2000). The music scene appears to form an alternative cultural space for those who occupy it, away from the daily issues of home and work life. Cohen suggests the term "rock culture", to encompass the product of local knowledge and sensibilities, together with a sense of cultural territory for those directly involved in it, such as musicians. In support of this, and building upon the work of Fornas et al. (1995) on local rock and pop bands in Sweden, Bennett (2001) suggests that through music making, bands are able to distance themselves from the mainstream culture, and the demands it imposes for education, job and career. He extends "rock culture" to include related forms of cultural activity, including dress, shopping, art and congregating in social spaces. Bennett's definition will be adopted within this research, with this extension of "rock culture" to include the wider context of the Manchester music scene, encompassing a variety of music genres as well as broader cultural activity. It will therefore be re-termed as "music culture".

The modern Manchester music scene came into the period studied with a confident attitude (Haslam 1999). According to Haslam, the Punk scene had changed the face of Manchester music in many positive ways: the Post-Punk bands such as Joy Division and The Fall responded to the Punk movement's street culture and emphasised its raw and urgent tone, gaining street credibility in doing so. It is worth noting the claim that Joy Division and The Fall formed in response to The Sex Pistols' second live performance in July 1976 at The Lesser Free Trade Hall, Manchester.³⁷ Key commentators on the Manchester music scene and music industry (Haslam, 1994 and Robb, 2009) recognise the response to that particular concert as the birth of contemporary Manchester music. The Post-Punk bands had national and international success in the late 1970s and in maintaining the Punk stance against pretension, these bands ensured that in the eyes of their fans they,

³⁷ The Sex Pistols performed twice in Manchester during the Summer of 1976 . Wilson (2002) cites the concert as the influence for starting Factory, the record label that released music by eminent musicians and bands, and co-owned the night club The Hacienda with the band New Order (who were also signed to Factory)

...held on to their Manchester roots and, in terms of the national scene, perhaps even played up to their Northern 'otherness'. What was beginning to grow in those Post-Punk days was a strong attitude of staying real doing things in an uncompromised Mancunian way; it was an attitude that later generations took for granted, shared by 808 State, Oasis and a host of others (Haslam, 1999: 143).

Robb (2009: 116) concurs with Haslam describing the bands of the time as "Typically working class, intensely regionalist and dismissive of anything that came from London". Importantly for this thesis, Robb also pulls together the concept that this music and scene brought about a new way of dressing and talking – this was the appearance of an exaggerated Mancunian in loose dress with a strong regional accent.

The relationship between "Northernness" and working class reality began in the late 1950s with social-realist, or "kitchen-sink" dramas. These also possibly established some of the stereotypes now associated with working class Northerners. In particular, in the film of Alan Sillitoe's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1960), the main character, Arthur Seaton (played by Salfordian Albert Finney), was identified by journalist and disc jockey Stuart Maconie (in 1960: The Year of the North, 2011) as the first example of "the swagger of the working class". But there is a gap in our understanding as to whether this boundary-maintaining attitude also relates to fashion tastes, or whether individuals involved in the Manchester music scene and youth culture looked to the fashions coming out of London. Certainly within the music industry, the notion of "keeping it real", loosely defined as staying true to oneself, which seems to be in parallel with "working class swagger", has contributed to bands and musicians' success and their role in youth culture. Cohen (1991) states that the sense of identity and community is strengthened when musicians and their audience share the same or similar socio-cultural experiences, reflected in the music. The music, "symbolises, activates, redefines and reaffirms values, meanings, concepts, identities, or myths they might share" (40). This is both in the music, as sounds, and the meanings embodied in it

by lyrics. The literature reviewed generally confirms this as the case for the Manchester music scene, but is lacking detail and specific examples.

The period studied encompasses what is popularly termed as “Madchester”, described by Luck (2002) as a unifying youth movement. Redhead posits that “Madchester” was “the most creative and influential force in British youth culture since the ‘Punk Explosion’ of the mid/late 70s” (1999: 11). Haslam adds that *Manchester* became *Madchester* because of the response to Rave: “from the very first sightings of the new culture, Manchester crackled with creativity” (169). He continues that Madchester gave young Mancunians a temporary sense of cultural identity and community like a “little glimpse of utopia” (188). Although this sense of cultural identity already existed in Punk and Post-Punk, the positivity experienced by youth audiences within this movement, which will be elaborated later denotes a sense of harmony in an ideal environment that was a new occurrence. As Bennett highlights, references of locally produced music to local knowledge and understandings is important; in this case Mancunian musicians’ and other creative sectors’ response to Rave culture “informs notions of collective identity and community in given regions and localities” (2004: 3). Again, this will be further detailed by this research.

There is much debate about when the Madchester period began and ended. Haslam believes that it may have begun as the use of the recreational drug Ecstasy became more frequent in nightclubs around 1985, although he also suggests a start in 1987 with the first play of The Stone Roses’ *Elephant Stone*.³⁸ Haslam (cited in Robb: 237) elsewhere confirms that the crucial time was certainly December 1987 to March 1988, with Madchester ending by Christmas 1990. Luck (2002) suggests that there are potentially many dates for the end of the movement: May 1990 (the Stone Roses festival inspired concert on Spike Island), September 1992 (the release of The Happy Monday’s *Yes, Please*), December 1994 (the release of the Stone Roses’ second album, *The Second Coming*), or beginning in

³⁸ The release date for The Stone Roses’ *Elephant Stone* is October 1988, Haslam is referring to its first play, assumingly in a public arena, such as a nightclub or on the radio.

1993 with the hiatus in New Order's band activity. He asserts that the end was certainly by The Reading Festival in August 1996. This ambiguity contributes to the mythological sense of Madchester, and historical accuracy may no longer be possible, nor even welcomed by former participants in the scene. It can also be argued that such explicit references to time cannot adequately sum up what is in effect a loosely-constructed sense of zeitgeist, albeit one with a name. Within this thesis, the term will be used to broadly cover the whole period of study.

The sound of the music during the time period altered from that heard previously as influences from the influx of House music and Rave took place. However, as Haslam states, the Madchester sound came from guitar bands with their roots in rock music. Luck (2002) similarly comments on the distinctive guitar sound but relates it to origins in the 1960s Merseybeat,³⁹ and also to the absence of students from the music scene (who tended to favour a harder, rock style of music). Luck continues that the guitar sound also contained the influence of Johnny Marr,⁴⁰ although he concedes a range of other influences.⁴¹ Cohen (1991) raises the issue of the musicians' desire for escapism from politics and daily life leading to music of a "dreamy" and "wistful" style (1991: 15).

Despite the shift in the style of music being produced, there was a continuation of Manchester's musical heritage. There is a sense of pride and confidence throughout Manchester music, expressive of Northerness, including a dismissal of London and an exaggerated northern "swagger". This was never greater than 1986 to 1996 when the sense of cultural identity and community was at its height, strengthened, in part because of the shared socio-cultural experiences of the music makers and their audience at nightclubs with the influx of the House dance genre and its associated experiences. The "rock culture" of the music makers

³⁹ Cohen (1991) describes Merseybeat as a melodic style of "pop" music that is associated with the music produced in Liverpool during the 1960s Merseybeat music is a fusion of rock and roll, doo-wop, skiffle, R&B and soul.

⁴⁰ Johnny Marr was the lead guitarist in the Manchester band The Smiths

⁴¹ Psychedelica, soul, punk, reggae as well as the energy and rhythm of "House" dance music heard in nightclubs at the time (this is a post-disco genre, named after the Chicago gay club "Warehouse" where it originated during the late 1970s, (Rietveld, 1997).

encompassed local knowledge and a sense of cultural territory that could be heard in the music through broader sources of musical genres; this is explored further in the next section.

3.4.3. Local Music Scenes

Finnegan (1989, cited in Bennett 2000) found that music is defined by different groups in accordance with their own musical conventions and ideas of how music should be realised. This can lead to localised music scenes, and even a plurality of scenes in one locality. Shank (1994), documented one such instance at Austin, Texas, through a narrative overview of live music venues and the roles they played in contributing to the overall character of the scene, thus mapping out the musical community of the city. He identified that two distinct genres of music sat side by side. Both genres had equal standing as “authentically” local “due to common forms of vernacular knowledge that underpin performance and reception”: the notions of the cowboy and masculinity (9). Two genres of music sitting side by side was also the case for the Madchester-era Manchester spawned by different groups of music makers and their associated audiences. Haslam emphasises that Madchester was not just about bands despite the fact that these received most coverage from the London-centred press. “The Big Two”, the term used by Luck to describe the Stone Roses and The Happy Mondays, especially gained media attention through their London-based publicity agents. Much less noticed was Madchester’s other main genre: dance music.

The mainstream media attention on the famous bands contributed to the evolution of the Madchester movement by bringing more “converts” to the scene and creating more energy around it. In this sense, the discourse acted as a positive impulse. Although other forms of creativity were relatively undocumented, this might be seen as benevolent neglect as they were consequently unhindered by media discourse.

Media is not a neutral party as sociologist Sarah Thornton points out:

Youth subcultures are not organic, unmediated social formations, nor autonomous, grass-roots cultures which only meet the media upon 'selling out' or at moments of 'moral panic'. Micro, niche and mass media are crucial to the assembly, demarcation and development of subcultures. They do not just represent but actively participate in the processes of music culture (1994: 188).

Thus it is important to distinguish between the micro and niche media (such as fanzines, blogs, specialist press), and the mass media; coverage within each genre is valued differently by those involved in the movement. This raises the question of how long the band-centred coverage mentioned above acted as a positive contributor to the movement. Thornton (1995: 5) asserted that the mainstream is what clubbers define themselves against, "discursive distance from which is a measure of a clubber's cultural worth". But what can be defined as a healthy balance between media coverage and discursive distance? The relations between music culture and media culture is a theme explored in this research.

The Rave movement acted as a hiatus from gigs and guitar bands, channelling attention to the dance floor and DJs through new genres of dance music, in particular House music. Bennett (2000) describes such genres of DJ orientated music as "urban dance music", which since the late 1980s has widened the scope of dance music culture, distancing it from "disco" and "mainstream" connotations, elevating it to a status of "serious" music (73). Manchester can be considered Manchester's response to urban dance music through the musicians' experiences of the movement and the influence it had on their musical outlook and tastes. Polhemus (1994) labels Rave as one of his subcultures (115). Though Polhemus' work has been criticised as over simplified, bordering on stereotypes (see section 3.2.3), his *Streetstyle* exhibition and publication were formative works that have fed current debate. Although the idea of Rave subculture may be an over-simplification, it is nevertheless a useful indicator for this study, in so far as it positions Rave as a youth movement in opposition to the dominant culture, and

because it situates Madchester within the recognised global context of the Rave scene.

According to Polhemus, the Rave scene began in 1985 with the Ibiza club scene which was a blend of mid-eighties yuppies and the hippie lifestyle of those who had settled in Ibiza in the 1960s. In Ibiza, House dance music incorporated a localised stylisation known as “Balearic Beat” (Saunders 1995: 207). Bennett (2001) also supports this theory. The claim that this sound was brought back to the UK is based on London based media sources. These undoubtedly included (Thornton, 1995) evidence found in the style magazines born in the 1980s, for example, *i-D* and *The Face* (which had a do-it-yourself ethos and street style pages). Often the people included in these images were friends or associates of the magazine employees with the writers themselves involved in the scenes they were describing, and to some extent creating. Thornton (1995) claims that the mission of these magazines was to search out and formulate subcultures, citing “Shoom”, a nightclub in London (mentioned in Polhemus from an article in *The Face* in June 1988) that “effectively transformed a club crowd into a fully fledged subculture” (159). Thornton goes on to argue that these magazines were as responsible for the popular conception of the Rave subculture as the dancers, musicians, and drugs themselves.

Despite the London-centredness of his work, Polhemus does mention Manchester and its neighbour Liverpool when he acknowledges that from a Northern point of view, the “Ibiza influence” is “a load of tripe” (116), suggesting that it had little to do with the evolution of Rave culture in the north.⁴² For Manchester, House dance music seems to have come straight from the United States, being played in Manchester as early as 1982, nameless and fitting into the Electro dance music scene.⁴³ The sounds were seen as part of a new musical direction taking place at

⁴² Haslam (1999) admits the roots of rave are “knotty and confused” (165) with a variety of influences: direct from the United States; Chicago, Detroit and New York, via Ibiza, as well as Britain’s own versions. Redhead (1997b), also describes Acid House as a fusion of two forms of music that are based on sampling; the Balearic Beat that stems from Ibiza and, as with Haslam, Chicago’s house music dance styles.

⁴³ The documentary *Pump up the Volume* (2001) clearly states the distinction between London and Manchester’s House music heritage. London based DJ Steve Jackson saw that it took a while for

the time according to DJ Greg Wilson (Robb, 2009). Robb himself states that House music evolved into “Acid House”, which was more minimal and trancier, taking influences from Chicago’s re-workings of 1970s disco and Detroit techno. Examples of music during the period, illustrating the evolution of both the Manchester and dance music scene can be found in the discography in Appendix 2. Bennett (2001) also cites the influence of techno, as the drug Ecstasy became more widely used. Such entanglements of the musical aspects of Rave and Madchester are part of the mythology of the subject, which this research did not aim to unpick, except as they may have impinged upon fashions.

To summarise, the local music scene for Manchester from 1986 to 1996 consisted of two main genres; guitar bands and urban dance music. The shifting and eclectic style and taste (Bennett, 2000) of the music makers and their audiences during this time blended the two genres under the umbrella of Madchester, which was Manchester’s own response to the Rave movement. Questions have arisen here concerning the impact of the various media on Madchester that this research sought to address, uncovering more evidence about the role of media in the music-fashion link. Also arising is the question of Madchester’s place in subcultural theory during this period that marks a change in the sensibilities of youth culture. This is treated in the following section.

3.4.4. Subculture Meets Club Culture

Urban dance music was first constructed as the result of digital technological advances in music production, where music can be stored on a computer memory and interfaced (electronically connected). Digital recording techniques had also advanced enabling wider manipulation of sounds than previously possible. This resulted in the borrowing and re-working of musical fragments (samples) from a

Londoners to get used to the change in tempo of the music, whereas “up North”, everyone was into the music being played on the dance floor. The documentary raises the point that House music fitted into the Northern Soul all night dance culture with Mike Pickering, a DJ at The Hacienda at the time claiming that when he started playing House at the club, he could see people dancing in the Northern Soul style.

variety of sources, developing the bricolage quality of urban dance music (Bennett, 2000). This process of sampling has:

... given urban dance music a broad appeal, as indicated by the range of different style groups that converged at some of the early urban dance music events; it serves to highlight the shifting and eclectic sensibilities of style and taste that have increasingly characterised the appropriation of popular music styles since the formation of the post Second World War youth market (Bennett, 2000: 74).

The concept of “club culture”, a play on the term “subculture”, was introduced by Thornton (1995) in an attempt both to rethink subcultural theory and to highlight the stylistic heterogeneity of the British dance club scene of that time. Bennett states (2001) that fundamental shifts in the stylistic sensibilities of those at House music events were occurring and were witnessed by a number of observers who construed that the style mixing signalled the “end” of the post-war youth subcultural “tradition” (125). For example, Redhead (1993) reveals that cultural critics were looking for the “new Punk”. The Rave movement, which mixed all styles on the same dance floor and attracted a range of previously opposed subcultures from football hooligans to New Age hippies, did not match this description and was thus misread. Journalist Tim Willis in a *Sunday Times* article “The Lost Tribes” (1993) observed, “there is no stylistic cohesion to the assembly, as there would have been in the (g)olden days of youth culture” (8).

Bennett believes that this extreme merging was short-lived: It is clear that the visual image of youth is becoming increasingly a matter of individual choice as young people construct and reconstruct their image and identity with reference to what Polhemus (1997) terms “a supermarket of style”. This idea also references Maffeoli’s concept of neo-tribes, highlighting the shifting of tastes in music where a more eclectic sensibility is engaged with local settings. An appropriate metaphor for this is Walker’s (2008) interpretation of consumers buying into more than one trend, or in this case, music genre, to create their own by appropriating these influences and remixing as a DJ would with music. Such settings naturally include where music is played, such as gig venues, nightclubs and bars. According to

Maffesoli the tribe is “without the rigidity of the forms of organisation with which we are familiar, it refers more to a certain ambiance, a state of mind, and is preferably to be expressed through lifestyles that favour appearance and form” (1996: 98). Countering Bennett’s (2001) view that the merging of musical tastes was short-lived, this thesis agrees with those who posit a definite shift towards a more eclectic sensibility that continued, with the partakers evolving into – to use Maffesoli’s terminology – “neo-tribes”. The Rave movement, in particular, Madchester, seems to mark the beginning of this sensibility. This thesis provides further evidence of this shift.

Sheilds points out that neo-tribes “embrace... the ‘local’ authority of what is ‘close to home’, based on local territoriality; dependable and micro-social” (1992: 108-9). Sheilds also identifies that tribal identities can shift as individuals move between different venues, and also over time. As has been identified earlier, in fashion this is manifested in what has been described in this research as “looks” or “taste constellations”. While “taste constellations” can be translated into the local music scene, the obvious equivalent of “looks”, being “sounds”, is unsuccessful as a translation. The interactions of music and dress may be better viewed under the modality of “attitude”. This thesis addresses this consideration.

In Bennett’s study of the urban dance scene in Newcastle (2000), he identified that there was a significant form of neo-tribal bond between individuals who participate in urban dance music events in the city. Bennett states that although they may in some cases be only vaguely familiar to each other, as they move between the various sites of the Newcastle dance music scene, they share an understanding of these venues as oppositional spaces of defiance against the perceived oppressiveness of the local social environment. In his study Bennett cites Malbon’s research (1998) finding that such forms of group identification are articulated and reinforced through shared performative practices that bind the individuals together “encapsulating the customs, traditions and norms that go to make clubbing a distinctive form of social interaction” (276). Rietveld (1997) similarly posits that although interaction was limited to the club night, the shared experience and sense of community imparted confidence in personal identities constructed outside the

mainstream or dominant culture. Bennett concludes that such in-club practices link with local practices and knowledge that clubbers bring to the club environment, forming connections that may be used to negotiate everyday circumstances or experiences.

The “gathering of the tribes” that Polhemus postulates (128) seems to apply to Madchester’s fusions between existing groups and to the subsequent options and choices that arose in the early 1990s, a joining of forces over shared issues and interests. For example, the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, which covered the illegality of raves and the use of recreational drugs, united people in opposition. This observation supports Evans’ social theory that people can move between various subcultures, and Haslam’s political stance that “The Rave revolution was created out of the debris of post-monetarist disorder by and for people who were intent on survival. On the dance floor there was a shared love of the music, and a collective spirit diametrically opposed to the view that there was ‘no such thing as society’. And that crucially, magnificently, retrieved our sense of community” (164).

As a corrective to these utopian views, Malbon’s (1998) analysis of contemporary club culture notes that the seeming openness of clubbing crowds should not be misinterpreted as “open to all” (129). There is a shared knowledge that members of the crowd communicate, both verbally and non-verbally, a knowledge that can unite but still uphold barriers. Bennett (2001) suggests if one combines the theories of Malbon with Thornton’s (1995) concept of ‘subcultural capital’⁴⁴, that it is possible to see that while these groupings are less stable and coherent than those espoused by subcultural theorists, they still maintain a set of cultural practices that are collectively shared and relatively fixed and that however transitory it may be, association with these groups demands a demonstration of insight into those cultural practices.

⁴⁴ Thornton developed the idea of ‘subcultural capital’ out of analysis of taste cultures using Bourdieu’s theory of ‘distinction’.

Madchester-era Manchester exemplifies the concept of taste constellations and neo-tribes. For example, Haslam, a disc jockey at the Hacienda in 1987 describes the experience of popular nights (Thursday, Friday and Saturday) as a meeting point for “working class scallies, middle class students; rap fans and indie kids; north and south Manchester; fashion designers and heavy drinkers; hair dressers and hooligans – the bohemian, graduate belts and the working-class estates had come together culturally” (165-166). This became a matter of local pride in the city that was also a more general attraction. It is worth noting in this context Haslam’s comment that at the beginning of 1990, applications to Manchester Polytechnic and Manchester University rose by 30%. It is unclear in the literature whether, and how, the influx of students had an impact on the Manchester music scene. Bennett argues that dance clubs provide a vivid example of tribal associations: “Providing a space for expressions of ‘togetherness’ based on articulations of fun, relaxation and pleasure, the club setting can be seen as one of many forms of temporal engagement through which such neo-tribal associations are formed.” (2001: 128). As Collin emphasises,

“The *idea* of Madchester... provided a backdrop over which people, both in and outside the city, could project their own fantasies and aspirations. Though the British winter was, as ever, dull and bedrizzled, it was as if someone had switched on fairy lights over Oldham Street. The key colours of the year – lilac, orange and lime green – combined with t-shirts decorated with hearts, flowers, smiling suns and half-ironic slogans like “On the Seventh Day God Created Manchester” or “Born in the North, Live in the North, Die in the North”; outlandish denim flares trailed unconcerned through muddy puddles” (1998: 158 – 159).

The broad appeal of urban dance music and its bricolage quality reflects the shift in youth culture away from traditional subcultures towards the engagement in and drawing from forms of everyday life as they were encountered locally. This is done based on individual taste constellations, leading to a look, and more broadly an attitude, forming and re-forming neo-tribes as individuals dip into various cultural locales. The literature suggests that nightclubs were one such place where neo-tribal bonds were established between individuals, providing familiar territory and shared knowledge away from the mainstream or dominant culture. Madchester appears to have fostered such clubs and their associated culture. Through

interview evidence, this research has added further details and examples in support of the theory of a shift from subculture to club-culture.

3.4.5. Research Questions Around Music, Media and Fashion Interrelationships

While music-making is a characteristic of Northern cities, like Manchester, it also acts as a means of escape for those taking part, forming an alternative cultural space to the dominant culture. This is exemplified in the sound of the music, speech, dress and movement of the musicians and their audience. What can be termed as the modern Manchester music scene (Post-Punk) had a strong sense of local identity and community strengthened through shared experience. The urban dance movement known as Rave, with its eclectic taste in music, contributed to the initiation of a shifting of cultural sensibility. The shared experiences of the partakers in this movement were exemplified by unity on the dance floor- disregarding former distinctions of class or heritage. Creative individuals, including bands were inspired by the movement to produce music that reflected the cultural shift, yet still maintained its Northern, or Mancunian identity through their projection of and participation in attitude. The concept of attitude is further elucidated in this thesis.

Thornton (1995) has identified the impact of various types of media discourse on the club culture she has studied. This section has also identified that media discourse contributed to the evolution of Madchester. The media that focussed on the bands associated with the movement contributed to its momentum up to a point. Apart from the bands, the London-centred national media largely ignored aspects of Madchester, which meant that clubbers were unhindered by media discourse and thus able to evolve yet maintain a sense of “cool” and attractiveness to the partakers in the movement. Thornton (1995) and Bennett (2001) both make the point that while clubs appeared to be “open to all”, clubbing crowds maintain a shared knowledge that both united and excluded. While some communication of this shared knowledge is found in the micro and niche media, a clubber’s worth

was measured in discursive distance, in particular from mainstream media. Questions pertaining to the credibility of the media coverage are addressed in this thesis.

The debates concerning the move away from traditional subculture within the music scene, as with fashion and subcultures in general utilise Maffesoli's concept of neo-tribes (1996), highlighting the shifting and eclectic style-and-taste sensibilities that individuals engage with and draw from. All researchers cited within this section argue that the locale is the focus for tribal identities as individuals move between different sites. Consequently, the research focuses on nightclubs, gig venues and, according to Bennett (2001), beyond into related environments which this research has defined as "music culture". While this research has argued that Madchester fits within this theory, indeed, even marking the time when the shift took place, there is currently no academic research to support this notion. This research has served to inform these debates by looking at how individuals have contributed to and developed a Madchester tribal identity. It then moves the theory further to posit the notion that post-subcultural youth choices manifest themselves into "looks" and "attitude".

4. Evidence and Findings

This chapter presents findings compiled from evidence gathered in interviews with pre-identified figures who played key roles in the interplay of Mancunian fashion and music, such as fashion label owners, employees of fashion firms or retail outlets, band managers and photographers. Image analysis was used as a parallel research method in support of the interview evidence. This chapter is divided into the six key themes, organised into sections, that arose out of the research evidence, presenting the most important findings and seeking to discover the nature of the relationship between music and dress.

4.1. Fashion in Motion

4.1.1. An Overview of B.A.F.

What I am calling Fashion in Motion describes the concept of dressing for movement, in particular dance, but also more generally the carriage of the body in relation to dress. It takes as its focus what was worn in order to move a particular way, but also how movement is shaped by dress. Evidence in this section confirms that a loose silhouette was prevalent during the time period (see Chapter 3 for the debate on the time period), for some wearers, ultra loose. It also considers other aspects of fashion design that were influenced by what people were wearing on the dance floor to enhance their experience of movement and their appearance while dancing.

As noted previously, the loose silhouette prevalent was dubbed B.A.F, standing for “baggy as fuck” (Haslam, 1999). This silhouette can be seen to correspond with the

use of the recreational drug Ecstasy, and the enthusiastic response in the North to the new sound of House dance music that led to an increase in nightclub dancing (Haslam and Robb, 2009). Film footage seen in *Pump up the Volume* (Channel 4, 2001) shows the dancing to have been mainly rhythmic, with trance-like marching of varying speeds and arms in the air moving to the music. Dance brought about a desire for looser clothing for comfort needs, a looseness that became exaggerated, possibly in response to the sensuous feel of dancing in baggy clothing.

Bruce Atkinson, who worked for the independent men's and women's wear label Baylis and Knight, identified a relaxed look which related directly to the night clubbing scene (the scene including both the music and the recreational drug taking); people were buying clothing specifically for going out, not just in Manchester but across the North:

BA – ... a lot of the clothing was being bought to specifically go out to different club nights... In Manchester that would be ... various different clubs but [it was the] same case in... Leeds and Sheffield... but not only that... a lot of people did travel. It was the first instance of people starting to travel from different cities particularly to come to Manchester.

SA – What kind of music was being played in these clubs? Was it the same across the country or was it different?

BA – Originally, ermmm... Manchester started, supposedly, the House scene so it started with early House music. And... It then progressed into the, I'm guessing. Erm... Kind of the Rave-y type of music which ermmm... is kind of synonymous with drug taking as well...

SA – ...So, you've mentioned that drugs had a lot to do with the scene at the time?

BA – They had a lot to do with the clubbing scene. I don't know if it had a lot to do with the female, kind of, clothing scene... Ermmm... I would of thought it had something more to do with the male scene. So, for example, the type of clothing – and again that was a lot about dance music. It was a lot about keeping cool

possibly. But when we started making men's clothing... Ermmm... It was mainly, I mean it was, it was, kind of casual, but it was mainly about being seen and wearing it in clubs.

Although Atkinson was hesitant in his development of the idea, he clearly connects male dressing for the Manchester clubbing scene with a new type of clothing that was “about dance music.” At first he suggests the comfort angle – keeping cool – but then expands this to include the importance of “being seen.” This suggests that the extremes of the baggy style were probably about a certain type of male bravado as well as about the sensuality of wear while experiencing a drug-induced high.

Photographer AJ Wilkinson, who worked in The Big Banana clothing store in Affleck's Palace during the period, was aware of a specific look that formed a trend, referring to it as a look that people got “swooped up into”. He relates it to the football terraces, so predominately a menswear look,⁴⁵ but also makes reference to the night clubbing scene, specifically the Manchester nightclub, The Hacienda;

AJW – ...and I wasn't into that football terrace look. Because I wasn't into football so I didn't follow it really. I didn't get swooped up into that...

SA – When you say swooped up, do you think that people got swooped up into it?

AJW – Oh... definitely... If you look at the Hacienda at that time, everyone was very uniformed, you know. There was defiantly baggy. A lot of stupid baggy.... trousers and a lot of stupidly baggy tops...

Wilkinson's “defiantly baggy” and “stupid baggy” expresses both the challenging attitude that went with the male look, and the sense of taking fashion to its limit. This was re-affirmed in Identity shop and label owner Leo Stanley's interview with

⁴⁵ Despite many women watching and playing football, it is recognised as a predominately (working class) male sport by all of the literature studied for this research (Armstrong and Giulianotti (eds), 1999; Brown (ed) 1998; Crabbe and Brown, 2004; Fishwick, 1989; Giulianotti, 1999; Jarvie, 2006; Redhead, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2004; Wagg (ed), 2004). See sections 4.2 and 4.3 for further discussion on this subject.

his recollection of selling the “Baggiest dungarees ever”. A photograph taken at the end of the night at The Hacienda’s 8th Birthday in May 1990 (see figure 4), illustrates the baggy silhouette with tops, mainly constructed in jersey being worn several sizes larger than necessary. The image shows how, because of their size, the tops appear long as well as loose which is described by Wilkinson in the following section. Also revealed by the photograph is a particular stance, hands on hips, which allows the extra material to drape neatly instead of bunching under the arms. It is not just that clothing has developed to prevent constraint in dancing, but that movement or posture is then developed in relation to the new clothing. A photograph taken outside the Stone Roses’ concert at Glasgow Green on 9th June 1990 (see figure 5) illustrates that the baggy silhouette encouraged the wearer to stand with legs and feet slightly apart in a relaxed, leaning posture.



Figure 4. Cummins, K. (1990). The Hacienda, Manchester. 8th Birthday party, May 1990.



Figure 5. Tilton, I. (1990). The Stone Roses Concert, Glasgow Green, 9th June 1990.

Manchester-based journalist Andy Spinoza and his partner Lynn Cunningham countered the standpoint of loose attire being exclusively a form of *male* dress when Cunningham recalled wearing the look herself:

LC – I remember wearing big t-shirts and baggy jeans and it was just, I was saying to Andy, it was just kind of really great because it was like anti-fashion, it was, you know, really comfortable and not sexualised in any way...

AS – I think the drugs...

LC – The drugs, yeah..

AS – People didn't want tight clothing...

LC – They wanted comfortable...

SA – Do you think it related to the attitude of men and women at the time as well? That the clothes of the time reflected that, or was it to do with the drugs and the dancing?

LC – I think it was more the drugs and the dancing

Here, Cunningham affirms that women may have adopted bagginess as a counter to the sex-attraction of mainstream fashion, but this does not seem to have gone as far as a social or political standpoint where men and women express solidarity by wearing the same clothing. Principally it was comfortable to wear, in particular when dancing under the influence of recreational drugs. The relation of the baggy look to dancing was also supported by Leo Stanley, although rather than the notion of comfort Stanley cites a preceding dance movement when contemplating its origin:

LS – No, it just developed. I think credit to Joe Moss and Phil Wildbore,⁴⁶ the jean people, they probably, sort of developed it from that really, because I think what it was really, was we just put them in the shop and tried them, and it just happened. I think it was a modern take on the '60s flares, which is our interpretation of being rebellious really. So it was just something that developed. The parallels. I'll tell you where I think it came from. Parallel pants that the Northern Soul⁴⁷ lads used to wear. I think that's where it came from. You know, that's amazing that, to think that, where it's come from. 'Cos that high waistband, you know, we were all talking one day, because the Northern Soul never really went away. That's where it came from. They had parallel pants and we did parallel jeans.

This insight into the baggy look's heritage was a new one for Stanley during the interview and may have been brought about due to the media coverage of the Northern Soul movement at the time of the interview.⁴⁸ Stanley initially related the look to Joe Moss and Phil Wildbore's influence, whose jeanswear label he sold in

⁴⁶ Joe Moss was Manchester band *The Smiths*' first manager (1982 – 1983). He also owned *Crazy Face*, a clothes shop in Manchester city centre and set up the Go Vicinity jeans label in Manchester with Phil Wildbore.

⁴⁷ Northern soul is a music and dance movement, which evolved in Northern England as well as the Midlands, Scotland and Wales in the late 1960s from the British Mod scene. The sound of Northern soul stems mainly from American Soul music, in particular the fast tempo, heavy beat style of the Tamla Motown record label in the 1960s. Rare and previously overlooked records were the most popular in the movement. Those involved in the movement travelled to clubs to dance all night (fuelled by amphetamines) to the fast paced music and buy or exchange rare records. The term Northern Soul was coined by journalist Dave Godin who also owned Soul City, a record store in London in the late 1960s when he came up with the term to help his employees differentiate from the contemporary soul records to the older ones that the Northern football fans requested when they visited the shop when their teams were playing London clubs (Nowell, 1999).

⁴⁸ The interview was undertaken on 17th July 2014. With extensive advertisement prior to its airing, the BBC presented documentary *Northern Soul: Living for the Weekend* BBC4 on 25th July 2014 in advance of the film *Northern Soul* (dir. Elaine Constantine) released on 17th October 2014.

his Affleck's Palace shop, extending this to it being a modern interpretation of 1960s flares. This was also cited as an influence of Mancunian dress during the time by other interviewees (see section 5). Figures 6 and 7 illustrate the differences between the looks – the “parallels” differ in that the Northern Soul trousers are smarter and worn tighter around the waist and hips compared to the looser fit all over of the less dressy jeans worn by the Raver. The overall look differs, again with a more fitted silhouette for the Northern Soul dancer. There is also a difference to the way the trousers/jeans look when moving: Northern Soul dancers move with athletic leg movements such as high kicks, splits, spins, flips and backdrops which enables the wide trouser legs to move dramatically, extenuating the dance moves. The trance-like marching to House music would not encourage such a display and could even disguise some of the footwork under the width (and length) of hem. The House music follower enjoyed dancing in fluid movements as opposed to the sharp movement of Northern Soul, although both probably enjoyed a sensation of the loose fabric on the legs and general comfort. This was suggested by Atkinson, Spinoza and Cunningham in the evidence presented here. While avoiding the idea of a direct lineage from Northern Soul to House, this is not to deny that there are similarities, as identified in the BBC's *Northern Soul: Living for the Weekend* (2014). These similarities included the underground, obscure nature of the followings and the fast paced black American music danced to under the influence of recreational drugs through the night by working class youth. In the documentary, music writer Bill Brewster described Northern Soul as a template for the Acid House explosion not only because of these similarities but also because of his claims that some of those involved in Northern Soul progressed to the early House scene. This research did not uncover any evidence to support this particular progression.



Figure 6. Gold, M. (1975) Northern Soul dancer showing off energetic dance moves with dramatic movement of trousers.

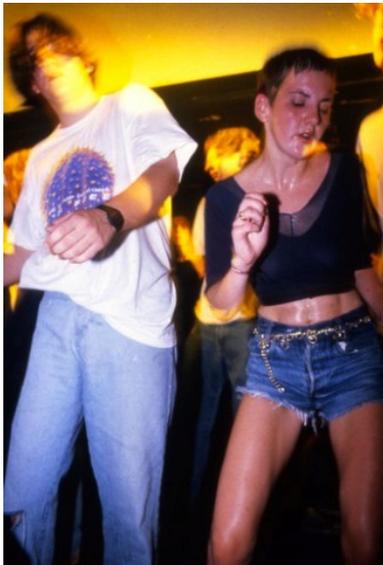


Figure 7. Walsh, P. (1989). Trance-like dancing at the Temperance night, Haçienda nightclub, Manchester.

4.1.2. T-shirts

As representative of the baggy look, outsize t-shirts were the most prevalent garment (see figure 5), adopted probably in response to what musicians in leading bands were wearing on stage, but also by the need to feel cool when dancing. The baggy t-shirts may have had a sort of fan effect in movement, sending cool air up under the arms. It almost goes without saying that they were not tucked in.

AJW – T-shirts... yeah-yeah-yeah. Lots of big t-shirts. Big t-shirts, you know, stupidly big. You could have called them skirts really, you know. Round necked but just big all over. But Ian Brown [lead singer of The Stone Roses] was known to wear a lot of that anyway, but it was a knock on effect of wearing that really.

SA – So what you're saying is that these bands, for example The Stone Roses had a direct impact?

AJW – I think so. But the Acid House thing was going on, all that. So anything that was loose, 'cos you were sweating a lot. Loose would have been the way to go forward really.

Tilton's Stone Roses concert photograph (figure 5) also shows one of the subjects wearing a t-shirt with print on the back. Not only did the baggy, extra large t-shirts reflect movement through their size, shape and fabric, but also through the placement of images and logos: the wrapping of print around the body is based on the body seen in movement, revealing its full message only when the wearer turns around in dance (See also section 3.3.4). In the photograph, the printed text provides the tour dates of The Stone Roses' concerts. As a consequence of being oversized the t-shirts have a dropped shoulder, which appears to be affecting the wearer's posture as they slouch more. The t-shirt may also exaggerate the appearance of slouching as the shoulders appear drooped, not filling the t-shirt as they would do when held straight in a fitted t-shirt.

Within his interview, Atkinson referred to "Bully" t-shirts that were produced by Baylis and Knight. The t-shirts were called "Bully" after the ITV programme *Bullseye* where Bully, a character on the show, wore a black and white stripe top. The "Bully" t-shirts were initially made from black and white striped jersey and

featured numbers in circles appliquéd down the left side of the chest. Label owner Allison Knight also drew attention to these:

AK – I guess at the start of Madchester, we were making lots of men's t-shirts, lots of shirts.... some people in bands bought things... I did make a t-shirt with 808 on and 808 State [Manchester band], because they were so nice, I knew them really well and they were upset about that and they had – I don't know if they made their point strong enough that we stop[ped] doing it but we didn't really make many so it wasn't like– I wasn't making loads of money off them. I don't think anyone had realised at the beginning... I think it was before all the merchandise thing happened really, it was just at the start of it.... There was Leo's [Leo Stanley] shop, Identity [Affleck's Palace], they were selling those...

Within this passage, Knight refers to band merchandising, which as she states, was in its infancy during this time period. While her label, by its production of a t-shirt with a motif inspired by the Manchester band 808 State, may have infringed on the band identity, it is significant – in contrast to the present day – that this led only to mild remonstrations. Knight also stated that band members continued to buy Baylis and Knight designs. What is worth stressing here is that not only were Baylis and Knight inspired by the Manchester music scene, both the bands and the night club scene, but that they also informed the dress choices of the bands themselves which, as Wilkinson mentions, influenced in return the dress choices of the clubbers.

4.1.3. Womenswear

Within most interviews on the subject, there was a clear differentiation between men's and women's wear. For example, in the case of Wilkinson when describing what women wore in nightclubs:

SA – Is that men and women [who wore a looser silhouette in night clubs]?

AJW – Not... Yeah... Some women... Not a lot of the women, some women... a lot of the women were more sort of fly girly.

SA – What do you mean by that?

AJW – Tighter stuff definitely, and a lot of like flouncy sort of stuff... If I remember correctly, girls used to wear quite designer, sort of loose tops but then maybe a hot pant. That was big, definitely. And girls with big shoes on.⁴⁹

For those who did not opt for the full baggy silhouette, Wilkinson identified other distinct styles of dress for women; hot pants are mentioned. Both a baggy top worn with matching leggings, and hot pants can be seen in Cummins's Haçienda birthday photograph (figure 4). When taking on the looser style, womenswear is described as more flouncy. Independent clothing label and small retail chain (Wear it Out) owner Ursula Darrigan reinforces this in her description of fabrics and styles sold during the time period. When asked about best sellers, Darrigan provides some descriptors that give a clearer idea of what was perceived by Wilkinson as “flouncy”:

AK - Flared tops and things

UD - Flirty things, georgettes and chiffons, viscose pants, wrapped tops, cullottes. Used to make hundreds of those...

The designer-maker-sellers interviewed also confirm Wilkinson's observation of women wearing tighter-fitting garments, a view reinforced by Spinoza and Cunningham. Both Knight and Darrigan confirmed that tighter styles made from jersey were good sellers with their wares being prominent in clubs; Knight recalls finding “a sea of our stuff in the Haçienda”. Atkinson posits in his interview that the success of the stretch garments was because the fabrics enabled the wearer to

⁴⁹ Wilkinson's allusion to big shoes refers to darkly coloured (usually black) flat, traditionally men's shoes in style, such as Dr. Martins and desert boots. Examples of women wearing these shoes can be seen in Figures 1 and 2.

move with ease:

BA – So it was the beginning of us kind of, ermmm, dresses and – which tended to be tight and ermmm stretchy and easy to move in so I think that's where we kind of started so it was kind of nylon lycras, cotton lycras, ermmm and I guess, easy to move in.

Knight also elaborates on the use of stretch fabrics within her interview:

AK – A lot of see-through mesh things, they were very popular.

SA – Power mesh?

AK – A bit like power mesh. A lot was printed, a bit stretchy and bit see-through. Nowadays you can't sell anything like that unless you have something underneath it. Those girls that can wear a bra and a shawl and wear meshy dresses with print, swirly print, popular print. You can add pockets on and collars and things.

SA –...When you said that there was a year when you couldn't sell dresses at all [previously in the interview]...

AK – I'm trying to think... Having said that, contradicting myself... I'm trying to think when... where we were... what we were making for girls... I think we were making a lot of cat suits. We were probably making see through dresses if we were making anything like that, I think that's... we were making cat suits, see through dresses with that stretch mesh... doing a lot of stuff like that...

SA – From what you're describing it would seem that they were being worn by women going out?

AK – Yeah they were... Those sorts of things were. Yeah, definitely. You'd see people out in them all the time in those. And they were longer too, they weren't short. They'd be, like, ankle length dresses and people would wear them with a pair of big knickers, a pair of big pants, a Wonderbra-type bra and maybe a little vest underneath...

The use of mesh in garments, layered over vest or undergarments is also in evidence in figure 7, where the dancer is wearing a tight, cropped top with mesh fabric displayed at the neckline, either as an actual layer or as a continuation of the top. This top has a distinctly sportswear look in its use of fabric, its fit and style – specifically aerobic dancewear – and may even be a garment produced for the aerobic dancewear market, catering to a mainstream fashion trend.⁵⁰ The mainstream look can be seen in figure 8.

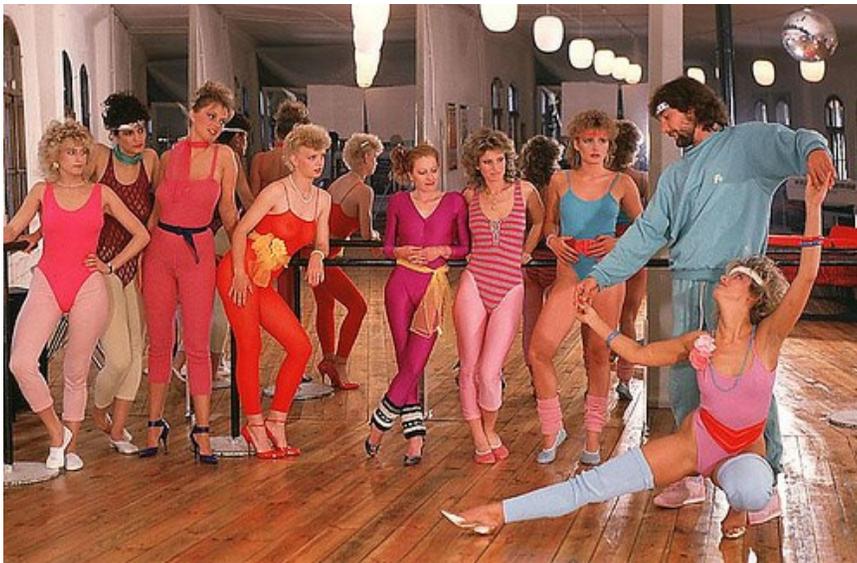


Figure 8. Origin unknown. 1980s Aerobic wear.

4.1.4. Sportswear-Inspired Dress

In her description of the Baylis and Knight designs worn by women going out, Knight (see interview extract above) also presents an image of “meshy dresses” that were worn with activity in mind – in this case dance. The fabrics used and the styling (big knickers and vests worn underneath the mesh dresses, for example) reference a sense of sportiness, reflecting mainstream aerobic dance clothing and

⁵⁰ Aerobic dancewear was a trend in the 1980s deriving from the increase in aerobic exercise classes and videos that were popular in mainstream fashion. It was worn both for actual exercise but also to imply an interest in fitness.

styling where stretch garments were layered. This notion of sportiness is epitomised in the range Baylis and Knight produced, called “Team”, which as Knight describes below and figure 9 illustrates, was inspired by sportswear, specifically the Adidas brand:

AK - They hit the right note at the right time. The dresses... Oh yeah...because we were doing those dresses with the two stripes down the side... That's what happened. We did the crochet stuff and then we had a photographer take some photographs and we did some stuff with three stripes down the side and we got in *Drapers Record* [apparel industry trade journal] and then we got a phone call from Adidas, as it's their trademark and then we were really, really cacking it because they're such a big company and their lawyers were so dreadful – because you can't make things with three stripes, but you can make things with four or two. So we did them with four for a little while and then we thought, “Oh, God, this is too much work”, and then we started doing things with two stripes. And that was just make and make and make and make. We couldn't get enough fabric. We couldn't get enough stuff to do the stripes.

SA – Do you think that was popular because of the Adidas connection?

AK – Well, no because... ermmm... No one had ever made anything – it wasn't an original idea particularly, but nobody – Adidas – nobody did anything like it, you couldn't buy anything like it on the high street... if you wanted it... we independent designers... virtually were the only people who you could get these things from. So I think that's why they were popular.

SA – So that sporty vibe that Adidas do so well, they weren't doing it at the time...

AK – Yeah, it was dresses and leggings and tops that we did in that.



Figure 9. Atkinson, B. (1990) "Team" Dress, Paris, France.

While it is interesting to note the weight of the mighty Adidas' legal force came down on an independent such as Baylis and Knight when they referenced their trademark stripes, what is of relevance to this research is that the sporty styles (dresses, leggings and tops) were extremely popular and filled a gap not yet taken up by the sportswear firms. These were fashion garments that were designed to be worn in a nightclub setting, emulating sportswear and reflecting the wearer's penchant for athleticism. In this case, dance. It is also worth noting that this approach to dress wasn't exclusively for women as figure 10 illustrates, showing a man on the podium at the Hacienda at the *Hot* club night in July 1988, topless, wearing cycling shorts and referred to in Spinoza and Cunningham's interview:

SA – Do you remember that look? [pointing to image in publication] Cycling shorts?

LC – I do remember people on the dancefloor wearing that

AS – Committed Clubbers.... Committed Clubbers.... Committed club dance wear.
[laughs]

While named in jest, the description of the wearers of cycling shorts as Committed Clubbers indicates that these people were dedicated to attending nightclubs and dancing, to the point of such physical exertion that it became akin to sport and exercise.



Figure 10. Cummins, K. (1988). Cycling shorts on the podium at Hot, July 1988, The Hacienda, Manchester.

4.1.5. Findings

There is no doubt that a loose silhouette was prevalent in Northern youth fashion during the time period studied. This research supports the premise that this silhouette evolved in response to both the need to feel comfortable and the sensual effect of the garments' fabrics aligned with use of Ecstasy as well as the desire to be seen, when dancing in the nightclubs. In this, the evidence collated in the research backs up the literature (see section 3.3.3). One interviewee suggests a lineage with the Parallel trousers of the Northern Soul movement, even suggesting that those who were once part of the Northern Soul movement became part of the early House music scene. This linkage may be appealing in its simplicity, but it needs the support of further evidence to be convincing. For the present, the

research suggests the wearers connected more with the flares of the 1960s than the Northern Soul following of the 1970s.

It has also been found that there was more to the look than oversized t-shirts: for men, it was a matter of both posturing (gaining attention with “stupid baggy”), and posture (how to wear an oversized top). For women, the research revealed a more floaty look based on the flared silhouette, interpreted in chiffons and georgettes to emphasise an ethereal feel. An alternative tighter fitting silhouette was also present in womenswear, predominantly with garments made in stretch fabrics designed and styled to emulate sport and dance wear. These reflected the active nature of dancing to House music. But women did not all eschew the baggy silhouette. Cunningham recalls wearing the same baggy jeans and t-shirts as the men. Photographs of the period also reveal that for women something looser or more floaty was usually combined with the tight portion of the clothes, often a loose top over leggings. Another important finding is that photographs of this period record how the clothes themselves supported particular types of bodily response, in both movement and posture. This includes the wearing of extra-wide bottomed jeans, which affected the gait of the wearer. (See section 4.4. Authenticity for a fuller discussion on the wearing of flared and baggy jeans.)

Designers were responding to a gap in the market not yet taken by sportswear firms when they produced fashion-led garments with a sporty style. Alison Knight offered her brand’s take on Adidas striped garments as an example of this, and of how independent designers were able to respond quickly to such demand. Baylis and Knight situated fashion design into the Manchester music scene – being ahead of the scene and within it - by both being inspired by the night club scene and bands as well as informing what the bands wore as they purchased the brand.

As Atkinson stated in his interview, clubbers bought clothing especially to wear in nightclub venues, and therefore specifically to dance to the music played at these venues. He also states that during this time, clubbers began to travel to different towns to visit their nightclubs with Manchester being a destination for such travels by non-Mancunians. The wearing by Mancunians of garments from local

designers, from second-hand and high street shops to local social occasions, creating a “local dialect” which will be examined in the following section.

4.2. Northern Dialect

4.2.1. Local Dialects

“Local Dialects” is used to describe the process of the translation and repositioning of global culture and youth fashion within local social and cultural structures. Generally defined as “glocalisation” (Robertson, 1992; Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006), “local dialects” seems to be more appropriate in this context where fashion trends, looks from the past and the styles produced by local clothing labels were re-appropriated to construct a sense of identity and place within specific locales. Woodward’s research into Nottingham street style since 2001, *Fashionmap*, offered insight into the construction of a local fashion dialect. She found that a shared identity was focused on specific sites: particular bars, clubs and streets, that is hanging out in particular places with particular people. As with Woodward’s study, this research found that for some, dressing in this way was about composing an allegiance to an area using territory to construct an identity, the markers of difference often so subtle they were only readable by those on the inside. The interview evidence, in particular relating to the identities of football supporters, affirms both concepts: localising of allegiance and the nuanced performance of alliances.

Lee Daly is a Londoner who moved to Manchester in the early 1980s. He came to know the city initially through his support of the London football club Tottenham Hotspur, following them across the country to watch them play away fixtures. With an interest in fashion and alternative culture, Daly observed a difference in the way Northerners, in particular, Mancunians dressed:

SA - So everyone was wearing flares?

LD - That's a good question. When I started coming up for football. I'm a Tottenham fan. We were more skinheads, but we noticed that some of these lads were wearing flared trousers, [...] I have always been a fashion gadfly, I've always been in fashion and when I see something I kind of match myself in straightaway. When Punk came in I got my Nan to take in a pair of trousers of mine and went to school one day and everyone said "look at Daly wearing drainpipes". I felt 10 feet tall. By the time that had come around and seeing those guys in flares, I thought that's a statement, a guy wearing flares in 1981 and 1982 was daring. I remembered seeing them at football. I've heard since a lot of Scousers [Liverpudlians] claiming to have done it. Now I have been to Liverpool but I don't remember seeing it. You've seen on the programmes since where they do at the end of century north-western culture, but apparently there is some agreement that Liverpool fans in hindsight also did what Manchester fans did.

From his encounters with Manchester football fans, Daly identified that rather than wearing an outmoded garment hence reinforcing the stereotypes that Northerners are behind the times, the flared trousers were associated with the Scally or Perry Boy look, broadly termed Casual (see figure 11 for a visual reference of Casuals. For elaboration of the Perry Boy and Scally looks, see sections 3.3.5 and 4.3). Daly's observations concur with Polhemus (1994) who states that this look came from the football terraces, calling it "Northern Rave" and positioning it within the Casual movement. This involved both Liverpool and Manchester-based football clubs. The Casual movement itself derived from the Northern Soul music scene of the 1970s, evolving when 1980s football fans of the north west of England, in particular Liverpool Football Club, travelled to Europe to watch their teams and returned with European sportswear brands. The wearing of flares at football matches identified by Daly as early as 1981 or '82 is a clear example of individuals communicating allegiance to a group, which in this case can also indicate a geographically based arena; a Manchester-based football club. As football sociologist Russell writes, the allegiance to local football teams has provided a "symbolic citizenship" (1999: 19), renewing the sense of belonging to a certain

place since the late nineteenth century as towns and cities grew too big to be knowable to their inhabitants. The look's beginnings on the football terraces was also recognised by Phil Saxe, who owned a market stall selling jeans at the time:

PS - ...Now you've got to remember in the early '80s, Northern fashion, I think was very Liverpool influenced. It was all those trainers... very very tight light blue jeans or stretch jeans, you know – that was the thing. Everything was very very Liverpool and you know the Liverpool/Manchester enmity football wise and all the rest of it. Errr... I just think it was the right time for a particular Mancunian thing to happen.

Figure 11. 1980s Casuals hanging out. A still from the film documentary *Casuals* (2012)



Directed by Mick Kelly.

When Saxe mentions the rivalry between the two cities' football teams and their fans, together with it being “the right time for a particular Mancunian thing to happen”, he is suggesting that flares arose in contradistinction to the tight jeans look of Merseyside, establishing a look that subverted the dominance of the Merseyside Casuals and was firmly rooted in Manchester's local dialect.

4.2.2. Mancunian Distinctions

Within his interview, Daly makes no distinction between the two major Manchester football teams whose grounds he would have been attending to watch Tottenham Hotspur (Manchester City and Manchester United). However Saxe, who was working in Manchester at the time and is a fan of Manchester United Football Club was able to distinguish between the two clubs and the style of flares worn. When questioned on who first bought flares Saxe identifies them as Salfordians rather than Mancunians;⁵¹

SA - So it was definitely all Salford?

PS - It was all Salford. Erm... It was all Swinton and Salford and Worsley and all that sort of thing. And you'd wear them very long, dragging on the floor.... Erm.... Trainers or there used to be these Clarks trainers that used to be all one colour you used to get from the Underground market, from a friend called Simon, Si, on the Underground market. I was on the Arndale Centre market but the underground market on the other side of Market Street, this guy worked in a shop there and used to get seconds of these Clarks shoes... So anyway, it was a fashion but it was very, very Mancunian. Nowhere else in the country wore flares so much so that it was very associated with football in the early days, and I always think - not that my views are coloured because I'm a United fan but there was a definite distinction between the City fans and United fans - fashion wise. Remember this is before the music.

SA - Yeah

PS - Erm... Very quickly all the... - and when you think about it it's Salford innit? United?

SA - Yeah

PS - The first lot of flares that came out, everybody would wear really exaggerated twenty five inches stuff right? But the Salford kids soon started narrowing that down

⁵¹ Salford and Manchester are neighbouring cities. Manchester United Football Club is located in Salford, Manchester City Football Club in Manchester. See figure 12 for a map indicating the proximity of the two cities in relation to the metropolitan districts of Greater Manchester.

to what they would call semi flares. Eighteen inch, twenty inch maximum right? So that's what – in a word – in the first flurry you go a bit berserk and then a couple of months later it's all honed down a bit, got to look smart, people would spend hours trying on jeans to make sure they looked good, you know what I mean, all this sort of stuff. And eighteen to twenty inch. But City fans carried on wearing twenty five inch bottom flares...

SA – Right

PS – And so City fans got known for wearing the widest flares but they looked knob heads basically. [Laughs]

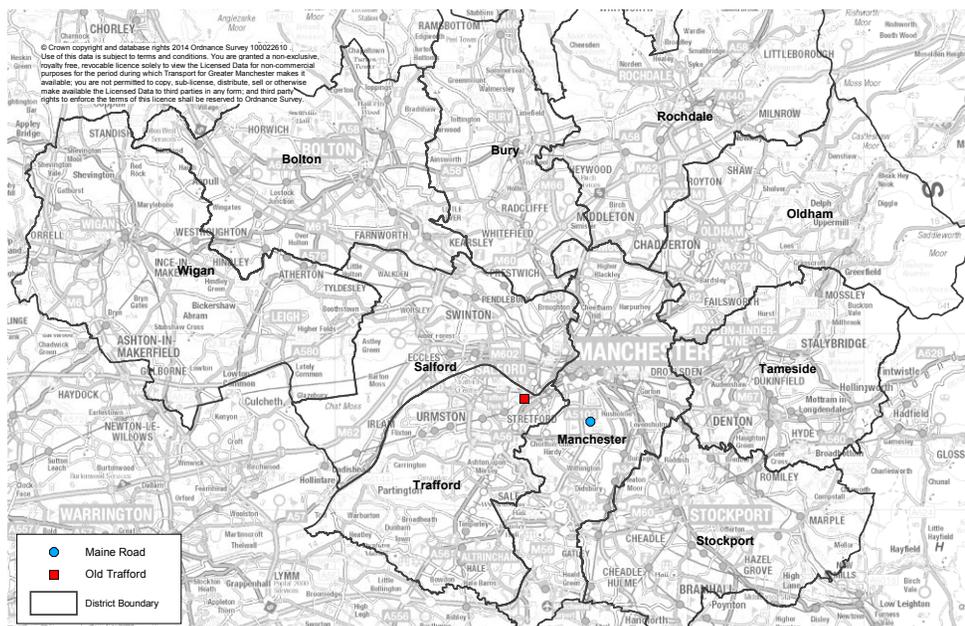


Figure 12: Map showing the locations of Manchester City and Manchester United Football Clubs. Transport for Greater Manchester. (2015), Annotated by Atkin, D. (2015)

Saxe's views are coloured by his football allegiances, hence his condemnation of the wider flares associated with Manchester City fans. However, what is important here is that the fans of the rival Manchester teams distinguished themselves through their dress. In football, cultural identities are established through rivalry and opposition with the purest rivalries being intra-civic rivalries (Giulianotti, 1999). Wearing flares demonstrated the wearers' allegiance to Manchester as opposed to other cities, which may be another manifestation of the "regional style wars"

(Redhead, 1997: 35) of the Casual movement that was displayed through particular sportswear labels and luxury brands. But the width of the flares provided a subtlety identifiable to the fans that signalled local allegiance expressing their specific spatial cultural identity and advancing their cultural capital.⁵²

4.2.3. Positive Mancunian Localism

Within his interview, Daly identifies 1981 and 1982 as the time he first spotted Mancunian football fans wearing flares. This pre-dates the Rave movement and Madchester⁵³ by three or four years. Saxe also confirms that the wearing of flares began before the music scene. As the Manchester music scene evolved the Mancunian look developed, with Manchester-based labels using their locality as a means of inspiration and promotion. When questioned on how she sourced the labels she sold in her Manchester boutique Wear it Out, Ursula Darrigan pointed to her strategy for only selling local brands:

UD – I think they approached me. Because I didn't go to any of the shows because I was only interested in selling to the local people really.

SA – Was there any reason behind that?

UD – It just seemed more interesting and it's quite easy as well.

SA – It wasn't a conscious decision that you made?

UD – Yeah, I think it was, yeah.

⁵² In his chapter *associating with Football: Social Identity in England 1863 – 1998* in *Football Cultures and Identities*, Russell (1999) writes that football fans from the north of England had a greater need than those in the dominant south for the cultural capital that supporting a football team offered. The view that sport contributes to the process of distinction and the acquisition of cultural capital has its roots in the work of Bourdieu (1990) (Jarvie, 2006).

⁵³ As identified in the literature review and contextual exposition, there is much debate about when the Madchester period began. Haslam believes that it may have begun with the use of the recreational drug Ecstasy becoming more frequent in nightclubs around 1985, although he also suggests that it may be 1987 with the first play of The Stone Roses' *Elephant Stone* (actual release date October 1988).

As a location central to the purchasing of garments and accessories during the period that the Rave movement took place, Darrigan made a conscious decision to sell only local labels at Wear it Out. While Darrigan stated this was in part because of the ease of brands coming to her rather than having to seek them out or attend trade shows, this will have contributed to the success of the boutique through concentration on localised trends and looks, heightening the 'local buzz' (as identified by Wenting et al, 2010: 1337) and thus a local dialect through particular brands and styles. Darrigan also stated that she found selling local labels more interesting, which while somewhat vague, entails ideas of distinctiveness and pleasure taken in being different. This notion is shared by photographer Ian Tilton as part of an analysis of a scene he photographed at the Hacienda nightclub (see figure 13) the success of the London based BOY clothing label and Mancunian responses to it:

IT – ...So.... This one is interesting because you've got this BOY fashion, which was like a London label and that was still fairly big over there, but we were really aware of that, so a company called Gio Goi set up and there was another company called Massive that set up who was to do with – was owned by Leo Stanley. Now, Leo Stanley was Identity in Affleck's Palace who did the famous t-shirt, "On the Sixth Day, God Created Manchester". So, you know, traditionally, Manchester has got a massive rag trade hasn't it, but because it's Manchester and Manchester has got this can do and let's keep this separate from London, a rebellion against other places, in particular London, said, "right, we'll do it for ourselves". And I remember going to Gio Goi's first ever fashion show, not show, but erm where they sell their wares down in Earl's Court, which was a whole mis-matched [mish-mash] of stuff, some of it really good, some of it really bad but they were there all on rails and they had a presence. And then Gio Goi just went and made millions. And did really well for themselves because they carved out a name for themselves to do with Manchester. And they were genuine to themselves, you know, they gave of themselves, they gave who they were because they knew that was interesting.

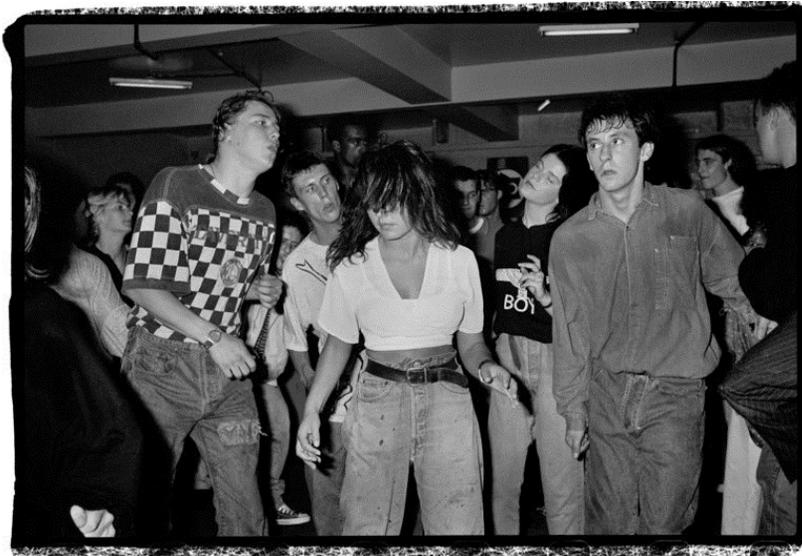


Figure 13. Tilton, I. (1990) Dancing at The Hacienda nightclub

Tilton explained within his interview that the association of Gio Goi with Manchester contributed to its distinctiveness. Stanley also saw association with Manchester rather than London as important and it was the stimulus for designing the Manchester-centred t-shirts for his brand and store Identity:

LS - But what happened, where the irony of it is me and Tina, who worked for me, we were at *Hot* night⁵⁴ maybe, or one of the first Rave nights that they had on, I'd done the Acid [LSD], I come out, and I was sat on this curb outside, across the road from The Hacienda like that, and we were both sat there, tripping like fucking mad and at the time I was buzzing [elated] because I'd just done a deal with Jazzy B to do all his Soul II Soul⁵⁵ stuff up here, and it was like, let's have it. But everything had London on it. And Tina said, "you know what, we should do something for the north or Manchester", and I went, "you know what, you're right about that". And it wasn't like, you know what, we're going to have a go at everybody else, it was just about being proud of our city. Not like, where're you from, where're you at. It was just like, "I heart Manchester".

While the associations with and the sense of pride in Manchester are very obvious in Stanley's t-shirts, as with Gio Goi there is a sense of the genuine to Stanley's

⁵⁴ *Hot*, the Ibiza themed club night at The Hacienda that ran from July to December 1988.

⁵⁵ A London soul group with their own clothing line

approach. This might be called “local authenticity”. As Tilton explains, together with the entrepreneurial, do-it-themselves approach, part of this authenticity is also about differentiating themselves from other places, in particular London, similarly acknowledged as a crucial factor by Saxe;

PS - And I was always very aware of what made Manchester distinctive from somewhere else

SA - What would you say that was?

PS - Well, I don't know - It was never anything big usually. Its usually something very very minor but I think what tends to happen with regional fashion is that - the first thing is a temporal thing, you're always a bit later, so the first Mods were in London and you're probably talking '62, '63. It didn't really filter into Manchester probably a year, two years later but by the time I was a Mod 1966-7 I suppose it was a bit old hat in London but peculiar – and I don't know if it was North West or Manchester but there were particular ways of wearing things. [...] they're very big vents. Right. Manchester Mods did that and there was a way of walking where you'd walk with your hands in your pocket with your – showing how big the vent was – at the back of your pocket – *[stands up to demonstrate hand in back pocket]* at the back of your jacket and that vent - in fact that needs sewing up – that vent was part of that thing. I don't think that that was ever part of London. [...] People mythologise what happened but big vents were the thing. I remember that. Erm... I remember the fact that I think we all wore turn ups on our trousers so you see *[points to hem of trouser]* turn-ups. I think that was a Manchester-y thing. And probably imported from Glasgow – a lot of Glaswegians moved to Manchester in the '60s – was carrying a steel comb in your top pocket. Unfortunately the handle would be sharpened so it was basically a weapon. Erm.... That was distinctive. That was a Manchester thing then – very much Twisted Wheel. But I think the way we were dressed, like sometimes it was with jeans and a jeans jacket, a checked button down shirt, a steel comb and short hair – we probably looked like skinheads.

SA - Right

PS - In fact I always remember in the 1970s someone shouting from the bus "Suedehead" and I was "what the hell's that? Suedehead?" But in London they would have been skinheads, but in Manchester they were Mods if you know what I mean?

SA – Yeah

PS - That there was that displacement. So that's one factor thinking about it. But I think that regionalism. It's not just temporal, that you're a little bit behind, it's that you always do something a little bit different.

Although Saxe uses Mod as an example due to his personal involvement in the movement, his findings illustrate the nuances of local fashion that Daly also saw as a regional differentiation, rather than a matter of being out of date:

SA - ...Did you see it at the time as like a positive thing? I mean obviously it is quite interesting that you have come from London because I'm hearing all about this stuff about a positive Northern identity and working classness.

LD - You've touched on a really good point there, that was something that was never kind of...the North wasn't valued in any way by the South, it was always seen as being backward and catching up. Coming from such a fashion kind of background that was a big dip. Something I'd not got, but I was getting something. You've touched on something there, a Southerner was supposed to be the most fashionable and the most cosmopolitan and whatever, I saw something with much more depth and prudence in what was going on up here at that time. I was impressed by it. [...] That's why everyone else bought into it as well because there was an authenticity, there was something authentic about, not because it came from people up North, it was real, there was artifice in the way I described,⁵⁶ but only in the way that you get when people hanging about with each other and have a common interest. Yes there was an authenticity that has been lacking in any London movement, and I feel confident to say that. You can't say that, but I can say that. There was nothing like that in London. Maybe since the Mods, but I don't

⁵⁶ Previously in the interview Daly describes a facade of swagger displayed, see section 4.3.3.

know, I'm not a Mod. Maybe London was going for Mods, but there wasn't anything as authentic. It was a very Northern thing.

Upon his move to Manchester, Daly became more integrated in the scene and recognised the sense of place as part of the authenticity of the movement and look. As with Saxe, Daly refers to the Mod movement, partly as a comparison where the act of hanging out, the venues, people, music and drugs all contribute to the inspiration behind a look, something that is exemplified in Stanley's interview where he cited the combination of insight into a London-based brand and a night out at the Hacienda as the starting point for his t-shirt brand.

4.2.4. Findings

Particular garments and labels were sold and worn during the period that communicated a sense of locale and underpinned the sense of "symbolic citizenship" that Russell identified within allegiance to local football teams (1999: 19). Both Daly and Saxe saw this at football matches through the fans' clothing. Originating on the football terraces, the basis of men's fashion drew upon the spatial loyalties and competitive atmosphere of sport and its associated masculine tradition of team colours or uniform in creating localised looks on both a regional and individual team level. For example, the local look of wearing flares pre-dates the Manchester movement - a local dialect of Casual - moving away from the established Casual look of sharp dressing, wearing expensive designer labels. Daly and Saxe saw this as how Manchester football fans demonstrated their civic allegiance to football fans from other clubs. Saxe also elaborated on how the same fans showed allegiance to their individual teams more subtly through the width of flare. Wearing distinctive clothing generated a sense of pride in the courage to be different, which also led to a flaunting of that difference. The flaunting identified here is defined as Swagger in the literature review (sections 3.4.2. and 3.4.3.) and is also elaborated upon in section 4.3.3.

Flares were also a Mancunian reaction against the tight jeans that were part of the look that originated on Liverpool Football Club's terraces. This reaction against "the other" was an important stimulus for local looks, especially where there was an easily identifiable feature to react against. Another example of this is London's fashion leadership; Labels like Gio Goi and Identity's t-shirts were established as a response to London-based brands and local brands were exclusively featured in *Wear it Out*, catering to the local looks and the sense of interest they generated. Darrigan and Tilton mark these distinctions out as being of particular interest. Pride in locality, and defiance in difference led to a sense of "local authenticity" in the local fashion looks, labels and stores.

Comparisons to the Mod movement are made within the evidence by Daly and Saxe; indicating that social and cultural atmosphere all contribute to the inspiration behind a look, as indicated by Stanley when describing the inspiration of his t-shirt designs. Mancunian heritage and its associations, in particular its music and night club venues and football terraces, acted as both a means of inspiration and a distinguishing factor, heightening the "local buzz" of the time and contributing to the cultural capital of those partaking of the scene and its distinguishing look. As discovered, this is underpinned by working class heritage and identity, in particular, that of the working class male which is investigated further in the following section.

4.3. The Working Class Male

4.3.1. Working Class Identity

This section acknowledges the importance of men, in particular white working class men, in shaping the Manchester music scene and hence, their impact on the associated fashions. The male interviewees in this thesis self-identified as working class. As Alison Slater (2011) remarked in her PhD theses on working class women in the North-West of England, the term working class is both ambiguous

and complex. This is particularly so for the time frame of this research.⁵⁷ However, Roberts' definition of working class in his study of class in contemporary Britain (2011) clarifies the expression in terms of relations in work and social arenas and shows insight into the appeal of associating with or claiming to belong to it.⁵⁸ Despite changes including the decline of skilled manual (mainly males') jobs and trade unions, traditional working class identity has been kept alive in the present by remaining rooted in the past (Roberts and Loveday, 2014). This section notes the influence of the preservation of traditional working class identities on male fashions. Football, despite many women playing and watching the sport, is seen by academics as a predominantly working class male preserve,⁵⁹ acting as a locus for the projection of male identity.⁶⁰ Russell (1999: 17) explains:

“Many of the emotions and attitudes expressed within football accord closely to a cluster of characteristics often considered to represent ‘true masculinity’ (Holt 1989: 8). There can be no doubt, for example, that celebration of physical strength, loyalty to ‘mates’ and to a specific territory have long been a feature of football culture” (Russell 1999: 17).

⁵⁷ The 1980s saw the de-industrialisation of Britain with the loss of traditional working class occupations in steelworks, mines and factories under the Conservative Government (1979 to 1997). This led to an increase in unemployment in some sectors, while others have become more highly skilled and better paid. Those in paid employment who lived in Council Housing benefitted from the Right to Buy scheme of the 1980s as they were able to purchase their home, traditionally a middle class characteristic. There was also an increase in self-employment, supported by Government schemes.

⁵⁸ According to Roberts, the British working class originated in the 19th century when mass migration from the countryside to cities occurred in a quest to escape rural poverty and find employment in the factories and associated industries during the industrial revolution. With the exception of the textile industry, the workforces were mainly male with it consisting of arduous and at times dangerous labour. A culture of working class comradeship originated in the interdependence of the workers necessary to ensure safety in the workplace. This over spilled into out of work life as workers lived side by side, close to their places of employment, frequenting working men's clubs, pubs and football grounds, to varying degrees became the foundations for working men's leisure while the home and neighbourhood, with an equally strong but different sense of community, was the domain of women (Roberts, 2011). This traditional pattern of women at home and men either going to work or “hanging out” in their out of work time reflects the academic discourse on subcultures where it is focussed on the mainly white, working class male hanging out.

⁵⁹ Armstrong and Giulianotti (eds), (1999); Brown (ed) (1998); Crabbe and Brown, (2004); Fishwick, (1989); Giulianotti, (1999); Jarvine, (2006); Redhead, (1990, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2004); Wagg (ed), (2004).

⁶⁰ Robson, (2000) in Crabbe and Brown, (2004).

Football culture is woven within the foundations of Northern England's post-industrial identity, its cities allied with strong football fanbases, such as Liverpool and Manchester. Football culture, class identity and dress are seen here to be intimately interwoven.

4.3.2. "Scallydelia" and "Baldricks"

In the review of literature on subculture, the focus on white, working class male youth was criticised, and the paucity of literature on women's involvement in the Northern music scene was highlighted. Giving more space here to working class men may seem to counter this critique. However, the coverage of the music scene that identifies that working class men were at the forefront cannot be ignored. Champion, writing at the time, succinctly described the prevalence of men: "Manc pop is male pop" (1990: 3). This was also highlighted by Bayliss and Knight owner, Alison Knight when questioned on the links between the designs she produced and the music scene:

SA – Did you see a parallel between what you were doing and the Madchester scene?

AK – erm... Not entirely, I mean, obviously, we were making clothes for that music scene and we were making clothes for that [...] I don't know if women's fashion was ever that big in Manchester, I mean, the men's fashion always seemed to be a certain way, but the women's fashion... I don't know....

"Scallydelia", the term used by Champion to characterise the dominance of men on the scene combines the psychedelic references found in the music with the term "Scally" used to describe the Northern Casual tribe found on the football terraces. "Scally" has also been adopted to describe a relaxed style worn by working class male youth. An example of this usage is photographer Wilkinson's differentiation

between the style of the bands Stone Roses and The Happy Mondays when asked if the style of the bands' dress was influential on the overall look of the scene;

AJW – But influential, I think it's a weird one... There was no one at the forefront of it really, 'cos they all had slightly different.... 'cos the 'Mondays had that Scally look didn't they, I mean, and then the 'Roses had another look...

The term "Scally" used in this way to describe a casual, working class style is not a negative one, and was even celebrated in a fashion article "*Scally Culture*" (see figure 14) published in Manchester's *City Life*.⁶¹ This is in sharp contrast to the London-based *i-D* magazine's coining of the name "Baldricks" to describe the Manchester-based initiators of a specific look comprised of flares and loose tops. At the time of the Baldricks reference (there are two features that refer to "*Baldricks*"; October 1987 and April 1988, see figures 15 and 16), the BBC television sitcom *Blackadder*⁶² was popular, in which Baldrick, Blackadder's hapless servant was played by Sir Tony Robinson. The character was part of the underclass, dirty and dressed in shabby clothing as seen in an official promotion photograph (see figure 17). There is a stark contrast between Blackadder's Regency style embroidered silks and the dirty, scraggy attire of Baldrick, complete with gormless facial expression.

⁶¹ *City Life* was a weekly Manchester news, arts and listings magazine that was published between December 1983 and December 2005. Before its sale to Guardian Media Group in 1989, it had a strong radical edge to its features. Throughout its publication, the magazine had a reputation for cohesive coverage in Manchester's arts and culture. Andy Spinoza, one of the interviewees for this thesis was one of the originators of the magazine and its Editor from 1983 to 1988.

⁶² *Blackadder* ran for four series from 1983 to 1989.

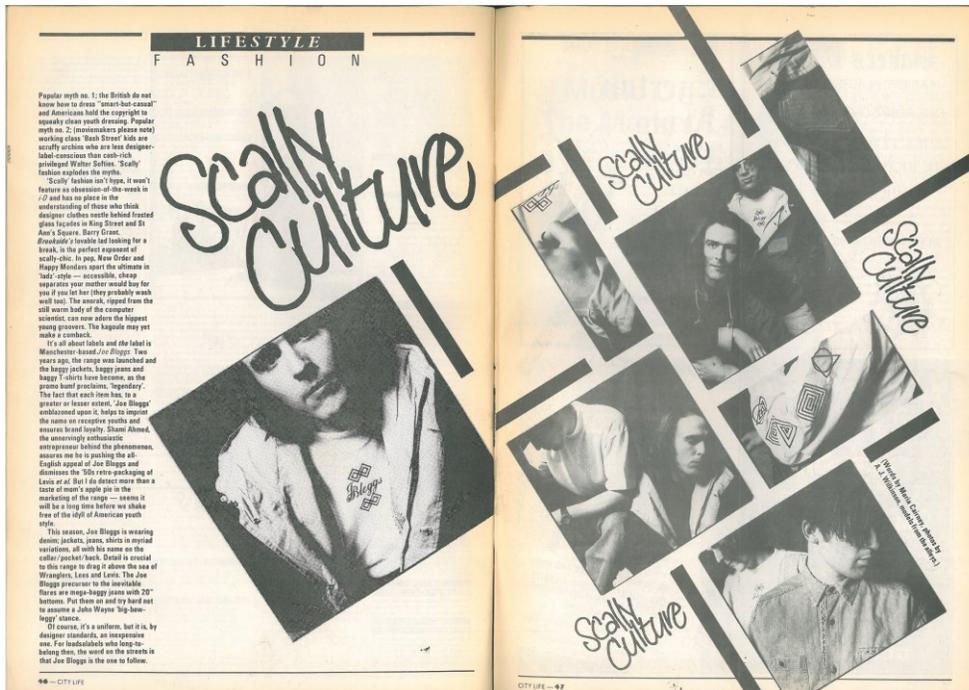


Figure 14. Cairney, M. (1989). Scally Culture fashion article taken from Manchester listings magazine City Life, edition 120, 22/3/1989 – 6/4/1989. pp 46 – 47. Photographs by AJ Wilkinson.



Figure 15. McGurran, A. (1987) Hey Hey we're the "Baldricks" article taken from i-D, October 1987. pp 21 – 22. (Photographer unknown).



Figure 16. Godfrey, G. (1988). The “Baldrick”s! article taken from i-D, April 1988. pp 78 – 79. Photograph by Ian Tilton.



Figure 17. BBC (1987) Official photograph for *Blackadder the Third* taken from the BBC’s official website.

While the interviews undertaken offer sketchy versions of the reason behind the somewhat informally arranged *i-D* photoshoot,⁶³ it is clear that in Manchester there was a negative reaction to the use of the term “Baldricks” by the magazine. Phil Saxe, is credited by Hacienda DJ Mike Pickering (cited in Robb 2009) with creating the look and cognomen, although Saxe himself distances himself from the term with some disdain:

SA – Right. Because you’re credited for sort of creating this “Baldrick” look....

PS – Yeah, but who called it “Baldrick”? Some....

SA – I don’t know, I mean.....

PS -Someone in London or who doesn’t understand it all.

SA – Because I’d never heard of it until I started reading up on stuff...

PS – Yes, but it’s that mythology business again. I mean, certain things about it. As far as.... people... The gatekeepers of society, like the record labels, the press, the radio – media – picking up on what was happening in Manchester [...] What happened, the Mondays... A shambolic sort of band, wearing these flares, errr, they’d wear flowery, paisley type shirts and big baggy jumpers. They had little wispy beards or goaties and stuff. And, yeah, “Baldrick” was on TV. Right? And, you know, “Baldrick”’s quite errr... errrr.... A damning term from a middle class commentator...

SA – Well, yes...

PS – Absolutely. “Baldrick” suggests a dirty.... And all this sort of stuff... Ermmm... Living in the gutter. It was very very casual sort of.... look. But, you know.... everybody’s... It’s not... I think it’s a bit of an insult really...

⁶³ Lee Daly, part of the group of men wearing the look and a subject of the photoshoot only recalls other members of the group calling on him at his home and asking if he would like to join them as they were about to have their photographs taken for *i-D* magazine.

With the benefit of hindsight Saxe, now an academic, has been able to reflect on this term that was picked up by sociologists who themselves discovered it documented in *i-D* magazine. The sociologists assumed that it was an accepted term when in fact, it was never used by the wearers themselves. Saxe sees this as part of the mythology of the time,⁶⁴ a pejorative term associating the working classness of the initiators of the look (subjects of the photoshoot) with a comedic underclass model. This feeling was equally espoused by Daly, who in his interview exhibited a personal bitterness towards the cognomen (understandably, as he was in the photographs⁶⁵);

SA - So going back to this photo shoot. Where did that Baldrick come from?

LD - That was something that none of us liked. My understanding it was an imposition of *i-D*, being London based you have to have some kind of handle on it. Because Alan had a pageboy cut and I had long shaggy mess of a hippy kind of hair, it was “Baldrick” from *Blackadder* that was all we knew.

SA - Did that come from you guys?

LD - No we were really pissed off about it. Who had this come from. I'm sure that Howard Jones had something to do with it [...]

SA - Did he manage the Haçienda?

LD - Yes he managed the Haçienda originally and he had the Roses for a short time and then he managed my band and signing us to Silvertone on lies and pretence. Then he went back to Stoke where he belongs.

SA - It is quite an interesting name really?

⁶⁴ Saxe alludes to the mythology of the movement throughout his interview (see Appendix 1.2), believing that as time has passed certain facts have been omitted, displaced and re-shaped, both collectively and individually as it makes sense of the past from the perspective of the present. This perspective is in-line with the work of Samuel and Thompson (ed.s) as history “pivots on the *active* relationship between past and present, subjective and objective, poetic and political” (1990: 5).

⁶⁵ Daly is on the far right of the photograph in figure 16.

LD - No I think the fact that it was comedic it's like it was the antithesis to the cool that we perceived ourselves as. I never heard it challenged, even when we were together. I don't ever remember it being subject material, someone having photo taken and saying "What's all this "Baldrick" thing about". I don't remember ever discussing that with anyone, but I know I felt a personal insult, he's a joke character on Blackadder. We all liked Blackadder because Rowan Atkinson [co-creator and star of Blackadder] was funny then; Blackadder was funny then, but as a theme to be associated with well who was going to challenge it.

SA - Did you talk to each other about it?

LD - No I don't ever remember it being discussed, I don't remember anybody voicing any concerns about it. Thinking about it now, I'm wondering if it was to stop it being in papers, because that was the first time that we had been acknowledged culturally. I do remember at the time feeling as I said to you before really kind of proud because "look London you can leave London and look where I am now". It was a first up here, its one thing to be giving the smooch to them in London

How the name "Baldrick" came to be used to describe the subjects of the *i-D* photoshoot and the movement is unclear. Daly surmises that the Haçienda and Stone Roses manager at the time, Howard Jones, may have had an input and he is also credited with this by Tilton, although this cannot be confirmed and in his absence, perhaps Jones is being used as a scapegoat. Tilton also suggests that the group themselves had an input:

SA – Did the Baldricks name come from them or was that something from i-D?

IT – Yeah, yeah – it was a joke. It's a joke because they were just having fun with it. i-D magazine got wind that some lads in the Haçienda were wearing horrible flares so i-D being, like, innovative, and wanting a story on it said, "oh, well, is this true?". They phoned up Howard Jones who used to be the original manager of the Haçienda and the first manager of the Stone Roses, and Howard said, "yeah, yeah, it's true, they've been wearing them for months. You need to catch up with this." And Howard being a great publicist said, "Lads, we need a name because we need to make it easy for i-D and the press, we need to give it a name, just make it really

simple for them like all great press". So, they just called themselves the "Baldricks", which was an absolute joke because they're naming themselves after the scummiest, goofiest, most incompetent member of the popular comedy at the time. So it was just completely a joke. And it was like, well, *i-D* are buying into it, even if they don't believe it, it's a great story and so it's gone down in myth but really it was a complete joke. They were a tribe, but they weren't a tribe because there was a really dry sense of humour to it all. It was brilliant, they were just having fun. And then after that ermm.. you know, how many people around the world started wearing flares?

While Tilton sees the term as a joke, it is clear from Saxe and Daly that they perceived it as an insult; a name given with negative connotations relating to class bestowed (by those not directly involved and who did not understand the movement) as a means to belittle. It is little wonder that the October 1987 feature in *i-D*, a small article in the magazine's BPM section, offers a disdainful view of those involved in the movement, with journalist McGurran relating the eclecticism of their taste in music and clothing to the apparent inner confusion of the Baldricks themselves. A class and North / South divide is apparent when McGurran describes their employment as "a variety of typical youthful Northern working class occupations – dee-jaying, getting a band together or petty crime" (McGurran, 1987: 22). Daly even suggests that it was used as a means to bring under control the expansion of a cultural phenomena happening outside London. This is in contrast to the term "Scally" which is used to describe a style and attitude by Mancunians themselves, in interviews for this thesis and in local discourse at the time. While both have working class connotations, "Baldrick" is negative, relating to a shambolic underclass whereas "Scally" has links to Northerness and football, a traditionally working class sport and one that is celebrated in the region: part of a valued working class identity, in particular as the value of the working class began to be diminished by the de-industrialisation of the country by the Conservative government of the 1980s (Loveday, 2014) (see also section 4.4).

4.3.3. Working Class Swagger

Despite feeling insulted by the name “Baldricks”, Daly highlights the fact that the group of men from the photoshoot, who were friends, never spoke about it, suggesting a kind of bravado that was intrinsic to being part of the group. This is something that is alluded to when Daly describes the shoot itself and the group’s behaviour towards photographer Ian Tilton:

LD – [...] I remember the photo shoot clearly, we thought we were the coolest thing in the world. We were kind of mean spirited and I felt that at the time. I felt like I was playing along and that was what I was supposed to be. Ian was just sweetness and loveliness itself and even when I walked out of there I remember feeling like we had just acted like dicks round this bloke's house, what's going on there?

Daly’s description of their behaviour reflects the arrogance displayed by the group. While Tilton does not mention this, he does refer to their dry sense of humour (seen in Tilton’s quotation above), which when combined with Daly’s interview, suggests the individuals in the group projected a front, that is, a persona with a sense of pride, confidence and ego that is summarised here as “swagger”. Tilton also observed their self-confidence in wearing flares and differentiating themselves from others:

SA – So where did the flares come from though? You’ve just said they decided to wear them [...]

IT – Because it’s a statement of.... errrr.... One, you like the clothes, it’s another statement that we’re different, it’s another one, it takes courage doesn’t it? When the whole world is wearing something else, and you’re going to wear something and people are going to go, “they look shit”, but then it takes ultra confidence to go, “no, they don’t and they look great because...”. and then you’re persuading people because they’re doubting their own sheepishness, their own sheep-like ness and going, “oh yeah, you’re right, they are good, I used to enjoy wearing them”, and then, “oh, yeah, get yourselves some flares”. And suddenly, they’re persuading you, so they’re pointing out that some people are sheep and some people are the

leaders. And the fashion leaders in this case were the “Baldricks”. These regular Manchester lads. But that gang mentality has been in Manchester for centuries. The Scuttlers are test to that,⁶⁶ the way they wear a big belt, a big fuck off buckle, the way that you’d wear your hat differentiated you from, you know, your gang in Spinningfields, not Spinningfields, that’s a new one, what’s the name of the place just going up towards Prestwich, from say, the ones that are from Ancoats. It might be a similar hat but one of them wears it like that [tilts his own hat] and one of them wears it like that [tilts it the other way]. Everybody wore it but it’s just it’s our gang as opposed to yours. But everybody visiting Manchester would just be like, “oh, they just wear flat caps”, Nah, there’s a difference, a big difference about unity with who you’re associated with, just for them, they were like, “eh, this is us against the world. And better than that, I think people are going to wear our stuff”. You know, and it’s a great game as well, and it’s fun.

SA – And there’s a certain confidence that comes with that...

IT – Massive confidence.

SA – Would you say that it was [Steve] Cressa that initiated it?

IT – Yeah. Absolutely it was. Yeah. So there was Cressa, Little Martin who was one of the DJs at the Haçienda, who’s now living in America; Al Smith, who was a well-known roadie, a very quiet, modest man and Lee Daly as well, and Lee went into different bands as well. So they were all associated with youth culture and they were different characters and some of them are very modest men. But they have this rock of confidence inside them and they’re leaders.

Tilton continued within the interview to mention a similar self-belief in Phil Saxe, selling baggy legged jeans from his market stall:

⁶⁶ Scuttling gangs, known as Scuttlers were territorial fighting gangs based in working class areas Manchester and Salford in the late 19th century. (Scuttlers were also in Bradford, also an important textile manufacturing centre in the 19th Century, and possibly elsewhere in the North.) Scuttlers wore distinctive clothing: brass-tipped pointed clogs, silk scarves in colours or patterns that indicated their gang allegiance, and bell-bottomed trousers. Their hair was cut short at the back and sides but they wore their fringes long, over the forehead and across the left eye and wore a cap with the peak to the side to highlight the fringe. (Davis, 2008)

IT – [...] And then after that ermm.. you know, how many people around the world started wearing flares? But we mustn't forget about Phil Saxe as well because the Baggies weren't to do with the "Baldricks", the baggy trousers were to do with Phil Saxe, who was the original Happy Mondays manager. And Phil used to sell a market stall selling clothes, selling jeans on the Arndale Market, Underground Market. And he tried to sell me a pair of these baggy jeans, and they were really wide and heavy and they were thick denim that I didn't like and it just felt really uncomfortable and I didn't like it. And they were the first things that he came out with and he said you can have these for something like ten quid but people will be buying these for twice, three times as much in a bit. And it's that arrogance - "how the hell can you say that Phil?", "No, they will, believe me". And in his self-belief, he made others believe. So he then sold these hundreds, of this stock, hundreds of rejects, and he made them popular. So with the hipsters, and the flares and the baggies that Phil started off dictated the way the world wore their clothes at the time and straight legs went out.

Tilton's viewpoint is somewhat romanticised, notably the comparison to the Scuttlers, but he points to how a sense of belonging giving rise to self belief and confidence that was behind how young Mancunians behaved and dressed. Yet, as Daly admitted, when discussing how they hung out, there was a fine balance to be struck with ensuring that there would be approval within the male dominated group.

LD – [...] We were always at one another's places, it was all about music and all about smoking, smoking draw, about going off in the tunes. We were self aware, that much was true, we knew that what we wore, how we put ourselves across, there was an unspoken code, we wouldn't wear something that you felt someone else wouldn't approve of. For me that was the first time I felt comfortable and mystique, because all the club clothes were kind around an affectation. Flares were an affectation, it was a hard strike to take, it was a punk rock statement. It was more in your face than anything else, flares were out there at that time. Fashion was discussed, but not discussed but there was all these, there was an unspoken culture and you knew what not to say and what not to do. You didn't want to risk it in front of others, and it was a very lad-based thing, you left the girlfriends at home and it was very much a lad's thing [...]

Daly's interview highlights the balance sought between feeling comfortable and fitting in within the group and also being self aware: how to dress and project where there was an "unspoken culture" of what to say and do. This was both for the group themselves and to those outside the group. Daly's claim that fashion was discussed yet at the same time was not may appear contradictory but should be read as an attempt to describe the mainly implicit interactions around fashion. This statement, supported by others within the interview, indicates how vital it was to the group in terms of their identity and dynamics. One example of how important clothes were to the group was indicated when Daly was asked about where he got his clothes from;

SA - Was it [Carl Twigg] a second hand shop then?⁶⁷

LD - Carl Twigg wasn't, it was all about seconds and all designers stuff. Upstairs was where they sold all the first hand stuff, but downstairs was clear out. If you had the money you would buy stuff there. There was jumble sales and stuff. You felt quite comfortable wearing Lacrosse polo shirts. Sue who was with Steve at the time worked for a company called Hand who were based out in Macclesfield, Stockport and they started producing really early baggy stuff, it was like jersey material, long short sleeves, they were cut very generously around the hood, before anyone wore hoods, this was before anyone wore hoodies. What came out of Hand, Sue would bring stuff home and we'd be round there, trying to see what we could get. We swapped clothes as well, no-one realises that. It was like, because we were all complementary and also critical of each other's clothing and if you expressed a liking of someone else's thing like a coat, you would get a loan of it for the week. More so the stuff you had laid money out for, not like stuff from charity shop and go on sewing machine. There was a kind of clothes loan culture which no-one knows about, except for you now.

Despite the claim that the females associated with the members of the group were in the background and the group was male dominated, it is clear that there was some female involvement, in particular Sue, Steve Cressa's partner who was

⁶⁷ Carl Twigg was an independent clothing store in Manchester at the time.

involved in the fashion industry. Daly's account of her bringing garments home and that the others would be around to the house suggests an eagerness to see and try the garments on. The clothes swapping is enlightening, showing the importance of offering and receiving each other's opinion and respect as well as a shared sense of taste, which ultimately strengthened the group's visual appearance to outsiders, highlighting their unity. Daly also offers insight into how he, and the group presented themselves;

LD – [...] It was about going up to these places and seeing how it was - just showing off, that's what it was. Once I got into the Manchester fashion, you were too cool to promenade even though that's exactly what you were doing, by the way you walked, the way you moved. It was all studied and practiced even though it was an unspoken thing. It weren't the organic cool that people want to believe. The Roses aren't all naturally cool geezers they were just being performers.

The bravado of the group shines through in this quotation, where they perceived themselves to be too cool to promenade and yet did so, moving and walking in a practiced manner that presented themselves with a confidence and swagger. The fact that this was practiced, yet unspoken again suggests a sense of pride where to discuss a consciousness of self presentation would be to show a break in the persona of cool and highlight unwantedly the fine balance between a desire to stand out and be different and also the lack of cool when showing effort to do so.

Along with the pride displayed by the group of friends that comes with the sense of belonging to a gang, there was also an underlying pride in being working class that stemmed from the politics of the time. Photographers AJ Wilkinson and Terry Kane testify to this when discussing the videos shown at the Hacienda nightclub which supported particular left-wing political movements, such as the miners' strike of the 1980s:

TK – Something for me visually, I remember during the miners' strike, a video on at the Hacienda and it was just cuts of music and the mounted police just going in and battering the miners. And it was mixed and like, kept going... erm... but far more crudely that you could do anything like today. And I was like "Oh wow, I've not seen

anything like this before”, it was really amazing and you were really buzzing to see something like that.

SA – You’ve referenced the miners a couple of times, do you think the politics of that had an impact on what was going on?

TK – For me, I think I began to move away from certain friends and began to think of different political ideas, although not realising it at the time, that that’s what politics was but sort of gravitating.....

AJW – For me it was the same, coming from Altrincham there was a lot of affluent areas. And for me, I was a porter in a hospital in Sale so I was on the front line of a lot of stuff.....

TK – When?

AJW – about ’85 to ’87....

TK – you must know..... [Discussion of mutual friend / acquaintance] He was a chef there at that time and he left to go to university. And again it was at that time, he left to go to university. He got involved in the politics of things and he’s now a social worker but became involved in the whole social movement... That whole anti-Thatcher thing.

AJW – Oh definitely, that had a big influence that.

SA – A big influence on you two and your friends but would you say a big influence generally? And what we’re talking about here, the youth scene?

AJW – Yeah, yeah. Because you’ve got to, like, think... and I know lads that used to go to the clubs even, towards Harpurhey and there was a little club in Crumpsall. [...] I think there was definitely a class thing. Differences weren’t there, I feel. Because a majority of the videos being shown were all very anti-Thatcher, like he was saying, a lot of police riot stuff.

SA – So in terms of them being shown at the Haçienda, and you saying that there was a sense of unity going on, would you say that there was a unity of the working class?

AJW – Well, I think so...

SA – Would you say there was a pride in it?

TK – Prior to that, you fought against it. You didn't want to be working class, you didn't want to be from a council estate. But then with Thatcher in the early '80s and the miners' strike, yeah, it was us and them. You know, I can stand up and make something of my life. I don't have to work in a factory....

The allegiance shown by The Haçienda to the striking miners is indicative of an anti-Thatcherite political stance that engendered solidarity. The visual manner in which the content was presented mixed with contemporary music was a form of propaganda that appealed to the clientele. As Kane mentions, he wasn't aware that it was what he was doing, but he began to move into new social circles that had these political leanings and also became aware of new opportunities. There was a sense of unity, perhaps based in the use of the drug Ecstasy (Wilkinson mentions clubbing and drug taking alongside the influence of politics on youth culture), but also in a political allegiance and ultimately a newfound pride in being from a working class background. This aligns with Bourdieu's theories of habitus and field (social space) that both our past and ongoing conditions shape us in terms of aspirations and expectations (Maton, 2008).⁶⁸ Kane relates that despite a new consciousness of his working class background, he felt he did not have to work in a

⁶⁸ Maton (2008) establishes that *habitus* evolved throughout Bourdieu's work. Maton cites Grenfell (2004) who establishes that the notion of habitus occurs in Bourdieu's early work on Béarn farmers to describe their habits and physical actions (Bourdieu 1962). Habitus is more formally defined in *Reproduction in Education, society and Culture* (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977 [first published in French in 1970]), *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977, first published in French in 1972) and *The Logic of Practice* (1990, first published in French in 1980), with it becoming more integrated within a broader theoretical framework in his writings.

factory and it is worth noting from a sociological stance that Kane and Wilkinson, at the time sales assistant and hospital porter respectively, are both now art school trained photographers and educators.

4.3.4. Male Predominance

As Daly stated (see section 4.3.3), his group of friends was male dominated with female partners in the background, not quite part of the group or involved in the discussions and partaking in the drugs, music or fashion;

LD - You didn't want to risk it in front of others, and it was a very lad based thing, you left the girlfriends at home and it was very much a lad's thing. Girlfriends weren't expected to conform, because my girlfriend was kind of punky. Sue [Steve Cressa's girlfriend] was quite more fashion aligned to us. John's [John Squire, guitarist in The Stone Roses] missus Ellen at the time wasn't. They were normal kind of girls. It was very laddy, but the girls were always kind of there, but not as part of ...

SA - Did they hang out with you?

LD – No, not when we hung out together.

SA - What when you went out?

LD - Yes, if we went to see the [Stone] Roses. Steve would go with his missus, until Steve started getting on stage with the Roses. The first time Steve got on stage with the Roses was on that Tony Wilson programme, *Other Side of Midnight*.⁶⁹ Girlfriends weren't really involved as such, it wasn't like you stay at home, I was a doley hanging about the bands, she would be doing something else, and I would just go off to see a mate and come back stoned.

⁶⁹ *The Other Side of Midnight* was a weekly regional culture programme produced by Granada Television during 1989.

SA - So you don't think it was a conscious thing?

LD - Because I had come from the club scene, come from a kind of political, it is kind of crude to say it, feminism in the early to mid 1980's became a very easy tool in the hands of lecherous dealers because all you had to do was espouse certain feminist views and you would get in the trousers of the Indie girls and it was used in that kind of light. I remember going round to Steve's house and there something in the way he spoke to Sue that I didn't like and I said something to him afterwards and he took the piss out of me for being kind of soft about it. I'm more kind of comfortable now and I thought I have got to adopt this and I did become a little bit, no I'll be honest here I did try to become more of Alpha in my relationship, but my missus was like 'what you doing you dick'. I remember watching a programme about lions, it was like women bringing up the cubs and the man came in and I made some comment saying yes that's how it should be and my missus said 'fuck off' and I said 'alright then'. It was never to the point of women hating, and it was more Steve than [the] other lads.

Daly shows that the gang he was part of was dominated by a sense of male-ness. He suggests that women were not expected to conform, in terms of dress and behaviour because they were not considered as part of the group, while the males were expected to conform to fit in because they were. Daly also infers that a form of male bravado was to be exhibited in the group, even leading to his trying to adopt a certain way of behaving towards women. Journalist Andy Spinoza and his partner Lynn Cunningham also recognised a male presence, in particular, a working class male presence that dominated at the Haçienda. Talking about an unpublished article he wrote about the club, Spinoza relates:

AS – [...] it was a bit of a kick against the whole lads' club feel of The Haçienda. A lot of the girls there were stoned out of their minds weren't they? The girls were very – they were very – there weren't a lot of strong women on that scene – it was very...

LC – Well it was very male, more lads...

AS – Yeah, well the working class from council estates and it was very gang-y, gangster-ish and it was intimidating.. So anyway, I wrote a piece about that City Life ran and I touched on when the clothes got baggier, yeah people... yeah, that was the drugs but then there wasn't really a parallel expansion of consciousness about the sexual politics, it was basically still a[n un-] reconstructed scene.

Spinoza and Cunningham's identification of working class male dominance appears to be a reflection of the women, characterised by Spinoza as not very strong, suggesting submissiveness in their position in the group and with their partners. This may also be reflected in their alleged behaviour in the club, described as stoned out of their minds. As identified by Spinoza, this group was working class and it could be speculated that they adhered to traditional working class gender roles. Daly indicated a facade of respect for women, paying lipservice to feminist values, used by men to gain the confidence of women. Spinoza also points to the atmosphere around these men being "gang-y" and "gangster-y", a reflection of the notion of groups of men hanging out, but also with a more sinister edge that both he and Cunningham acknowledged was present in certain parts of The Haçienda with an older crowd present in the background:

LC – Do you remember that bunch of old guys that used to sit in the corner at The Haçienda? [question directed at AS] Quality Street? [Salford gang]

AS – They were like the Donnellys⁷⁰ brothers, I mean their Dads weren't they?

LC – They just, kind of, looked so out of place. Yet you knew they were... scary people. You just, kind of, gave them a wide berth.

SA – So they just sat there?

⁷⁰ Brothers Anthony and Chris Donnelly own the clothing label Gio-Goi. Their family has links to the Quality Street Gang. Initially the entrepreneurial brothers organised illegal Raves and sold bootlegged band t-shirts outside concert venues, by the late 1980s the label was an international success with musicians and celebrities from The Happy Mondays to Sir Alex Ferguson wearing their brand; "In the space of three seasons, they went from being a £300,000-a-year operation to a £19m-a-year sensation. Vivienne Westwood proclaimed them 'ambassadors for a generation'" (Duerden, 2013).

LC – Yeah, they just sat in a corner

SA – It wasn't...

LC – It was downstairs, as you went in to the left there was a whole group of them wasn't there Andy?

AS – Well, it was called "E Corner"⁷¹ wasn't it?

LC – Yeah... There were guys in trackies [slang for tracksuit, or jogging bottoms]

SA – There's a photo by Ian Tilton of "E Corner" (See figure 13) and it's got Shaun Ryder and Bez [members of the band the Happy Mondays] in it and every one is just dancing.

AS – well, the dancing went on at the front but it was all behind...

The presence of older men, linked to gang culture as well as the Donnelly family, owners of the Manchester label Gio Goi, was felt at the Hacienda by Spinoza and Cunningham. The presence of this older male group reminds us of some working class pubs in which spaces are defined for mixed groups, for men only and for the black market.

Despite Daly's group, Spinoza and Cunningham's observations and the statements made by Champion and Knight at the beginning of this section citing the male predominance of the Manchester music and hence the fashion scene (page 118), a dominant male presence does not hold true in all aspects of the movement. Spinoza himself acknowledges in his interview: "You've got to remember it wasn't all council estates scallies". Also, this is apparent as Saxe testifies when discussing the scene he saw materialise at a Happy Mondays gig:

⁷¹ "E Corner", named after the drug Ecstasy, which suggests it was a location where the drug could be purchased.

PS – [...] A small club just off St. Anne's Square – I can't remember the name of it. But there was about... It only fit 95 people and every single person was one of these kids - girls and boys – it was brilliant. And you just felt like, "Wow. This is a complete little scene and no one else knows about it". The Mondays played and a band of hairdressers from the Hacienda called The Weaves, they played as well. But the Mondays were unbelievable, you know, it was just a great great gig. And very very distinctive [...]

Here, Saxe identifies that both males and females were involved in the emerging Manchester scene, as evidenced in The Happy Mondays gig where the audience comprised of "these kids", by which he means young people dressed like The Happy Mondays in flares, paisley shirts and baggy jumpers. Despite the lack of interest from the local media at the time, Saxe was aware of an emerging scene with a distinctive look, worn by both males and females. The distinctiveness was concentrated through the audience and band's shared socio economic experiences; for example, hanging out, unemployment, the use of recreational drugs and the influx of House dance music onto the music scene. This appears to be particularly pertinent for younger members of the movement, rather than those directly associated with the scene. Some of these differences will be investigated in the following section, Authenticity.

4.3.5. Findings

A newly found sense of pride in coming from a working class background was a commonality that emerged from the interviews of Daly, Saxe and Wilkinson, White and Kane. Reinforced by class-imbued football culture, it was manifested in belonging to a gang with a distinctive style. In this case, it was a unified way of portraying themselves through dressing in flares, with longer hair and a particular way of walking and posturing all tacitly contrived, and eliciting the self-confidence needed to carry it off. The confidence generated in playing the role is described here as swagger. The class-based pride was solidified by an anti-Thatcherist

political stance, catered to by clubs such as the Hacienda which ultimately brought together people from a wider variety of class backgrounds.

There was a predominance of men in the Manchester music scene, evidenced by Daly's interview describing the gang of friends self-identified as "Scally", although called "Baldricks" by *i-D* magazine. Exhibiting the conventional behaviour identified by Bennett (2001) and Frith and McRobbie (1978), these men showed an element of mistrust and indifference for women by largely ignoring their partners in their day to day social activities. These activities comprised of hanging out at each other's homes, where alongside taking recreational drugs, listening to and discussing music, there was a clear culture of clothing where members of the group talked about, experimented with, lent and swapped clothes. There was also a sexist attitude (actively resisted on some parts) to accompany the general attitude and swagger of the group. Spinoza and Cunningham, recognising not just the male predominance but also the submissiveness of women also identified the presence of a more sinister, gangster edge to the culture, drawing attention to the space called "E Corner" in the Hacienda nightclub. This suggests a background presence relating to buying and selling recreational drugs co-existing with ordinary entertainments but occupying distinctive spaces.

The male exclusivity appeared to fade as the bands around this movement became successful and performed live with partners attending. Saxe's interview also shows that the movement created by the bands and their friends grew as their audiences did and included both males and females. This broadly aligns with the findings of Redhead (1990), Thornton (1995), Malbon (1999) and Bennett (2001) on club cultures, where a shifting of gender relations on the dance floor away from a sexual meeting place to one that was more friendly and egalitarian was identified. While this research has not uncovered when this occurred, it sits in-line with a posited shift in attitude (see section 4.6.) where individuals from a variety of backgrounds came together and are amalgamated due to nightclubs' open door policies and an eclectic play list. The sharing of experiences, including those happening in the nightclubs of Manchester manifested itself in the scene producing

a distinctive, concentrated look (flared trousers and loose fitting tops) worn by both men and women.

The story of the “Baldricks” evidences a distinct North / South divide, possibly arising in class difference, and even, as Daly surmised, used to diminish the impact of the Northern movement on British youth culture. In contrast, the term “Scally” was adopted as a descriptor of dress and attitude, displaying defiant working class pride and incorporating references stemming from football culture, yet enabling individuals to maintain such a working class identity while moving away from its traditional socially circumscribed roles.

4.4. Authenticity

4.4.1. Authenticity: a Northern Distinction

An oppositional stance to the dominant culture is a key characteristic of subcultural movements. For Daly, a native Londoner who had been part of the club scene in the capital before moving to Manchester, his sense of the authenticity of his new social group in Manchester was the crucial distinction between what was happening there compared to London. The quest for authenticity is also reflected in the interviews of Phil Saxe, AJ Wilkinson, Leo Stanley and Andy Spinoza with Lynn Cunningham. The term *authenticity* is problematic: authors generally find it a contradictory term with a variety of meanings – a term that even resists definition.⁷² For example, when introducing the notion of authenticity, Jones, a professor of archaeology at the University of Manchester posits that there are two perspectives: materialist and constructivist, neither of which is fully explanatory of its practice or why it is so enthralling. The materialist approach defines authenticity with regard to tangible characteristics that can be identified and measured. The constructivist position sees authenticity as a product of cultural perceptions: as a quality that is culturally constructed, where authenticity varies according to who is observing and

⁷² Barker and Taylor, (2007); Golomb, (1995); Handler, (1986); Jenß, (2004); Jones, (2010) and Shumway, (2007).

the context. It is important therefore to form an adequate view of authenticity for the purpose of this chapter, in particular in relation to Daly's use of the term.

Much of the literature about authenticity and its heightened significance in contemporary Western societies take the seminal work of English literary critic Charles Trilling in *Sincerity and Authenticity*, (1972), as its starting point.⁷³ Increased social and geographical mobility meant that there was a growing moral concern with the importance of maintaining honest social relationships, in other words, a concern with sincerity (Jones, 2010). This concern led to the current concept of authenticity that is closely tied to Western notions of the individual - to do with our true self and individual existence, regardless of how we present ourselves to others (Handler, 1986). Anthropologist Handler suggests that in order to have collectivity (he writes about national collectivity but this could pertain to the collectivity of other groups), there must be "possession" (1986: 4) of an authentic culture:

"And an authentic culture is one original to its possessors, one which exists only with them: in other words, an independently existent entity, asserting itself (to borrow Cassirer's words [*The Philosophy of Enlightenment*, 1932]) against all other cultures" (Handler, 1986: 4)

We will see through this chapter that this is how authenticity felt for Daly and the other interviewees – whether as partakers or observers – in their creative interaction with cultural authenticity and their response to its evolution.

Handler suggests that our search for an authentic cultural experience is the search for the "unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched and traditional" (1986: 2). As such, it is something that is opposed to the mass produced and consumed cultural

⁷³ The book was based on a series of lectures delivered by Trilling as Charles Eliot Norton Professor at Harvard University in 1970, where the subject of the annual lectures are poetry in its broadest sense. The lectures examined a period of Western history during which Trilling posits that sincerity became the central aspect of moral life, which was later replaced in the more recent centuries by authenticity. According to Rodden (ed. 1999), the lectures took great lengths to define and explain the terms *sincerity* and *authenticity* though no clear, concise definition was made and Trilling considering the possibility that such terms are best not totally defined.

products of the mainstream. In terms of authentic lifestyles, authenticity runs counter to economic success, as Shumway (2007) observes in relation to authenticity of successful rock stars.⁷⁴ This means that mainstream culture is perceived as inauthentic, and by extension, conforming to the mainstream is seen as inconsistent with our true selves (Golomb, 1992). Thus, authentic lives are viewed as lived in opposition to the mainstream, not yielding to pressures to adopt the predominant cultural norms with regards to dress and behaviour (amongst other things). A sense of authenticity is fundamental to the ethos of subcultural communities, both in terms of objects and their origins, and the perceptions of the group.

When questioned about his social group having a positive Northern identity, Daly described its perspectives (see section 4.2.3). A (sub)cultural literate, Daly cited authenticity as what set it apart when recounting how empowered he felt as part of this group despite being a Londoner:

SA - Why do you think it was authentic then?

LD - I suppose it was because there was a realness to the way that people interacted with each other. Maybe because I had come from the club thing, and I had kind of cut my teeth there and where I had grown up that had been real, and there was nothing more real than violence. All I had known was a lot of violence. [...] Then coming to the Manchester thing - I can't say Madchester it makes me feel really uncomfortable - there was a kind of realness, it was like these are the people I would be hanging about with if I had not got into the club scene and stayed in London, except these aren't dickheads, they don't want to go out and fight everybody.

What emerges from Daly's statement is that there was a thoughtfulness to those within his new social circle, developed through the earnest communication of individuals with shared passions. These shared passions are important in the quest for authenticity. In her article on the appropriation of 1960s styles in contemporary

⁷⁴ Shumway references Bourdieu's [1992] definition of the field of art.

Germany, Jenß sees authenticity as referring to both new objects and themes and the recreation of objects and motifs from the past (2004: 387). This was also the case for Daly and the other interviewees, not only as clothing and music are appropriated (and re-appropriated), but also as the Madchester movement evolved, how objects and motifs from the past are again re-appropriated with slightly different meanings. This changing meaning was to raise issues of authenticity for some of the interviewees whose experiences and relationship with the movement varied significantly based on time and/or geographical differences.

4.4.2. Referencing 1960s and Psychedelia

Daly's move to Manchester into the social circles that formed the beginnings of the Madchester scene were a result of him visiting the city both as a football fan to away games, and to partake in the night club scene. When describing his burgeoning friendship with Steve Cressa, a main player in his circle of friends, he went into great detail about the shared taste in music, specifically the specialist knowledge of recreational drugs and of the formation of psychedelic rock music.

LD – [...] The friends I made and other friends through the love of drugs and music just ended up being the main people in that Manchester scene. So at the start I came from the club scene but before that I had been in the sixties psychedelic music [...] are you familiar with The Pebbles? [...] Pebbles albums are like compilations that these guys had put together of really obscure garage psychedelia and nobody had heard of it. You know it was like oh you knew about psychedelia because of the Beatles and stuff like this, but this was the music made by the people, just teenagers who were the first users of acid when LSD was freely available. Garage Punk went on to form the whole of the American psychedelic scene. That had been my background. Then coming up to Manchester, but this time I was dressed in cycle shorts and Mod clothes looking like a club dick from London, people around me were wearing flares. There was a weird crossover, because before I was a Mod Skinhead, then after skinhead I was a scooter boy [...] it came full circle when I came to Manchester I get friends with Steve Cressa. Me and Steve start hanging about together all the time and he said you've got to hear

my mate's band Stone Roses. He's the lead singer of The Stone Roses, I said to Steve I know this guy [...] Really was a small world. The sixties music when I got in with Steve, that was a common ground. But then me and him start talking and it was a mixture of fashions, there's him with his flared trousers on and there's me in my cycling shorts and my Jean Paul Gaultier, or whatever it was I was wearing at the time. But we just got on, got on really well and we discovered this mutual love of sixties psychedelia and acid, and this is what brought me into the Stone Roses at the time.

Despite their differences in dress, Daly and Cressa united over shared musical interests. Cressa's open-mindedness toward others and Daly's insight into a shared Mod aesthetic heritage of what he calls Scooter boys allowed a bond to form based on real connectedness. Daly was quickly able to see the wearing of flares as a cultural statement rather than dated fashion attire:

SA - So everyone was wearing flares?

LD - That's a good question. When I started coming up for football. I'm a Tottenham [Hotspurs] fan. We were more skinheads, but we noticed that some of these lads were wearing flared trousers, to us in London, that's what Northerners did anyway. Look at those Northerners still wearing sheepskins and flared trousers! Then I started realising that they were kind of like Scallies, what we call the Perry boy, Punk call it Casuals and I realised they were doing it on purpose. [...] I thought that's a statement, a guy wearing flares in 1981 and 1982 was daring. I remembered seeing them at football. [...] At the time we were at the Hacienda in 1986, Steve Cressa was the only man that wore flares in the whole of Manchester. Geoff Vollier dressed like a pirate. He was in[to] the Punk and kind of traditional stuff and worked with Jonny Marr [guitarist in The Smiths]. There was these kind of individuals but with a common love for garage psychedelic Punk and that's what Geoff and Steve was into. When I first mentioned it to Steve I said it was a cult statement and he said you are the first one to get it. I was full on he was a year older than me, he was my hero and that guy was so cool and I wanted to be like him. I went to a couple of jumble sales and charity shops and got every pair of flared trousers, went home on the sewing machine, they were crude but I couldn't get them anywhere else and so by that scurrilous move that's how I got into the

Manchester club scene and the Manchester music scene and everything else that went with it.

Daly's love of fashion and insight into Cressa's motives for dressing in flares fed his desire to dress this way, forming a connective tissue in dress as well as music and clubs. This was enabled by appropriating garments and tailoring them to his needs using his girlfriend's sewing machine:

LD – [...] What I wore. It was a needs must thing, I would go to charity shops and buy some grannies nylon M&S thing that had this fantastic pattern that nobody else would wear and get something else so I could make it cloaky. At the time you couldn't go anywhere to get something that looked like sixties representation, Mexican wedding shirt like Jim Morrison wore [see figure 18⁷⁵], things like that. I would try and knock up clothes that would emulate the clothes in the pictures, black and white pictures that would be of the the Byrds, [1960s American psychedelia band, see Figures 20 - 22] trying to copy that bit in the modern concept that it was then.



Figure 18. Webster, G. (1966) Jim Morrison in a “Mexican” wedding shirt. See footnote 74.

⁷⁵ The shirt in Figure 18 is Ukrainian with an embroidered trim, popular in the late 1960s, early 1970s. Daly's comment seems to refer to this style of shirt, if not the actual one in the image where braid has been applied to the cuffs and placket. It is a good example of something that could be emulated easily through adding a similar trim to a contemporary shirt, whether by hand or on the sewing machine.

We can see in Daly's actions his adoption of the Manchester dress "dialect", and his elaboration on it with his own sense of bricolage (see section 3.2.4). Conscious of a past inheritance of meaning, whether of flared trousers or psychedelic shirts, the bricoleur feels free to change or subvert this meaning by converting new combinations to new meanings. The appropriation of both original 1960s garments and those adapted in the spirit of psychedelia uses the past to create a feeling of sophistication and individuality (Jenß), to capture difference (Gregson and Crewe, 2003),⁷⁶ and bolster authenticity.

SA - So you were basically making a statement that you wanted to be different or was it referenced to the sixties psychedelia?

LD - With Steve it was. Phil Saxe sold the flares that the Scallywags used to wear out of the shop. He had a shop at the bottom of the old Arndale. Carl Twigg was near Quay Street. Steve first got his trousers from there. When I first spoke to Steve about it, everything was Hendrix [see figure 19]. He was a massive Jimi fan and I guess it was a culture reference as he was a mixed race lad. He was mad for Jimi and that was kind of like seen as mainstream. We were all into the garage psychedelic stuff, but Steve was true to his belief and he would ape Jimi, not in his regency dandy clothes, but in his mannerism. The Manchester scene, fashions, musicians at the time, it was all studied, it wasn't an innate upsurge or natural momentum, it was something that came from looking at pictures of The Byrds, bear in mind this was before the time of internet and before we had access to this kind of media. We had to go to library to find a picture of Byrds. You had to track down the book in the library.

⁷⁶ Human geographers Nicky Gregson and Louise Crewe argue that purchasers of second hand products are trying to capture 'difference' which is linked to "Bourdieuian markers of distinction and taste (Bourdieu, 1984)" (2003: 4).

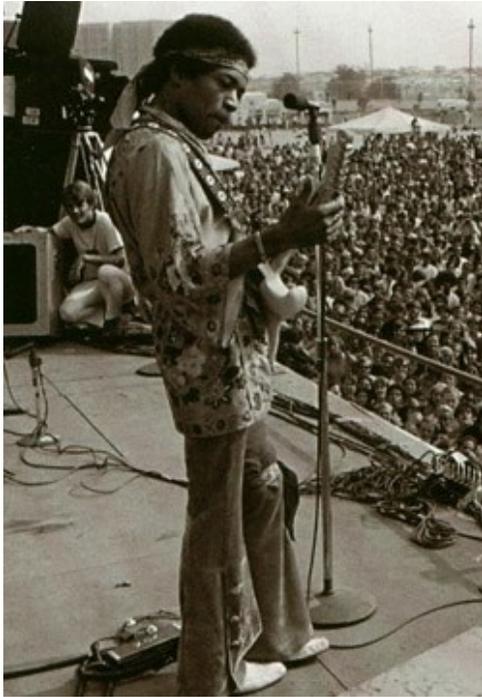


Figure 19. Jimi Hendrix at Newport Pop Festival, June 1969. Photograph by Mark James Powers.

This sense of a studied look might pose a contradiction of the sense of authenticity as untouched and genuine. But this homage to the original 1960s movement that held a resonance with Daly's group of friends, the relation of authenticity to a return to origins with authenticity is explored later in this thesis (see section 5.6). The studied sources demonstrate the depth of research undertaken by the group to gain knowledge, accessing not just the music, but insights into the clothes worn and the mannerisms of the musicians.

Distinguishing between those acts that were seen as mainstream and those who were more underground was important for Daly and his group of friends:

LD - [...] Something we were talking about the sixties bands as by way of influence before where I explained that Hendrix was seen as mainstream and the Byrds was seen as the more kind of cooler thing and the garage punk thing. That was really important, it was like the whole idea, we were aware of the culture as historically documented, but the counter culture, it was like the extension of the cool. There were certain sixties bands that weren't cool, but then the first Crosby, Stills and

Nash album, Buffalo Springfield, the first two Love albums [came out...] by playing the records and by taking the drugs. We perceived them as their coolness and we bought into it.

This distinction between mainstream and the “cooler”⁷⁷ counter culture was an essential benchmark for Daly and his friends’ selection of cultural references. This ties into the definition of authenticity whereby the mainstream, its economic success and popularity, is perceived as being opposed to authenticity by compromising sincerity (Barker and Taylor, 2007). However, it is worth noting that some of the aforementioned bands had significant commercial success at the time. Daly and his friends’ perception of “cool” was subjective and dependent on their ability to access the material. It is also worth noting that the psychedelic movement of the late 1960s fit with the friends’ outlook on recreational drugs (preferring LSD and cannabis over the amphetamines of Mod culture).

Daly was able to be specific in the source material of their cultural references, in addition to the recreational drugs and music:

LD - Again I have to reiterate, this was before the internet. So everything was something you had read. *Timeless Flight*⁷⁸ was a fantastic book, can't remember who wrote it, but it was about the Byrds [...] That was kind of like the Bible as there were lots of documentation in there with regards to clothes and personalities. The American West Coast experience and its relevance to the Manchester Scene, I don't know how well that's been documented, but I thought that relevant.

Timeless Flight (1981), the book that Daly describes as like the Bible suggests that it was seen by Daly and his friends as authoritative. Within it is a section of images to complement the text, examples of which can be seen in figures 20 to 22.

Comparing these to the *i-D* feature on the Baldricks, with its photograph of Daly and three of his friends (Figure 16), the essence of the Byrd's look can be seen in

⁷⁷ Daly's use of “cool” is the informal usage, meaning fashionably attractive or impressive (Oxford English Dictionary, 2015)

⁷⁸ Rogan, Johnny (1981) *Timeless Flight: The Definitive Biography of The Byrds*. Scorpion Publications.

the longer hair, denim, oversized jackets and flares. The relaxed poses of the four men also emulate the positions of the four band members in some of the book's photographs.



Figure 20. The Byrds, images found in *Timeless Flight*, source material for Daly and his friends of cultural and dress references. Photograph taken in early 1965, photographer unknown (insert n.p.).



Figure 21. The Byrds. Photograph taken in early 1973, at the reunion of the original quintet. Photographer unknown (insert n.p.).



Figure 22. The Byrds. Photograph taken in early 1966, photographer unknown (insert n.p.).

For Daly, emulating the look of 1960s musicians was key to the friends' pursuit of clothing:

LD – [...] it was always about emulation and what you could get here that looked like someone on a record cover or in a book. I remember there were lots of pictures of them wearing neatly styled jumbo cord jackets, but at the time in the late '80s the only jackets you could get were bat wing, so the only thing I could do was turn them inside out and sew it. In the interim there was no shops except Affleck's Palace.⁷⁹ Affleck's wasn't just a kids place; it was a place where you would find a bona fide suit. We knew this separated us from everyone else was they would buy a denim jacket that was bat winged, but we would buy a denim jacket that was fitted. Those details really mattered.

The sourcing of clothing from the 1960s was also significant for AJ Wilkinson:

AJW - [...] But they were finding that stuff [...]

SA – And you say it was found, do you mean in charity shops?

⁷⁹ An indoor market in central Manchester opened by James and Elaine Walsh in 1981, and quickly becoming a mecca for alternative culture where stalls sell alternative and second hand products.

AJW – Yeah, for me it was. You couldn't get that '60s stuff. The place I used to go to was a place in Leigh⁸⁰. And it was a guy who imported it from all over the States. And he used to get it for the dockers at Liverpool. And he used to buy bales of Levi's and we all used to pile over there. So you could easily buy '60s polo shirts and '60s trousers, pea coats and stuff like that that was like fitted and cool and whatever but still had something about it. It wasn't just the mainstream.

The importance of looking like one of the musicians Daly and his friends studied so closely was seen as an essential aspect of their social circle. It is also a look that Wilkinson cites as important. Within his interview, Daly reiterated the lengths he would go to in order to appropriate the look, through customisation of contemporary styles. He also highlighted the importance of sourcing "bona fide" clothing from Affleck's Palace, which distinguished the wearers of this authentic 1960s clothing from others. Wilkinson also raised the issue of sourcing the genuine 1960s clothing, citing special journeys to Leigh just to acquire garments. In addition to fit and aesthetics, Wilkinson described the 1960s garments as "having something" about them that made them so desirable compared to the inauthentic mainstream. For Daly and his group of friends wearing these original garments was more genuine and true to the essence of 1960s counter culture.

In addition to original 1960s clothing, Leo Stanley also reported a conscious imitation of 1960s models:

LS – [...]You know, the Sixth Day t-shirt summed it all up but then you had your Smiley⁸¹ and I used to reference a lot of my stuff from the '60s, 'cos, like, that's what the drugs were about, and I wondered what they used to do in the '60s and there was the Smiley face. But the best one I ever did, which was Tony Wilson's [owner of Factory Records] favourite, which I gave him one, and it was just like the

⁸⁰ Leigh is a town in Greater Manchester, roughly midway between Manchester and Liverpool.

⁸¹ The smiley face is the emoticon consisting of a yellow circle outlined in black with ovals for eyes and an upturned semi circle for a smiling mouth. It is said to have been created in 1963 by freelance artist Harvey Ball. Years following its use in 1960s mainstream culture, it was adopted by the Acid House movement to promote club nights at Shoom (London) on flyers. It soon became the emblem of the movement, featuring on record sleeves, t-shirts and badges.

Woodstock logo, the dove with the guitar and it just said “Woodstock ’69, Manchester ’89”. You know what I mean?

For Stanley, the smiley face emoticon and Woodstock logo served as emblems of the 1960s, which he compared to the 1980s because of the parallels in their culture relating to the drug culture and phenomenon of the movement itself:

LS – Yeah. Its where I got a lot of my influences from. You know, because of this movement of people and rebelling. The drug culture. It was so reminiscent of that time. [...] well, when you think about it, it’s no different than what you saw in the ‘60s, the movement of people, the drug creation, the dancing [...] But it was the modern take on it. The house music was the Psychedelica, or whatever it was at the time, you know.

Stanley cites the 1960s as inspiration, drawing similarities between the two movements. Rather than the direct emulation of Daly with his original 60s garments, Stanley made visual references to the decade in his use of emblems.

Spinoza also cites late 1960s characteristics in the Madchester look:

AS – Yeah. But I think, for me, one of the big, obvious things, fashion-wise, was... there was a move in a couple of years, a very simple thing for men, that men, even, you’d go to weddings and stuff would be wearing their shirts outside of their belts. [...] Before Madchester, yeah? [...] Now if you’re a man. If you’re a woman, but more for a man, ‘cos we haven’t got hips, you know, your trousers start to fall down. You’ve got to – you’re going one size down, or your trousers are one size too big. And you know, for years and years, you’d go to even quite straight ‘cos, you know, men would be wearing their shirts outside of their trousers. Maybe they did in hippy days, I don’t know, but that was all inspired by the Shaggy, the Shaggy cartoon⁸², sort of Happy Mondays kind of look. I remember, I think you might have been with me [addressing LC], there were little clubs in Manchester where we used to go. There was one down the side of Boots where - more or less where Pret a

⁸² Shaggy is a fictional character in the American animated television series *Scooby Doo*, created in 1969.

Manger is now and it was where the proto [inaudible word] would be and it was the first place where I saw all these goatee beards, err... baggy jeans, t-shirts with sandals, you know, talking about Ibiza. I'm sure it was eighty-... '88. What was that club called? It's on a little cul de sac, off Cross Street?

LC – Pierrot's?

AS – Brilliant. Pierrot's. Yeah.

Spinoza described an overall look, rather than specific garments which included facial hair, sandals and how men had begun to wear their shirts outside their trousers leading to a looser, more casual look. Spinoza and Cunningham also recall the 1960s “hippy” movement as a descriptor for the Madchester look for women:

LC – I always remember one of them, he had a really cool looking girlfriend. Ursula. Not Ursula Darrigan.

AS – Yeah..

LC – Long hair, very thin, kind of..

AS – More hippy-ish really.

LC – More hippy-ish, yeah..

The crochet garments of Baylis and Knight can be similarly regarded as taking inspiration from 1960s counterculture, reflecting the hippies penchant for wearing self-made clothing in defiance of corporate culture (ironically, the Baylis and Knight garments were made from mass-produced tablecloths sourced from a local wholesaler). Figures 23 and 24 show an official brand photoshoot featuring the crochet styles. The styles of these garments, a loose hooded jacket and shorts and mini shift dress do not evoke the styles of the hippy movement; the jacket and shorts are a more sportswear-inspired look and the shift dress reflects an earlier

point in the 1960s. These were all simple shapes to support the complexity of the fabric (which also suggests the desire to keep cool, see section 4.1). The fabric lent the garments a hand-crafted quality. The photoshoots also tellingly reference the late 1960s with styling of long pendant and beads for the dress and a kaleidoscopic-psychedelic background for the jacket and shorts.



Figure 23. Official brand photoshoot of Baylis and Knight's crochet range, hooded jacket and shorts.



Figure 24. Official brand photoshoot of Baylis and Knight's crochet range, dress.

For Daly, historical references also extended into the early 1970s:

LD - The thing that informed that The Roses, and again its come full circle because it came from Primal Scream⁸³ for they were playing that jangly stuff. All of the production in the early Stone Roses stuff is text book copied from the Three O'Clock⁸⁴ (see figure 25) who were basically an underground band and from Primal Scream (see figure 26). But the leather trousers didn't quite fit the bill, but they also went for the striped t-shirt, striped shirt thing and that was from the Beach Boys⁸⁵ (see figure 27 for the Beach Boys in stripes and figures 28 and 29 for the Stone Roses in stripes) because Ealing had a big love for Beach Boys albums *Surfs Up* [1971], and *Amsterdam* [Daly means *Holland*, 1973], but that's nothing you hear about as it would not have been cool to have liked the Beach Boys, but everybody did.

⁸³ Scottish alternative rock group who formed in 1982.

⁸⁴ American alternative rock group formed in 1981 and associated with the Los Angeles "Paisley Underground" scene.

⁸⁵ American band formed in 1961, associated with the West Coast surfing and the psychedelic movement.



Figure 25. Three O'Clock.



Figure 26. Primal Scream Sonic Flower Groove album cover (1989)



Figure 27 The Beach Boys in stripes.



Figure 28. The Stone Roses in stripes.



Figure 29. Tilton, I. (1989). The Stone Roses on the set of Granada's, *The Other Side of Midnight*. On 15 Jan 1989.

While the Beach Boys references are based in the 1970s, they are from early in the decade, still aligned with psychedelia. It is worthy of note that Daly recognises that it was deemed uncool to like the Beach Boys because of their commercial success, which we have seen is equated with reduced authenticity. We must also note that most of the bands that inspired Daly and his friends were American. This was reflected in the clothing acquired and worn – in a variety of themes and guises that extended into other cultural references, which will be addressed in the next section.

4.4.3. Americana

The impact of American culture extended into other cultural arenas that sat alongside the musical influences as AJ Wilkinson observed:

AJW – [...] that was sort of The Stone Roses' scene which sort of slightly was Acid House but was related to The Byrds and that re-emergence of hippies, sort of look, which... we all sort of got into. [...]

SA – Do you think that came from referencing the '60s and that hippy revival?

AJW – Yeah, you know... a little bit, surfing thing. Definitely, because a lot of the surfing stuff started to come in as well. You know, I can't think of the names but Quiksilver [founded 1969] probably, a lot of those little, surfer labels which are now quite big were there, or even Vans to a certain extent, you know, all that surfer, skater thing was a sort of subculture, was ermm.. sort of being introduced and coming to... I remember, because I used to work for, do some work for Big Banana [in Affleck's Palace] and he was one of the first people to start to bring in Carhartt⁸⁶ when it was workwear. So workwear was a big thing and everybody used to wear dungarees, dungarees were a big thing. And I used to wear Carhartt. And of course there was no internet then so you used to have to wait for someone to go to the States and get it for you, you couldn't get it. So I used to have to wait for someone to come back with bales of workwear which I was quite into Red Wings⁸⁷ and all that sort of thing....

SA – So when you say dungarees and workwear, what was the shape of it? Was it fitted?

AJW – No. They were baggy. They weren't like 1970s dungarees, they were like – sort of – you looked like you were in *The Waltons*⁸⁸ really. It was that sort of look, you know, check shirt thing and errr dungarees with er.... Not everyone did but a few people did, sort of, definitely that wider legged, and I remember I had a few pairs by Dickies,⁸⁹ Carhartt, American, I was really into Americana, it was a big thing for me, at that point.

Wilkinson's observations and also what he wore at the time refer to both the surfing scene, which may have derived from the influence of the Beach Boys' American

⁸⁶ Carhartt was established in 1889 in Detroit, Michigan, producing denim and cotton duck workwear. During the late 1980s, Carhartt goods found their way to Europe in small imports by independent companies. A distribution network for Europe was not formed until 1994.

⁸⁷ Red Wing was established in 1905 in Red Wing, Minnesota producing leather work boots, designed for industries such as mining, logging and farming, and for military use.

⁸⁸ American television series (aired 1972-1981, and continued by film sequels) set in rural Virginia between 1933 and 1946.

⁸⁹ Williamson-Dickie Manufacturing Company was established in Texas in 1922, making workwear and uniforms. In 1989 Dickies (UK) was formed. The brand became popular with skateboarders as well as several top music acts.

West Coast themes,⁹⁰ and the related skateboarding scene⁹¹ that became popular among male youth in 1960s America. He also observed the influence of American workwear labels, such as Carhartt and Dickies, together with Red Wing work boots. When describing the fit of the clothing, in particular the dungarees worn, Wilkinson describes the look akin to that of the characters in the television programme *The Waltons* (see figure 30), a nostalgic take on rural life in 1930s and 40s Virginia where the eponymous family owned a lumber mill. It is worth noting that the dungarees and checked shirts mentioned by Wilkinson have a loose fit, rather than the baggy fit popularly associated with the Madchester music scene. This suggests the baggy look has alternative origins discussed later in section 4.4.4.



Figure 30. The Waltons in dungarees.

Denim jeans are also traditional workwear garments, although since their origins they have been adopted by various groups, gaining not just an identity of American

⁹⁰ The Beach Boys formed in 1961 in Hawthorne, California, USA. Credited for the "California Sound" musical style, the band's early music featured distinct vocal harmonies and lyrics reflecting an idyllic Californian lifestyle of surfing, sunshine, cars, romance and youthful innocence.

⁹¹ While there is no confirmed origin of the skateboard, it is widely accepted that it was invented by surfers in California in the United States of America in the 1950s who desired to surf on the ground when the waves were flat. The first skateboards were wooden boxes or boards with roller skates attached to the bottom. Skateboarding became popular in the early 1960s and surfing manufacturers began to produce and sell skate boards commercially.

workwear but also of American counter culture.⁹² Hence, for the Manchester scene, the sense of authenticity lies not just in the original workwear but also in the links to American (sub)cultures. Wilkinson observed the importance of jeans, in particular a specific type of Levi 501s at the time:

AJW – I think for me it was different, I suppose – I remember 501's being a big thing, but original 501's with the red selvedge which were slightly wider on the leg than your standard 501's being quite important at that time. I remember seeing the Roses on one of those programmes which... can't remember who it was now, but it was on one of those late night programmes they were on and I remember Ian Tilton photographing them, which they used the photos for the cover of their album [photographed on the set of Granada's, *The Other Side of Midnight*, 15 Jan 1989] (See figure 29), and ermmm... and John Squire, I was knocking around with Matt Squire, his brother, we were all into looking for those jeans that were a slightly bit different than the very straight legged, horrible late '80s, where all the jeans seemed to be exported over to the Czech Republic, bleached, horrible, you know, that sort of look. Yeah, that look was looking for, sort of a nod to Americana, slightly '50s Americana coming through as well, which was quite interesting.

SA – This is something that you remember John Squire wearing?

AJW – Well I remember John Squire wearing those sort of original 501s, they were all looking for those original 501s shrink to fits... But, original shrink to fits, not the low cut that you could buy – you see you couldn't get – you had to really search for them, you had to get them from London, or wherever you could find them.

⁹² Denim has its origins in American workwear from the mid 19th Century during Californian gold rush. Levi Strauss opened a store on San Francisco and sold heavy duty canvas to cover wagons or make tents. The miners wanted sturdy trousers because of the rough work of gold mining. Strauss had the fabric made into "waist overalls". It is said that the canvas was too thick so Strauss replaced it with a cotton twill fabric. Number 501 was assigned in 1890 to a version with copper fly buttons, rivets, braces buttons, and back buckle; the latter features were dropped during wartime rationing, so what is now known as 501s came about in the 1940s. Initially, in the years following the Gold Rush, sales were confined to workwear - farmers, truckers, railroad workers and manual labourers. Because of this they had a youthful, masculine appeal that was embraced by U.S. college students in the 1940s as a form of rebelliousness, otherwise worn only "after school" and weekends. By the 1950s and 60s, post war youth groups and subcultures had embraced the style, popularised by James Dean in the film *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955).

The look of the original Levi 501 shrink to fit jeans was due to a specific cut with higher waist and straight leg, sought out by the members of the Stone Roses, who also appreciated its historical styling. Figure 29 shows the jeans worn by lead singer Ian Brown, wearing straight-legged jeans that appear almost flared at the bottom due to the straight leg of the jean and the shape of the leg. The jeans vary in colour/wash and it can be seen that two of the band members have turn ups, which is explained by Terry Kane below:

AJW – But 501's and slightly bigger 501's belted up was big.

SA – Men and women?

AJW – Men and women, yeah. Sade was doing that wasn't she? Big 501's. That were too big but they used to just be belted up. But lads were doing that with the polo neck.

TK – And they were so much harder to get then because there wasn't all the different leg lengths and such that you can buy now. You could get different waist sizes but...

The difficulty in acquiring these garments with American heritage, identified by both Kane and Wilkinson, was undoubtedly part of their appeal. Limited access to these styles is the opposite of the mass market, which is deemed inauthentic. As Kane mentions, sizes were limited. This includes leg lengths, so turn-ups would frequently be a feature (as with the Stone Roses in figure 29), but waist sizes would be limited too (imports to Britain were usually only even-sized waists). This led to the style of oversized jeans being worn belted, gathered at the waist. Women normally had to purchase a waist size two inches larger in order to achieve fit over the hips, so that could have contributed to the belted in look. Wilkinson cites this as being worn by men and women. Evidence of women wearing oversized menswear can also be seen in figures 31 and 32 found while perusing magazines during the interview with Andy Spinoza and Lynn Cunningham:

SA – There’s a photoshoot here [referring to photoshoot *Bar None* in MNE (Manchester North of England) fanzine, Issue 5] where the model is wearing menswear, the Levi 501 look and oversized shirts. Was that a look?

AS – Yes. Yes. That was massive

LC – That’s the look that I would have worn. [...]

SA – there seems to be a bit of an Americana influence...

LC – There was actually, yes.

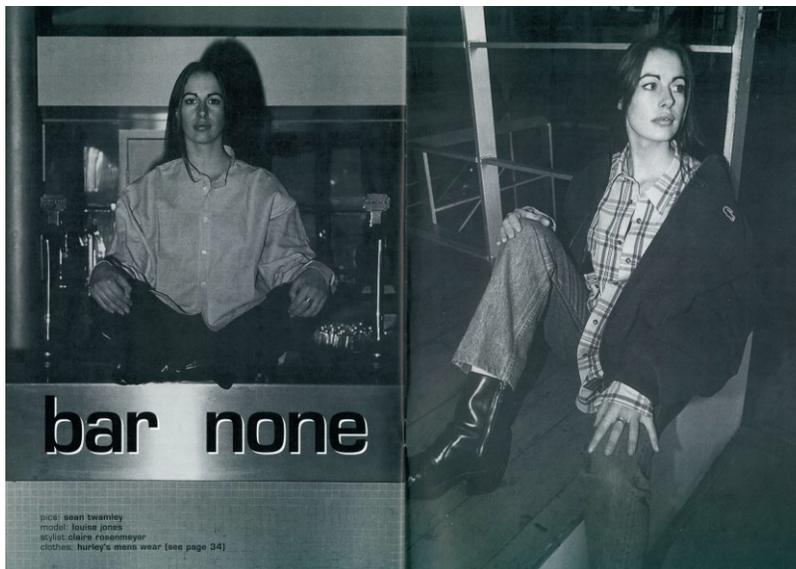


Figure 31. Bar none photoshoot showing oversized Americana-inspired menswear. MNE Issue 5. pp 28 – 29. Photographer: Sean Twamley, stylist: Claire Rosenmeyer.



Figure 32. Bar none photoshoot showing oversized Americana-inspired menswear. MNE Issue 5. pp 30 – 31.

While the jeans worn by the model appear to fit thus there being no need for gathering up and belting or turn ups, they have a loose appearance to the leg and the upper wear is all oversized, with the shirts in three of the photographs being styled to reflect their oversize. One has a billowing appearance through tucking into the jeans waistband. Two of the shirts have an Americana influence: one is checked, the other unbuttoned but tied at the waist and worn with a Western-styled jacket.

When considering their influences for dress during this time, both Kane and Wilkinson cite American film and television programmes as a source:

TK – The mid '80s. One thing that I would say influenced later on was Twin Peaks.⁹³ Because that's when the jeans went looser, the 501s, the checked shirts..... I remember buying a black leather biker jacket in '89 after watching Twin Peaks actually.

⁹³ American television serial drama by Mark Frost and David Lynch, aired 1990 -1991 and followed by a feature film in 1992. Twin Peaks is a fictional small logging town in Washington State.

AJW – Yeah, the influences were different. I think the influences came from.... for me, the same, from film, like all that dungarees thing, it came from film... Like with 501s, you'd find out information. Its different because there wasn't the internet so you'd find out about a little something that someone had worn and think, "oh, I like that", like Red Wings. I remember them coming over and it's only because of a certain film and someone wearing Red Wings, it could have been Deer Hunter [1978]. A semi-cool Di Niro wearing Red Wings. And you had to get someone to get them for you. So the influences were probably very subtle. I mean, the Stone Roses were very influenced by that late '60s, sort of, hippy, but not San Francisco, even Angels-looking. You know, semi flare, that's where the Angels thing comes in. You can look at Angels from that period and see that look. Slightly bearded, longer hair....

SA – Do you mean Hell's Angels?

AJW – Yeah. If you look at Irving Penn's pictures⁹⁴... They're cool looking dudes.

Again, Wilkinson has highlighted the difficulties in obtaining key pieces, having to wait for somebody to return from the United States with a pair of Red Wings, for example.

The references for Wilkinson and Kane can be interpreted as characteristically American. Wilkinson cites actor Robert Di Niro as his character hunts deer as a recreational pastime (deer hunting is a popular sport in the north-eastern United States). For Kane, inspiration came from the 1990s television series *Twin Peaks*, whose wardrobe features styles that are quintessentially Lynchonian,⁹⁵ referencing the local logging community in lumberjack shirts and jackets alongside classic Americana. The latter includes the American college tradition for varsity jackets and overlaid t-shirts (short sleeved over long sleeved), as well as the classic rebel look of leather biker jackets (see figures 33 – 35), all worn with Levi jeans.

⁹⁴ Penn's photographs were taken in 1967 and appeared in *Look* magazine, January 1968. See Figure 36 for an example of the photographs taken during this project.

⁹⁵ Film and television director David Lynch is renowned for a unique cinematic style with reoccurring themes. These themes include surrealism, violence or the criminal underbelly, industry and Americana, in particular reminiscent of the 1950s. These themes are reflected in the costumes worn in *Twin Peaks*.

Although it is unclear whether they are Levi 501s, the semi flare of the jeans in Penn's photographs (see figure 36 for an example) can be seen as Wilkinson recalled, together with the longer hair and facial hair.



Figure 33. Still from *Twin Peaks* showing lumberjack shirt over t-shirt and biker jacket.

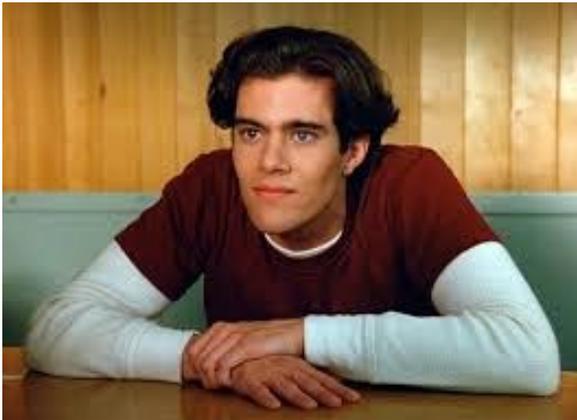


Figure 34. Still from *Twin Peaks* showing American college tradition for overlaid t-shirts.



Figure 35. Still from *Twin Peaks* showing American college tradition for varsity jackets and overlaid t-shirts, biker jackets and Levi jeans.



Figure 36. Irving Penn's Hell's Angels (1967).

4.4.4. Workwear

The previous section has seen that Americana was of significant influence during the Madchester period. An integral part of this theme was American workwear; brands such as Carhartt, Dickies and Red Wings, together with styles such as checked shirts, dungarees and Levi 501s. While not identified as of American origin, Lee Daly also acknowledged workwear as an integral part of his wardrobe, worn alongside the psychedelic-inspired garments:

SA - What sort of things were you wearing with the flares, what did you wear on top?

LD - It was a kind of overlap with workwear and Phil Saxe was kind of responsible for that. I remember I went and picked up this knitted thick cardigan jacket thing, which I would never have worn in a million years, but seeing it in his shop in context [context] with all the flares it seemed like the best thing in the world. I think

I've got it on in that picture that Ian [Tilton] took. [see figure 16] But I also had, because of being into psychedelia, the shirt I have got on in that picture is a kind of handmade one made by a girl who was on a fashion course at the time and she had made that for me, because she knew I was into that kind of thing.

The photograph shows Daly wearing the thick knitted jacket. It has a button front, collar and revers joined and rounded to present a kind of shawl collar, rounded shoulders and a slightly baggy shape, appearing to be tapered or gathered at the top of the hip. While it is unbuttoned in the photograph, it can be assumed from the style that it would billow up slightly at the waist when fastened. The photograph is in black and white and this may be why the characteristics of the jacket do not immediately strike the observer as workwear. However, Daly wore the garment with this interpretation from seeing it marketed in Gangway (Phil Saxe's market stall) as such. Wilkinson also refers to the steel toe capped footwear being worn. Again, the influence of workwear is prevalent:

AJW - So we all used to wear that sort of thing. I remember steel toe caps were in. People used to wear steel toe caps.

With Wilkinson's statement, we can see that he uses the terms "we all used to" and "people" to describe who wore the steel toe capped footwear. This seems to imply that both men and women wore them. This is supported by his observations and images that can be found in the Fashion in motion section of this thesis (see section 4.1). Wearing footwear with its roots in workwear would also have affected the style of dancing, contributing to the trance-like marching to House music through inflexible soles, hindering agile footwork.

Workwear, in particular American workwear could be questioned as authentic in these situations, as the wearers did not undertake heavy manual labour and therefore did not wear the garments and footwear for its original intentions. It is worth noting though that Manchester is a city whose heritage is steeped in industrialism and thus a working class culture in which workwear has an authentic aura. It also related to what musicians from the 1960s were wearing to perform.

Workwear was worn by men and women, involving footwear as well as trousers and upper garments.

4.4.5. Distinction Between Baggy and the Original Look.

A loose fitting, baggy silhouette has been identified in the literature as being synonymous with the Manchester music scene throughout the Madchester heyday. However, this was not initially the case; as the scene commenced, the look was one deriving from the 1960s, workwear and Americana. It is a distinction that Lee Daly was keen to make:

LD – [interview begins to be recorded. Daly had already begun to discuss the Manchester music scene, what people were wearing and what initially inspired it] [...] the Manchester music scene, fashion in late '60s that informed so much, that was the driving force behind it all. Even though it became baggy and what was considered to be like kind of dance orientated. I think that's what's got confused over the years. The stuff that ended up being the Madchester scene as such [...]

For Daly the distinction is apparent. It is the difference not just in the shape, but the references from which the clothing derives; for flares it is the 1960s and baggy the more dance orientated music scene. The influence of 1960s American psychedelia is something that AJ Wilkinson also cited as a main characteristic of the look he partook in while differentiating between the Acid House and Baggy scene that he was not part of:

AJW – Well, no... probably, there was a whole scene that was erm, that was sort of The Stone Roses' scene which sort of slightly was Acid House but was related to The Byrds and that re-emergence of hippies, sort of look, which... we all sort of got into. Because of that we all grew our hair and you know, started to wear bell bottomed pants, you know, all the baggy thing started to happen then... I didn't get into the long baggy tops stuff like that, you know...

It is important to identify these differences in terms of the silhouette, in particular the trousers where the distinction is most apparent. AJ Wilkinson is very specific

when talking about the shape of the flares being worn, describing it as a more semi-flare and referencing a Levi's style:

AJW - And then, the semi flare thing was in as well...

SA – Right. So what do you mean by semi flare?

AJW – Semi flared being slightly.... they were.... they were... I can't remember... 5-0.... 505s⁹⁶ maybe or something like that... But the originals... 1968 semi flare which was fitted on the thigh and then kicked out. It wasn't – it's not like a proper '70s flare where it's very bloomy if you know what I mean, it's really big, it wasn't like that because I remember that from then. It wasn't like that, it was more fitted [...] it was like a boot cut, [...] it was a proper boot cut jean which was more fitted here (points to thigh) and then went from the knee out type of thing but not big.

Phil Saxe also distinguished between the two styles as he sold them on his market stall in the Arndale shopping centre in central Manchester:

PS –After flares came the Baggies. Baggie. Which were the same people but they, they weren't flares, they were baggies. I've not mentioned them have I?

SA – No

PS – You know, like baggy jeans, so sixteen inch bottoms but baggy....

SA – Baggy all the way down?

PS – Yeah.

SA – Okay. And you just got them in the same way?

PS – Yeah, exactly the same way. Ermmm..... In fact, that's where you made the money really because as soon as you're having to pay £12 a pair from Wrangler

⁹⁶ Levi 505s were the classic straight leg fit. The full flared model was the 684, but the semi-flare was probably a different number.

there's no money in it anymore, everyone's competing on the same basis. When you can buy all the old stock for a couple of quid and sell it for ten quid, then you're doing alright.

SA – In the terms of Baggy, was it just a case of you seeing that flares were less available?

PS – No. People had started asking for it.

SA – And you've said that they wore shirts rather....

PS – In fact, if I think about it, baggies became the thing when Wrangler started making flares. So it's always the case innit? As soon as something becomes mainstream, you look for something different. And that was probably, I don't know, err... Another year, we got out of it.

Saxe referred to his customers requesting a baggier shape, with sixteen inch wide legs. Testifying that this baggier silhouette became popular after flares, Saxe declared that they were requested by the same individuals who wore flares. He suggests that they moved onto this silhouette in opposition to flares as the latter became more popular, in a sense more mainstream, and as such began to feel inauthentic. However, it must be acknowledged that Saxe was an entrepreneur and as flares became more difficult to obtain cheaply enough at wholesale, it was in his interest to sell a new silhouette that was easier to obtain. Saxe's statement is also belied by Wilkinson who differentiated between the two styles in his quote above. While flares were sold by Saxe before the baggier jeans, they also coexisted, being sold and worn at the same time with different meanings for the wearer. This had been mentioned previously by Saxe (section 4.4.2) when describing that Manchester City and United fans wore flares of different widths. It is also a difference that Daly is keen to distinguish, citing the new silhouette as becoming more mainstream ("selling out" and "generic"), therefore lacking authenticity as the reason why he did not partake in it:

SA - Do you think there is a difference between the flares and baggy things – is there a distinction?

LD - Absolutely yes.

SA - What do you think that distinction is?

LD - For me personally it was like I did flares and I didn't do baggy. By the time people became baggy and that was all the Eighth Day Madchester⁹⁷ kind of period it had sold out as far as I was concerned and as far as a lot of people were concerned and it had become generic and every student who came to Manchester was baggy, everywhere you went it was the same tunes that you heard all the time.

Daly was keen to say the movement sold out as it evolved, referencing Leo Stanley's *And on the Sixth Day God Created MANchester* t-shirts as a case in point. It is worth noting that "selling out" is also used to condemn musicians that accept capitalist success, and as a result lose their "authenticity" (Barker and Taylor, 2007; Shumway, 2007). There is no doubt that the entrepreneurial Stanley took advantage of the market situation for commercial gain, but there were larger businesses profiting from the upsurge in popularity of the movement, such as the wholesaler The Legendary Joe Bloggs, who Daly cites as the originator of the baggy look:

SA - Where did this baggy thing come from?

LD - I thought it came from, what's that Joe Bloggs company. I know the Mondays got sponsored from Joe Bloggs, that's exactly what happened, Joe Bloggs sponsored the Mondays. I went down with AJ [Wilkinson] and AJ did a photo shoot for Joe Bloggs and they wanted us to model for them, and we went and did the fashion shoot but they wouldn't let us keep any of the clothes which seemed quite good at the time. After that Joe Bloggs seemed to go boom in Manchester.

⁹⁷ This is a reference to Identity's t-shirts printed with "*And on the Sixth Day God Created MANchester*"

Using Daly's group as models and sponsoring the Happy Mondays were assured ways of associating with the movement. Daly also claims that the garments he wore at the photoshoot seemed "quite good", so it can be assumed that they were designed in-line with his style. However, the "at the time" of Daly's statement also suggests that the quality did not last, possibly because the brand moved on into a baggier style with bolder graphics (see figure 37) that led to gimmicky-wide trousers and also massive popularity and sales for the brand. The models wearing baggy long sleeved t-shirts and jeans in figure 37, one jokingly measuring the width of the trouser hem of the other against a wall of brightly coloured posters, one wearing sunglasses suggesting a bright, psychedelic world, is a far cry from Tilton's photographs in *i-D* (figure 16). Here, the models are in more pensive poses, showing their flares in inserted shots on the page but more as a statement than gimmick.



Figure 37. Joe Bloggs baggy long sleeved t-shirts and jeans.

The disdain for those "selling out" is a sentiment echoed by Saxe:

PS – And you got some horrible aspects of it. Joe Bloggs, for instance, you know what I mean, you'd be so embarrassed to admit you wore Joe Bloggs jeans at any time. Erm.... And a lot of people jumped on the bandwagon.

Saxe, himself a market trader who benefitted from responding to the popularity of the movement, holds disdain for those who fed on the popularity of the movement in such a way that it became mainstream. Striving to be commercially successful, cashing in on the popularity of the movement, and contributing to its mutation is seen as negative as it perverts the authenticity of the niche looks that held a (sub)cultural meaning and were initially difficult to acquire.

For Daly the rise in the movement's popularity lacked resonance with his orientation. As far as he was concerned, it led to a more generic look and sounds that lacked the depth and specialist knowledge of its origins. The lack of cultural referencing is also something Daly infers when describing how he saw the spread of the look on his occasional visits to London:

LD – [...] But when I went back to London on the occasional visit everyone down there was kind of this curtain-haired and baggy. Alan Smith was the first guy, he had that hair when I first met him and his was a nod to the hairstyles of the Byrds and things like that.

It is clear that Daly has a disregard for how the look evolved into a vague “curtain-haired and baggy” look that lacked the original referencing that his friend Alan Smith had for his hairstyle. For him, this shallow manifestation lacked authentic provenance. Daly also spoke in his interview about the attraction of the city to those seeking to be part of the movement:

LD - That's when it went kind of global and people started coming into Manchester, not just students. I was living in a bedsit a few streets down here and every year or so the occupants in the other rooms would shift and new ones would come in. There was a couple of girls who came up from Coventry way and they were just like all over Chorlton trying to track them [the Stone Roses] down, I didn't realise at the time, [...] but they were all round Chorlton, chalking all this stuff, like baggydelia and all this stuff.

“Baggydelia” is clearly a pejorative term for Daly. However, it may give us a glimpse into how the movement evolved, summarised in one word: a hybrid of the Rave-inspired, loose fitting bagginess and the initial psychedelic references, themselves evolving into a more colourful, vibrant look. It is something that Spinoza also identified, seeing it as a younger response to the movement:

AS – [...] And then there’s the whole teen thing. You know, bright, colourful, baggy t-shirts and fun, you know, there was a kind of fun fashion element to it. And The Inspirals [Inspiral Carpets] were a bit like The Monkees,⁹⁸ (laughter). You know, you’ve got the Clint Boon [keyboard player and backing vocals of The Inspiral Carpets. Boon had poker straight hair cut in a bowl cut]. They’re almost like cartoon characters.

The younger, colourful, baggy, almost cartoon-like look seems to be a far cry from the initial flared, 1960s-American inspired look. For those originally involved in the scene, such as Daly and Saxe, it lacked authenticity in its commercialism and provenance. It is understandable why they felt this way; the pursuit of authenticity – whether it be the clothes worn, music listened to or experiences had – is about a search for a form of purity, that the early adapters to the movement sought out in earnest. It is one that was original to them that they owned and “asserted”, against other cultures. The new, or evolved look seemed to dilute the purity of the original look to Daly and Saxe, to the point that it appeared to have nothing to do with its origins. However, rather than truly lacking authenticity, its references had merely shifted, incorporating the visual language of psychedelia with the uplifting Rave scene, fuelled by Ecstasy and other popular cultural references. This formed an alternative dialect adopted by a slightly younger age group remaining true to themselves with their own sense of authenticity.

4.4.6. Findings

⁹⁸ The Monkees were an Anglo-American pop rock band formed to star in an eponymously titled American television sit-com running from 1966 to 1968. The group disbanded in 1970.

Contrary to the traditional prejudice that men are not interested in clothes, when it comes to matters of authenticity, a surprising attention to detail was evidenced. For example, the Levi's red tab or selvage threads, the collar detail on a T-shirt and the precise degree of ease in the knee to ankle cut of trousers were matters of intense importance and observance – privately in their social groups at the time and remaining so when reflected upon in hindsight when interviewed.

While aspects of modern urban life led generally to a search for authenticity, the experience of working class youth was intensified. The undermining of working-class jobs and dignity by the Conservative government of the 1980s furthered their anxiety about authenticity, commonly phrased as being real, or keeping it real. Despite such anxieties not being directly addressed by the interviewees, the effects were evidenced in both youth fashion and music in a search for roots in cultures of “the people” (Barker and Taylor, 2007). This translated as workwear and 1960s music and the musicians of that era's styling of garments. For those partaking in this study, such cultural roots formed a “cultural memory reservoir” as industrial Britain was re-visioned through American film, television and music to the point that American workwear became part of it.

Many subcultural movements have looked to the counter-culture movements of 1960s Europe and America for inspiration, when inauthenticity became linked with being conventional and participating in the capitalist economy. For those interviewed - Daly in particular, the psychedelic bands of 1960s America also held a particular resonance for them because of their interpretation of the bands' values. Through the music and books they found expression of a set of values that they sought to emulate, and felt, true to their identity.

Original garments convey ideas of authenticity that can be appropriated to construct a “credible” self, with a status of uniqueness and originality that merges with the wearer. This is also the case for garments that have been appropriated in the spirit of history (in this case psychedelia) with the wearer's own sense of bricolage; this has been seen where there was a lack of supply and therefore the need to improvise, such as with Daly's customisation of garments. This status is

also enhanced by garments that are difficult to acquire, such as footwear from the United States, with the difficulty in obtaining such items undoubtedly part of their appeal.

Contrary to the oversimplification of subcultural theorists, variations were uncovered in the main characterising feature of Madchester fashions. There was distinction for the interviewees between the original loose look and the later “baggy” look, a difference sufficient to elicit distain from Daly, and even Saxe who benefitted financially from the baggy look. The distain was linked to the look’s popularity and commercial success diminishing its authenticity. “Baggy” seemed to dilute the purity of the original look, to the point that it appeared to have nothing to do with its origins. But this perception was associated with a generational transition. While the research did not extend to this later generation, they should not be judged as less authentic than their predecessors. Their adoption of the baggy look was simply an alternative dialect, its users retaining a sense of truth to themselves with their own perception of cultural authenticity.

4.5. Discursive Distance

This section questions the resistance to discourse through exploration of the interviewees’ perceptions of the media, especially attitudes toward London based media. It discusses the media in general, and specifically London and Manchester based media, in their impact on individuals and the movement as a whole. The section also highlights a form of flight from discourse in the dismissal of designer labels and branding – in other words a refusal to participate in fashion journalism’s “figurehead designers” view of fashion based in fashion capitals, including London.

4.5.1. Resistance to Discourse

Evans (1997) devised the term “flight from discourse” for the disappearance tactics used by adherents of Rave culture in response to sociological studies and

journalistic coverage. Avoidance of discourse in an age of information is resistance to being identified and this identity becoming defined, ultimately fixed and thus altered by established means of discourse.⁹⁹ In Rave culture this translates as a desire to avoid attention from the media and the law,¹⁰⁰ reflected in the nature of raves: fugitive, fast-moving and underground.

Evans (1997) and Sarah Thornton (1994 and 1995) elaborate on the issues of contemporary discourse on subcultures (section 3.3.6), writing that the main threats to these groups is the release of their cultural knowledge to other groups, threatening their exclusivity. This is an issue that was not lost on the subjects discussed in entrepreneur Stanley's Channel 4 interview:

LS – Yeah, I was interviewed once, when I was interviewed for Channel 4 and they asked if there was a look and I said that there was a regulation kit: the long hair, the baggy t-shirt and the baggy jeans and there was and I was promoting the shop and it worked because the next day the takings went through the roof. And they [those who wore the look] said to me, “oh, you’ve sold us out saying that”. And I went, “fuck off, sold us out”. Sold out. Who cares? You walked around Oldham Street and all you saw was baggy jeans and t-shirts. You know, that was the regulation kit, you know.

Those who confronted Stanley were likely to be his contemporaries, even customers, wearing the look synonymous with the Madchester scene that was the subject of the Channel 4 interview. The interview highlights their issues with him; the threat of definition (regulation kit), but perhaps more important than revelations of specific cultural knowledge, he has “sold them out” to the *mainstream* media

⁹⁹ Evans describes several distinct discourses of subcultures: academic, journalistic, curatorial and marketing. Evans states that the very process of defining, describing or reporting of subcultures have changed their nature through their documentation. She draws upon the work of philosopher Michel Foucault who argues that forms of discourse, such as the categorising of subcultures, are an exercise of power on the part of the discourses, which carry with them the possibility of resistance. Evans believes that discourse can disarm resistance, releasing hitherto restricted knowledge thereby threatening the exclusivity of the group being documented.

¹⁰⁰ Redhead (1997a), writing recently after the mass media coverage and the passing of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act in 1994, describes how Ravers were singled out as “Folk Devils” in Britain in the early to mid 1990s as contemporary equivalents to mods and rockers in the 1960s (1).

(although Channel 4 was considered more alternative at the time, it was still an London-based national television channel). Their protest is an example of resistance not to any media coverage, but to the establishment media – and by implication, the London media.

4.5.2. Resistance to the Media.

The media were covering the Rave and Manchester music scenes in a variety of ways: partly tabloid style treatments intended to shock; partly straightforward documentation of large groups of youths gathering in unusual locations and the use of Ecstasy; partly elaborate editorial attempting to re-vitalise the narrative of youth culture. Most often coverage was from London-based media and from a London perspective. In Manchester, there was a studied indifference by those involved in the Manchester music scene to what the media were writing about and deeming to be popular. Lee Daly was adamant about the insignificance of the media on the scene:

SA - You say you referred to magazines and books [previously in the interview]. In terms of media and magazines, how influential was it?

LD - Not on the Manchester scene at all, it was completely self-fulfilling and self-generated and self sustained....

SA - So you weren't influenced by magazines?

LD - No I don't think I was influenced by magazines at all, I think in the way as a musical phenomenon and fashion phenomenon it [the Manchester music scene at the time] kind of bucked the trend... At no time was there a pandering or a sluggish response to something that had gone before in fashion. It did kind of ferment out of itself and even though it draws on lots of different fashions and musical periods, it was self-contained and it did come of itself, it was of itself. The magazines were much like the music press. In fact the magazines weren't even in the equation...

Within his dismissal of any kind of impact the print media had on the scene, Daly suggested that in terms of inspiration the scene was autonomous. Although he referenced the drawing from different fashion and music periods for inspiration, he did not believe that this came from the media; rather it came initially from books (mentioned elsewhere in the interview – see section 4.4) and fed itself. This can be interpreted as members of the scene relying on one another to stimulate dress and listening choices. An exception is Daly's reference to local fanzines and his familiarity with Deb Reeves, a live music reviewer, when discussing the London-based magazines:

SA - They're obviously very London-centric magazines [the majority of British fashion magazines], they always will be.

LD - There were fanzines. M32 or something like that. A girl called Deb Reeves, she was younger than us, but she was a star... She wrote loads of gig reviews. She was a good worker, I'm sure it was called M32... It wasn't a magazine that informed or suggested how you should dress, it was more a documentary about what was going on at the time and more about bands and the fashion.

Daly's familiarity with Reeves suggests that she was part of the scene, that he considered her as a peer. It was therefore acceptable to pay attention to what she was writing, just as members of the scene were inspired by one another. Daly's distinction between a magazine that would inform or suggest what to wear and a fanzine that was more documentary also gave the latter more credence, suggesting that the writers shared the same socio-cultural experiences as the community that he was part of. This can be seen as part of maintaining a shared knowledge as identified by Thornton (1995) and Bennett (2001). Daly's dismissal of London-based magazines and the music press, his version of mainstream media, in favour of locally based fanzines epitomises the discursive distance that measures a clubber's worth, and in this case, somebody who is part of the Manchester music scene.

In spite of this, Stanley cited the commercial success of his shop as being, in part, because of the press he was receiving, which included filming by Channel 4 (mentioned earlier in the section), MTV and the BBC.

LS -What's interesting though is that they all used to come in and video us wearing the flares, you know, and the drugs and the smiley face and all that sort of thing. That started later. But it was the flares thing that.... And because they [the television production teams] were going, "oh, I used to wear them back in the '60s", that's what it was...

SA – So it was nostalgia for them?

LS – It was nostalgia for them but then it was like, the kids were wearing something different. And that whole baggy thing, you know what I mean? I don't quite know where this baggy thing originated. Because I used to have this thing about the baggiest dungarees. I used to sell the "Baggiest Dungarees Ever", you know what I mean. And I think it was because of location and that we were at the forefront and we were getting all the press and everything. We could have, like, put that [points to an office lamp] in the window on a t-shirt and it would have sold, you know, we had great power at that time, you know what I mean, because if its in there, it must be happening. Which you do as a kid really.

As an entrepreneur who self identifies as an "old market trader", responding quickly to demand and opportunities to sell at high volume, Stanley took advantage of the media attention on the movement and permitted television production teams to film in the shop. This raised the profile of both shop and brand and as Stanley boasts, gave them a certain credence that would enable them to put any image on a t-shirt and have it sell. Avoiding such blatant opportunism, Identity produced t-shirts proudly printed with Manchester related images and text, building up the importance of the city (See figures 38 and 39). Despite Stanley's commercial grandstanding, we can perceive here a tenuous balance between courting the established set who wanted to avoid publicity, and yet attracting a new group of customers. It is interesting to note that Stanley describes those who came to the store as "kids". This suggests a younger clientele, rather than those who were at

the forefront of the scene. This younger crowd gravitated towards the shop because the television programmes acted as a signpost.



Figure 38. Identity T-Shirt front view.



Figure 39. Identity T-Shirt back view.

Stanley and Daly's accounts suggests that for those in the scene, rather than a complete shunning of discourse, media coverage was acceptable as long as it shared the same local base.

4.5.3. Resistance to Branding.

1986 to 1996 saw a rise in designer labels and branded clothing and accessories within mainstream fashion. Designer brands became more global, easily accessible (both in availability to buy and media coverage) and there was an increased interest in designer labels. At its extreme, clothes were worn with their labels showing in the form of logos, such as Ralph Lauren's polo player (entered the UK market in 1981), Tommy Hilfiger's flag (introduced 1984 to 86, and associated with Hop-hop in early 1990s) and Calvin Klein found around the waistband of underwear (since 1982). At high street level, this could be seen in brands such as the Italian Benetton and American Gap. In contrast, when considering whether there was a demand for Manchester based brands, Bruce Atkinson acknowledged that the demand for Baylis and Knight garments was not based on the brand itself but on the styles they were producing:

SA – Do you think there was a demand for Manchester brands during this time period?

BA - I think that the... In Manchester it wasn't necessarily that it was a Manchester brand... Erm... I think that the type of clothing that we were making, and the type of nightlife particularly was important to the sales or the high volume of sales of the clothing that was selling through places like Wear it Out. Erm...

SA – So what do you mean by that? Do you mean....

BA – That there wasn't.... because in Manchester... because there wasn't such a label conscious label situation as there is in big labels and designer labels. In Manchester that was a thing, the thing that if, there was a certain style a certain type of clothing, whether it was erm... you know, kind of, some sheer or some particular styles or erm... once Lyssa Strata did a flower detail that was cut out of the garments. They were very popular and they were very, in a way there was a look, the things that were all sold in places like Wear it Out. I'm assuming that as we kind of did better that the connection with Manchester in places like Sheffield, who again had their own club culture... And Leeds who had their own club culture.

And Birmingham. Again. Club culture. Again, without it being dominated by bigger labels.

Despite Atkinson's lack of conclusiveness about there being a Manchester "look", its origin in the night club scene and translation to other northern cities with their own club culture, he is definite that the success of the Baylis and Knight was not dependent on branding. He believes that at the time there was little interest in designer labels and that rather the purchase of garments was based on style, not just brand association. Atkinson even emphasises that in Manchester this was "a thing", suggesting that this was a conscious decision of the wearer.

Phil Saxe also emphasised the unimportance of labels within his interview, as with Atkinson, differentiating from other northern cities, in this case Liverpool. He cited this lack of importance of branding in Manchester as the main difference between the dress of Mancunians and Liverpoolians:

SA – ...So what were the labels you were buying when you were on the...

PS – Labels weren't important

SA – So it was just anything you could get?

PS - Labels were a Liverpool thing. This is a big distinction between Manchester and Liverpool. Okay, the jeans would have been Levi or Wrangler initially. But it is jeans and cords were – and we bought loads of Dickies¹⁰¹ cords – never heard of them – we bought tons of them imported from the States at something like £2.00 a pair. Right? Ermmm... Everybody was wearing them, twenty inch bottom cords. Erm... We must have had two or three thousand pairs of them imported in. Nobody had ever heard of them so labels weren't important.

¹⁰¹ Dickies originated as a workwear producer in the United States in 1922, producing overalls, trousers and jackets for a vast array of industries such as oil and agriculture. It entered the European market in the late 1950s, forming Dickies (UK) in 1989, although from Saxe's interview, the Dickies sold in Gangway seem to pre-date this. The wearing of workwear is addressed further in this writing in section 4.4.

The association that Saxe makes with Liverpool and brands may go back to the Casual movement, with their attention to detail and European sportswear labels (Adidas, Fila, Lacoste and Tessuti for example). While the movement occurred throughout the United Kingdom, in the North-West it was led by Liverpool Football Club fans and their discovery of the European sportswear brands and styles not found in the U.K. as they followed their team when competing in European football tournaments.

The success of both Baylis and Knight and the jeans sold at Gangway is identified by Atkinson and Saxe respectively. They are both certain that the reasons for their success lie not in the brand or designer label, but in the style of the garments sold, designed in response to the activities on the scene. These styles are treated in greater detail in other parts of this thesis (for workwear and 1960s garments see section 4.4). What is key here is that both interviewees were clear in the knowledge that their clothes were sought because they were distinctive from other labels and shops, and also that the wearers chose to wear the garments for their particular distinctiveness; their “look”, rather than being influenced by a designer or brand name. Stanley believed that location contributed to his shop’s success, with the geographical location of the Oldham Street entrance of Affleck’s Palace being central to the movement. The notion of place, to hang out, to “see” and “be seen” (McRobbie, 1994: 32), is central to such movements (whether this be a nightclub, record or clothes store, for example) and the Identity store (for Stanley and Baylis and Knight who also sold there) as well as Gangway and Wear it Out acted as such locations. See Appendix 4 for a map indicating locations of these shops.

4.5.4. Findings

Despite the concern for Stanley “selling them out” in his interview for Channel 4, the evidence presented in the interviews above does not suggest a conscious resistance to discourse in the manner that Evans suggests in her coining of the term “flight from discourse”, which was the desire to avoid identification and be deliberately anonymous in response to the moral panic created by Rave culture.

Rather, as Daly, Saxe, and Atkinson all posit, the perceived avoidance was because of a lack of concern with major brands, labels, magazines and the music press that were usually based in London. So a lack of concern with brands and media can also be attributed to a reluctance to be associated with London-based discourse. When London-based media discourse did occur, it seemed to act as a signpost for youths looking for a place to gravitate towards. It did not change the preference for buying clothing locally, from independent retailers and designers.

Localism and an anti-metropolitan stance resulted in an autonomy away from mainstream, (or even London-based niche media who, it has been identified earlier in the research largely ignored the Manchester music and club scene), instead directing attention to locally based fanzines. With the designers, retailers and writers sharing the same socio-cultural experiences as those they were selling to or writing for, there was a self-containment of the scene, that gave the ability to communicate within the group while maintaining discursive distance from London-based media and labels. This focus on the locale provided an opportunity for writers, designers and individuals to construct identities – particular looks and attitudes - firmly rooted in Manchester.

4.6. A Shift in Attitude

4.6.1. A Shift in Attire

The literature describes a definite shift away from “traditional” subcultures towards a more eclectic sensibility, characterised by Maffesoli’s widely endorsed concept of neo-tribes (1996) that occurred during the period studied here. Researchers argue that “locale” is the focus for tribal identities with individuals shifting allegiances as they move between different sites. Therefore, the later body of literature focuses on venues such as nightclubs, gig venues and in Bennett (2001), beyond into related environments identified as contributing to a “music culture”. While this thesis has suggested that Rave culture and Manchester fit within this theory, it highlighted a gap in supporting evidence for locale-based culture in the Manchester region, or for

its corollary that the place-dependent subcultural identity manifests in local “looks” or “attitudes”. This section addresses the gap, marking interviewees’ perceptions of the shift in attitude, its key influencers, where identifiable, and its key influences.

For photographers Terry Kane and AJ Wilkinson, there was a clear visual shift in attire between visits to the Haçienda:

TK - ... But yeah, I remember noticing a big change at the Haçienda. Like, I didn’t go for a few months or so, I went in and it had changed so much... It was all the kids in the big t-shirts....

AJW – It had gone from that slight sophisticated look...

TK - It was the year that Gazza cried, could it have been.... ’91?.... no, 1990 when England got out the.... ‘Cos I remember because it had been on the TV and then we went and it was the first time I’d been in months.... May, June 1990 and going in and thinking, “Bloody hell! This is different!”¹⁰²

Kane pinpointed the time that for him marked the change in attitude to clubbing, which including Wilkinson’s interjection highlights the change from a more sophisticated appearance to one that was a casual, and even younger look. Journalist Andy Spinoza and his partner Lynn Cunningham were also able to pinpoint a date, again situated at the Haçienda nightclub:

AS – I tell you, John Robb. Me, John Robb and Harry Stafford were in The Haçienda one Wednesday night. It was about 19...80... April ’89.

LC – It was the wet night. [Referring to *Hot* the Ibiza themed club night that ran from July to December 1988. There was an inflatable swimming pool in the middle of the dancefloor]

¹⁰² England footballer Paul Gascoigne (nickname Gazza) cried publically on the football pitch at the end of the defeat of the England versus West Germany semi-final at the 1990 World Cup in Italy (4th July 1990)

AS – No it wasn't the pool night, we just looked at each other and went "what the fuck is going on here. It was just mental. You know, there were about 1200 teenagers, you know, literally, people about 10 years younger than us and you could just tell you were in the middle of something mental. Revolutionary. And we were like, "this is great!", and we were just looking at each other and thinking this is mental because none of us were off our heads. And the place was just exploding and it was just a normal Wednesday night. Harry Stafford worked for BBC Radio. John. John was John, doing what he did. I think I was a freelance journalist. It was just incredible. And errr... And the clothes were a big part of it obviously.

SA – So when would you have said that was?

AS – I'm pretty sure it was April or May 1989. Because I don't think things had taken off in '88. I don't think things had bubbled up in '88.

As with Kane, Spinoza pinpointed a time that marked a change in attitude to clubbing. While he does say that the clothes were integral to what was going on, he does not elaborate, although he does recognise that the shift was younger, drug fuelled, radical and exciting.

While Leo Stanley, owner of the t-shirt brand and store Identity, does not pinpoint a date for the shift, he does identify the moment that he believes was the height of this change, reflected in sales at his shop:

SA – What did you observe other people wearing, you talk about the baggy thing and t-shirts. Was there anything else?

LS – To be honest with you, no. It was all t-shirt based. The Soul II Soul thing, and then the football thing came through. Barcelona and Brazil. That was quite... that fitted in with it. And something a bit different, but there was no one wearing structured garments or anything like that. It was all just loose, casual and free. Which the baggy thing was.

SA – When did that happen? When do you think that started?....

LS – Erm. I've no idea really. I just think that people were so open minded about things. I think it broke down a lot of moulds of fashion, you know, because people would have a go at anything really, you know. Because ermmm... because I think that baggy thing and that casual thing just broke a lot of moulds really. So it went onto the football thing, onto the baggy thing, onto The Happy Mondays, onto whatever.....

SA – And you said that people started to become more casual, when would you say? About '87-ish?

LS – Yeah. I would say by '89 they were totally casual. I would say they started to break the barriers down. By '88 was the year. I can even give you a date. The 12th of July.

SA – Right

LS – And that, for me that was, when we had the shop in Affleck's. It was summer, Oldham street was mobbed. We'd taken the biggest takings we'd ever taken. Right. All on a Saturday afternoon. Me and all the staff had dropped an E in the shop. It was fucking crazy. And we had bagfuls of money. Bagfuls. Thousands. Selling loads of stuff. As soon as it was going on the rails they were buying it. It was mental. Where's it all gone? I don't know. I just know I ain't got it anymore (laughs).

SA – (laughs). So the 12th of July.

LS – Yes. To put a date on it. I would say that was the height of it. For me it was. It was a lovely day, the streets were mobbed, we were taking the biggest takings we'd ever taken and it was just. Everyone was partying. So if you needed a date, I'd go for 12th July 1988.

An entrepreneur, Stanley is clear on when the height of the shift towards a more casual attire happened in relation to sales. He is also adamant that this shift was mainly t-shirt based, although further corroboration would be needed considering his business was centred in t-shirts. Stanley, Spinoza, Cunningham, Wilkinson and Kane are all in agreement that there was a seismic shift in the attitude and dress of

those who were part of the scene, although there is a two year time span between their different recollections. Ambiguities expressed by the interviewees between '88 and '89 or '89 and '90, highlight the unreliability of memory in accessing precise dates and significant events may be linked with memory after the fact. However, the important thing here is the perceptions of shift in age group, dress, and scale of participation linked with particular localities of acquiring and wearing clothing.

The shift is something that photographer Ian Tilton was also aware of, although he contests that elements of the clubbers' look, in particular before the shift occurred, were unsophisticated in contradiction to the mythology perpetuated by elements of the Manchester music industry:

SA – I'm interested in the way that there was a mix of, you know how you were saying that people actually wore suits [before the recorder was started]. Was this at a different time, or was there a cross over?

IT – I've got some shots that you need to see from about 1983... '84 that was of a queue outside the Hacienda [figure 40]. So that was obviously before all this, but I reckon about 20% of the people made the effort to dress up. So it's a myth that has been perpetuated by the Factory Records industry, the Factory Records movers and shakers, that everyone was hip that went there. That went to the Hacienda. They weren't, they were scruffy sods, some of them. And the door policy was that everyone can come in. Because they were desperate for people to come in.

SA – Was it that they were desperate?

IT – Yeah, they were desperate. They were losing loads of money. Well, it's both isn't it? If you were a club owner, which one would you want people to remember? Your highfaluting philosophy or the truth that on a Monday and Tuesday we only have six people come into the Hacienda. And we lost hundreds of pounds every night. Which would you want to perpetuate? So, the truth is, on many nights, it was about getting people in. And so, the few people that were queuing, they would stall them outside to make it look like it was busy, which is just a common trick isn't it? With all clubs. So these people, I've got a picture of this fantastic queue, some people look really scruffy, they haven't made an effort, some people were wearing

suits that went out of fashion four years before and there's the fact. So, that can blow the myth, you know [...]



Figure 40. Tilton, I. (1986). The queue outside The Hacienda

While the image does show that the clubbers were not as sophisticated as Wilkinson and Kane suggest in their interview (at the beginning of this chapter), it is a distinctly smarter look ranging from a more traditionally dressy look to one that is more smart casual; almost everybody in the photograph has smart shoes, the women heeled court shoes. Men are wearing jackets and while there is one man in a jersey top in the centre of the photograph, it is a polo shirt, which has a collar. Within his interview, Tilton also identified the shift in dress that he describes as a “mis-match” of styles, relating it more directly to the styles of the Manchester band The Smiths¹⁰³ (figure 41) when describing a photograph he took in February 1990 (figure 42):

IT – [...] I wish I had this other shot to show you actually, I'll have to email it to you. And what it's about is...ermmm.... I took it at the time when it was a miss-match of

¹⁰³ The Smiths were a band that formed in Manchester in 1982. The band consisted of vocalist Morrissey, guitarist Johnny Marr, bassist Andy Rourke and drummer Mike Joyce. Inspired by the Post-Punk movement and 1960s female singers, the band purposely avoided using synthesisers in the music they produced and Morrissey's lyrics reflected the despair encountered by everyday people. Signed to indie label Rough Trade Records, the band picked their name and dressed in everyday clothes because it was ordinary; a reaction against the names of 1980s synth-bands who they considered pretentious. The visual imagery of the band has become iconic: record sleeves would feature no text and duotone images of cult actors and iconic cultural figures from the 1960s. The band themselves acquired cult status, appealing to those who felt outsiders (a reflection of Morrissey's lyrics) who would emulate the band's look. The band disbanded in 1987 when Marr left the group.

styles and erm... it was an interesting shot. But now it's become really really... a real focus for what was happening at the time, a real crossover into that culture from the Smiths culture, okay? Because the Smiths finished in '87 and this shot, I think was taken in 1990 but some people were still kind of into the Smiths and what it is, it was taken in Paris when a load of us went to Paris to see the band James, it was a Hacienda organised trip at La Locomotive club, near the Moulin Rouge actually. And the shot is, everyone has come off the coach, they've got an afternoon in Paris, before the big gig, they all go their separate ways and you've got on the left hand side, people dressed with Smiths t-shirts, Doc Martins, jeans with turn ups, straight legs, all Mancunians, and then you've got a woman in the middle, Smiths crossing over into psychedelia. She's got the older style from 1985-type clothes, but she's got John Lennon psychedelic, the John Lennon Granny glasses in ermm.. shades, okay? And then you have the next guy who's got Kickers on. He's got baggies, he's got a top that's new and he's turning away, he's turning his back. On the old. And he's turning towards his mate, and there's one coming at me and he's probably about seventeen years old and he's fresh faced, a beautiful looking guy. He's got the full psychedelic, colourful t-shirt on, he's got the baggies on, and he's looking straight at me and that's when the moment stops. So that's the past, moving, rebelling, turning away, turning his back on the old to his mate, to the new. That's where we are in time. Of course, that wasn't deliberate, you might think I'm pontificating on that, but it is a lovely story of how fashion is always transient. And that just summed it up. And I didn't realise this at the time, it's only looking back, I didn't take them for this reason, I didn't take them to particularly document the fashions at the time, but that's what's happened, I did do it. As an aside really.



Figure 41. Wright, S. 1986. The Smiths.



Figure 42. Tilton, I. 1990. Image taken in Paris during the Hacienda organised trip to Paris to see James at La Locomotive on 22nd February 1990.

The photograph described by Tilton records a transition in styles of dress, towards a more psychedelic-inspired style, a reflection of the music at the time moving away from the prior music-inspired style of dressing that was more stripped down in tighter, straight legged jeans, open necked shirts, jumpers and coats from charity shops. Tilton's symbolic interpretation of his photograph offers a romanticised view of its composition and the subjects within it, speculating on their position within the composition and how this relates to their looks and groups. However, it also

highlights how a variety of styles sat alongside one another, and in the case of the woman in the centre of the photograph, were dipped into at will, the result of which was a look encompassing a mixture of styles and influences. This way of dressing was also recognised by journalist Andy Spinoza and his partner Lynn Cunningham:

AS – That was pre.... That was just pre-Madchester though. Don't you remember? [directed at LC] It was almost like a transitional phase from Morrissey [lead singer of the Manchester band The Smiths], Smiths kind of clobber.. and the quiffs...

LC – The vintage and raincoats kind of stuff.

AS – And so it didn't get entirely phased out, there was that transitional period where people were still wearing a bit of that with baggy t-shirts and stuff.

Fashion transitions are seldom abrupt, especially amongst males and mixtures are to be expected, but it is significant that the youngest man in figure 42 has adopted a new look, lending support to the perception that styles not only shift, but can co-exist amongst people socialising together as we shall see.

4.6.2. Amalgamations of Style

As seen in Tilton's photograph, there were distinct styles of dress, linked to musical taste that sat alongside each other as individual looks. There were also combinations of styles, reflecting the shifting in musical and social attitudes and forming hybrid looks. Wilkinson and Kane saw this as a defining point of the Manchester music and club scene at the time, much evidenced in their interview:

AJW – That's right. Because a mate of mine used to work at the Hacienda. And he was a glass collector and that was probably about..... '87..... about that.... and a few of them used to work there and he used to actually shave his head.... and another mate had a big quiff, but there was definitely a bowl head cut and defiantly a biker jacket thing going on. And big trousers and then Doc Martins.

TK – And I remember big suits that I used to go to the Hacienda in. And I remember a Martinique shirt, navy blue denim but big. I used to wear that. I've still got it in my wardrobe actually...

AJW – But influential, I think it's a weird one... There was no one at the forefront of it really, 'cos they all had slightly different.... 'cos the 'Mondays had that Scally look didn't they, I mean, and then the 'Roses had another look and, you know, there was no.....

Here, asked whether The Happy Mondays and the Stone Roses were the key influencers of dress, Wilkinson and Kane responded with a host of other references. Quiffed hairstyles may refer to influence of The Smiths again, but the skinheads, biker jackets and suits mentioned conjure up an image of diverse looks on the dance floor. Wilkinson also notes the different styles adopted by the two largest bands on the Manchester music scene. Dress references were not restricted to already established subcultures or music looks as confirmed by Spinoza and Cunningham:

AS – And then there was this kind of classic clubber, aspirational model girl look wasn't there?

LC – Yeah..

SA – Wearing jersey garments, more fitted?

AS – Yeah.

SA – Where do you think that came from? That influence?

AS – That kind of Mediterranean, up market club

SA – Right

AS – You've got to remember it wasn't all council estates scallies

LC – No

AS – It would be lawyers and professional people who would be in their mid twenties and earning a lot of money, there was a crew of good looking, slightly up market people, and we were the tourist – friends of...

LC – But they had always frequented The Haçienda and then just stuck by it, kind of just moved with the times because during the mid '80s The Haçienda did go through quite a conventional, it was quite glamorous, a town-y kind of crowd, weren't they Andy?

AS – Yeah

LC – Hairdresser, we used to call them The Hairdressers Crew, you know, all the shop workers who worked in fashion, who looked really, you know, glamorous....

AS – They were sort of townies

LC – Townies

SA – Yeah, I know what you mean, more mainstream I guess

LC – More mainstream, yeah, more mainstream...

AS – But they didn't want to go...

LC – But they didn't want to go to....

AS – Crappy....

LC – Crappy.... Other.... Well, what were the other clubs?.. I don't know.

Despite being described as more mainstream, and a subject of amusement to Spinoza and Cunningham, these clubbers did not want to go to the more conventional nightclubs. Interestingly, Spinoza and Cunningham acknowledge this

clubber to have evolved as one of those who originally went to The Hacienda: a smarter, more glamorous clubber inspired by European, in particular Mediterranean culture. Photographic evidence of this look can be seen in the *City Life* 10th Anniversary Edition (figure 43). The article “Hot Couture” features photographs from Manchester’s night club scene from 1982 to 1992. There is a distinctively designer feel to the fashions depicted as one of the two men is wearing “shiny pants”, which while difficult to see in the photograph, are referred to in the commentary, as is the “trendy foreign beer”. The woman in the photograph is wearing a fitted, possibly stretch black dress. It has a low neckline and is sleeveless, almost like a vest. It links to the more bodycon style of women’s club wear of the time that is discussed in sections 3.1.3 and 3.1.4. These clubbers were professionals rather than students or the unemployed. The more Mediterranean style of dress can also be seen on the front cover of the *City Life* 10th Anniversary Edition (1993) (figure 44) where the right hand side of the image features a photograph of a woman wearing a brightly coloured flamenco-style top. (See section 4.6.3 for further discussion of this cover relating to the shift in attitude found in the city).

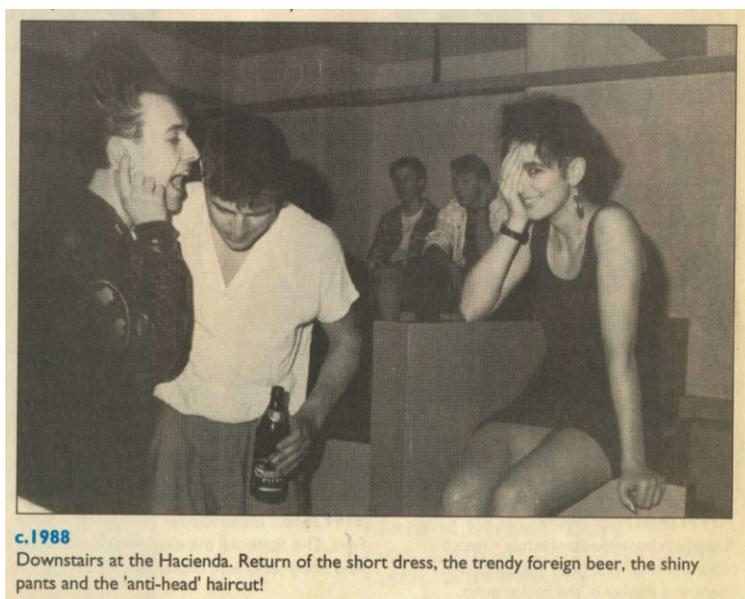


Figure 43. Image taken at The Hacienda in 1988 illustrating the more designer fashion feel to outfits worn by some of those who attended the venue. No photographer credited.

Store-owner Leo Stanley was also a DJ at The Venue nightclub, and likewise noted diverse looks on the dancefloor, spanning a broad range of stylistic and musical influences:

SA - What about at The Venue, when you said you looked out one night and there was the Rastas, and those girls...

LS - The Disco Dollies, yeah. The Psychobillies and everything.

SA - Was that a common thing?

LS – For The Venue it was. Its what we created there because the door policy was like, you're not going to cause trouble are you? No? Well, come in then. Do you like all types of music? Yeah? Well come in then. And there was no... "Awww you're playing too much Reggae", for example, because I used to master it but it was crazy. It was just one of those unique clubs that will go down the annals of history where it was just bonkers. And at the bar you'd have the boozers, who'd like to listen to The Smiths and they might have a bit of a shoe shuffle when The Smiths came on, you know what I mean, and it was all there. It was all happening and it was great. And it lasted for a few years and then the club shut and the Economy went shit and everything went shit and it was horrible.

SA - Yeah... Would you say... you used the term "mis-matched" before...

LS – Yeah

SA – Would you say that was common across the whole scene? Or was it something that was particular to The Venue?

LS – I think it was just to The Venue because where your Psychobillies would wear the German army vests, you know, with the Docs [Dr. Martin's boots] on, you know, tattooed, they were doing ink before anyone else thought about it, and your Rastas were pretty uniformed with the tracksuit and red, gold and green [representing colours of Ethiopian Flag], and you'd have the flares, and then you'd have the skinnies, black drainpipe and the Morrissey thing. I wish I could have got some

photos of that lot. I'm sure there must be some out there. I'm sure it was going on elsewhere, but you'd have somewhere like Corbierres¹⁰⁴ [Half Moon Street, city centre Manchester] who would have all your Indie kids, but I think The Venue just brought a lot of people together. Well, it did. Because of the door policy¹⁰⁵ and the music policy.

As with Tilton, Wilkinson and Kane, Stanley references a wide variety of styles, mainly, though not exclusively, associated with accepted styles founded in music, such as Rastas, Psychobillies and The Smiths. Though at first Stanley states that this was unique to The Venue, a reflection of a door policy that enabled a variety of different people to enter the club, he then concedes that it must have happened elsewhere. It is also interesting to note that Stanley, as Tilton did, described this as a mis-match of styles, suggesting the styles co-existed with no conflict, bringing people together, despite the differences.

In his interview, Wilkinson also identified what seemed to be an easing of the sense of rivalry between the neighbouring cities of Manchester and Salford:

AJW – Well, no. Salford was later [when he lived there]. I just knew people in Manchester. I knew people who lived in the Crescents. A lot of people I did work with all lived in the Crescents [Hulme]. I was probably there more.... you didn't go into Salford really. Not if you're a Mancunian.

SA – So you think there is a divide

AJW – Oh, yeah. Not massive but there is a definite difference. You've got to think... being a Punk, an ex Punk, we avoided the Scallies which were in Salford,

¹⁰⁴ Corbieres Wine Cabinet was opened by former Manchester City footballer Mike Doyle and his business partner Tony Miles in 1978. It became a centre for the music scene before the Hacienda, and hosted live music until 1992.

¹⁰⁵ Door policy is rules set by the venue to ensure the right mix of people are admitted. Often the criteria includes demeanor, who is in the group and also what people are wearing. In many venues, door policy is fluid, depending on the type of event and the crowd itself. This is in order to achieve the right atmosphere, reflective of the music played and desired image (Steve Ruben, owner of the notoriously difficult to get in 1970s New York night club, *Studio 54*, described it as mixing the perfect salad [Conrad, 2015]). While certain criteria are logical, such as not allowing entry to people who are already drunk, door policies can be perceived to be vague, contrary and promoting a sense of exclusivity as they refuse or accept entry based on dress.

you know, Ardwick. But this was earlier... I'd never go into Ardwick because I'd just get the back of my knees slashed as they used to say.

SA – Do you think that this was the same as at this time period?

AJW – I don't know really..... I don't think so... 'cos there was all that loved up bit going on. With all the E generation that did change them. I used to know some rough people but it did change them and the way they sort of were with you. Definitely.

SA – So, they were friendlier?

AJW – Friendlier... And it was a bit surprising really. You know, you'd be in a club with a load of thugs and scallies.... just errr.... It was a bit of a shock really.

SA – In terms of the clubs you were going in photographing, would you say there was a certain type of person there?

AJW – A lot of scallies, yeah... Amalgamations started to happen where... A bit of a melting pot started to happen. Whereas with scallies, it was the drug culture, everybody was into the music, everyone was into warehouse parties, and so wherever there was a warehouse party, people would be there, off their heads. And no one really cared what sort of background you came from. It was very much, sort of utopian really, sort of approach to it. No one really cared if you were from Walkden or if you were from Altrincham. It didn't matter, it really didn't matter. So there wasn't that divide. I'm sure there was an undercurrent... But town was a different place. I never felt threatened really.

Wilkinson notes here that the transformation in the “thugs and scallies” because of the club culture and the use of the recreational drug Ecstasy. Wilkinson identified that amalgamations began to happen between people from a variety of backgrounds, and as his previous statements attest, this could be seen in the clothing worn as these individuals and particular groups merged on the venues playing House music. Lee Daly also saw recreational drug use as central to the music scene and club culture:

LD - The whole draw [slang term for the drug Cannabis] culture, all over Britain in the early 80's. It was great at the start but became really boring - not a smack epidemic, but not the cool drug that a lot of people go into it thinking that it is. Starts off making music sound really good, and then makes you paranoid. Drugs are definitely a big part of it, but I'd say LSD is part of the glue that held it all together.

SA - Rather than Ecstasy?

LD - Ecstasy came later. Ecstasy's the baggy drug.

SA - Do you think that that's shifting choice or were you just not interested in Ecstasy?

LD - Oh yes I was, I loved it when it first came in and speed, that was my thing to take speed and acid. When Ecstasy came in, it's going to cost, you're paying £15 - £20 for one pill when it first came in. You could buy a load of whizz, you could buy a bit of weed [slang term for Cannabis] for the price of one Ecstasy pill. I got my first Ecstasy off Shaun [Ryder, lead singer of The Happy Mondays] in a little club just off Deansgate and it was like well everyone's been going on about it and saying how good it was. So when I got it, it was like well what's it going to be like, when I had it, it was like this is a new thing, but can't afford to take it every week. By the time the whole acid house thing came in, all the Rave thing that happened in Blackburn and stuff like that, I just wasn't interested in it all. I went to a couple of them, which I think would have been a Bingo Hall before on Oldham Road. It was big place in a real shit part of North Manchester, rough violent place. First time I heard E's and Whizz by Pulp it was just like this is description about the hollowness of that experience. That was how it felt for me. You come out of the Hacienda and everyone was let's go there, Pleasuredome, whatever it was. You go out there it was empty, horrible, and grotty. Yes I am loved up, but I'd rather be loved up in my own bedroom than be here. This isn't music, not that's there's anything wrong with the latest music, everyone was dancing in the same way as other people, boxes, I just couldn't get it, it was like a herd mentality, dancing sheep [...]

Daly's viewpoint on the culture surrounding Rave is a negative one, seeing it as herd-like mentality and hollow. He crucially identifies distinctions between the drugs used recreationally and their relation to the change in attitude found on the Manchester music and club scene.¹⁰⁶ Daly is definite in his association between Ecstasy and the attitude he defines as "baggy" which for Daly relates to the clothing worn as well as the drugs taken, music played and, significantly for this movement, danced to. Daly elaborated further on the differentiation between the flares he wore and the baggy clothing that is associated with the Manchester music scene (see section 4.4.5). In defining of the differences between the groups of people who wore flares and those who wore baggy clothing, Daly found wearing flared trousers more authentic, while baggy clothing represented a scene that was more mainstream. For Daly this is something that he views as selling out with the scene becoming more generic. However, as far as the music and clubs attracting people from a variety of backgrounds, his perceptions echo Spinoza, Cunningham, Wilkinson, Kane and Tilton.

Both the door policies of venues, such as the Hacienda and Venue, and the use of Ecstasy encouraged individuals with diverse backgrounds and interests, with distinct styles of dress to attend and mix. The music played within the venues was an extensive range of genres, appealing to and reflecting the (increasingly eclectic) musical taste of those attending. The distinct styles of dress could be seen sitting alongside each other and combining to form amalgamations as experiences were had and influences extended.

4.6.3. Shift in Mancunian Attitude: Sub to Club Culture

¹⁰⁶ The literature studied (Thornton, 1995 and Reynolds, 1998) describes the effects of taking Ecstasy as reduced inhibitions and increased energy in addition to sensory intensification, auditory enhancement, empathy and insight which in a night club environment instils a desire to dance through rushes of euphoria in tune with the music. This is in contrast to Cannabis, which is sedating, mildly hallucinogenic and also has the effects of sensory intensification. LSD (Lysergic Acid Diethylamide, commonly known as Acid) is also hallucinogenic. Amphetamines (a range of drugs commonly known as speed) are stimulants taken to keep alert, energised and awake. (Frank, 2013, Barnes and Nutt, 2012)

The interviewees' perceptions that the music and club scene attracted people to Manchester from a variety of backgrounds can be seen in the more cosmopolitan outlook noticeable in the city by the mid-1990s. The front cover of *City Life* 10th anniversary edition (see figure 44) visually epitomises the shift in attitude that the city embraced since the listing magazine's inception in 1983. A split image shows a male on the left for 1983 and a female on the right for 1993, with minimal text, (the magazine logo and two-digit year dates).

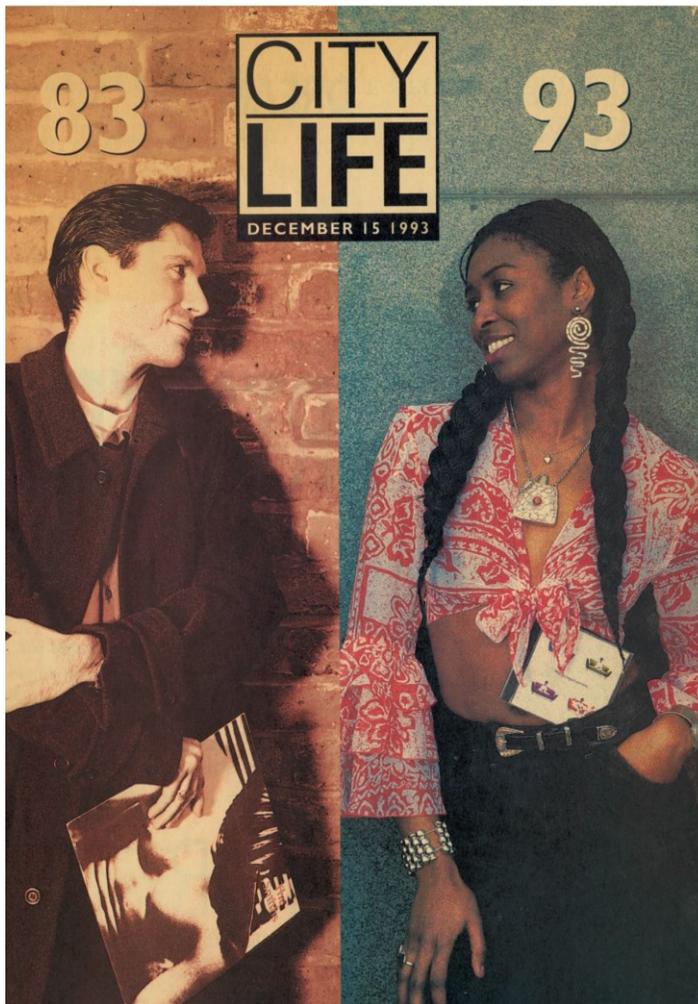


Figure 44. City Life 10th Anniversary Special front cover.

The man is Caucasian with short, slicked back hair, wears a dark overcoat with white shirt underneath. His attire is reminiscent of that adopted by Post-Punk bands such as The Smiths and Joy Division and their fans in the early 1980s (see figure 45 for an image of Morrissey from the Smiths and figure 46 for Ian Curtis

from Joy Division). It is the stripped down look to which Tilton alludes in his analysis of the photograph taken in Paris (See section 4.6.2). The male model is even holding a vinyl album, *The Hand That Rocks The Cradle* by The Smiths (1985). The album cover, designed by Morrissey, is a black and white cropped still from Andy Warhol's 1968 film *Flesh*¹⁰⁷ (See figure 47).



Figure 45. Morrissey (no photographer, no date).

¹⁰⁷ The record sleeve is immediately identifiable as Smiths' sleeve art due to the treatment of the image (film still, slightly grainy, black and white with Baskerville Old Face font) that was prevalent on most of The Smiths record sleeve artwork.



Figure 46. Cummins, K. (1979). Ian Curtis from Joy Division. Photograph is part of a photoshoot taken around the Hulme area of inner city Manchester on 6/1/1979.

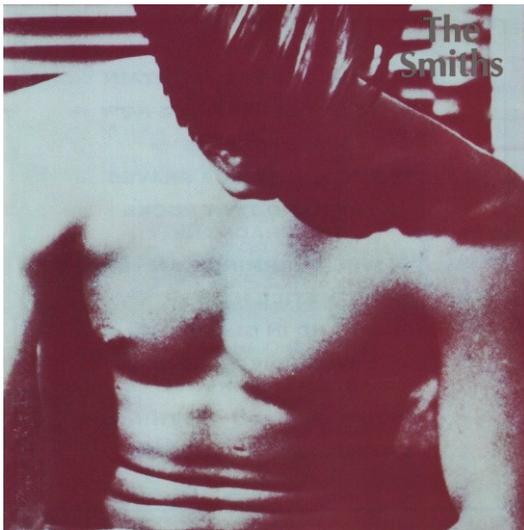


Figure 47. *The Smiths'* album cover for their eponymous first album, released on 20th February 1984.

By contrast, the female is a black woman wearing her hair in plaits, a style worn by black female singers such as Sade¹⁰⁸ at the time (See figure 48). She has a copy

¹⁰⁸ Sade is a British Nigerian singer who fronts the eponymously titled band. They had great commercial success in the UK and US in the 1980s and continue to do so, in particular in the US. Their sound is a hybrid of soul, smooth jazz and pop music.

of a compact disc of M People's *Elegant Slumming* (1993) (See figure 49)¹⁰⁹ tucked into her black jeans. M People were perceived as a Manchester band due to the bandleader Mike Pickering, a local man who DJ'd at the Hacienda although they were fronted by soul diva Heather Small, a Londoner. The choice of models reflects the shift in musical taste from white working class Post-Punk males to House music-inspired pop with large soul vocals directly illustrated by the music they carry. The female offers a sophisticated and youthful style, while the choice of model represents a more multicultural, egalitarianism, contrasting with the white working-class male. This is reflective of the shift in gender relations in contemporary dance music and club culture noted by authors who wrote at or immediately after the time (Bennett, 2001. Also, Merchant and MacDonald, 1994; Pini, 1997; Redhead, 1990; Malbon, 1999 and Thornton, 1995).



Figure 48. Montgomery, D. (1980). Sade.

¹⁰⁹ The sleeve art for the CD is minimalist with four images of the band sat on a sleek sofa in various positions. The images show the same shape sofa in different colours: blue, lime green, purple and orange. The images are all spaced out with a white background. The use of colour and white space gives a clean, sleek impression that was popular in the 1990s.



Figure 49. M People *Elegant Slumming* album cover. Released on 4th October 1993.

The female model dresses in garments and jewellery deriving from a variety of cultural standpoints that reflect the shift from defined subcultures to the eclectic attitude of club culture. Her jewellery is crafted in silver, the bracelet in an Indian style and the necklace South American. The earrings appear to have Native American references in their hand crafted appearance and spiral form.¹¹⁰ It is also worth noting that the spiral is a shape often seen during psychedelic experiences and is common in psychedelic art and design, in particular, it was widely used in fashion and graphic design in the 1990s. See, for example, figure 50 for use of a spiral graphic in an advertisement in *City Life* (September 1992) and the use of more angular spiral embroidery (in triangular and rectangular shapes) on the sleeve of a Joe Bloggs shirt of 1988 (see figure 51).

¹¹⁰ The Spiral is an ancient spiritual symbol of evolution and has been found carved into stones all over the world. In Native American culture, it symbolises growth and evolution, change and eternal life as well as the cycles of the seasons.

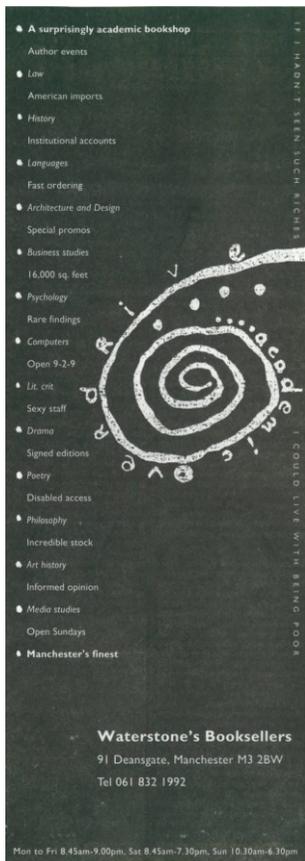


Figure 50. Waterstones advert in City Life Student Edition 1992 – 1993 (September 1992)



Figure 51. Wilkinson, A. (1988). Joe Bloggs shirt.

The model's flamenco-style shirt, a brightly coloured in orange and white European-style print, is tied at the front just below the bust. The three circular

tiered ruffles show that the fabric is lightweight and floaty, described by Knight as a look worn at the time (see section 3.1.3). The central knot is the only fastening, leaving a lot of flesh on show (décolleté and midriff), reflecting the more body conscious look also prevalent (see section 3.1.4). The bright colour and pattern reflect not just the Spanish roots in their design but also the openness to pattern and culture post Rave with the espousal of psychedelic design. The desire for colour and also a more international flavour to clothing was identified by Stanley:

LS – So it went onto the football thing, onto the baggy thing, onto The Happy Mondays, onto whatever. Stuff like that. So yeah, there was a couple of football shirts that we used to sell a lot of. The Barcelona shirt and the Brazil shirt. Ermmm.... Then there was the batik thing, there was a kid who came up from London who was importing stuff from Tibet and it was all those smock tops and is it called batik? When the fabric has those designs, because that was crazy. It was going crazy. It was like, “oh that’s mad. Fucking hell. Let’s try that, that’ll sell well”, you know, so we did really well with that.

SA - So people weren’t afraid of colour then.

LS – No they weren’t. They weren’t afraid of having a go.

The interest in football shirts from overseas, in particular the Brazilian national team (yellow and green) and Barcelona Football Club (red and royal blue) reflected the wearer’s love for colour in the well-trodden manifestation of football shirts. But with its football culture, there would be no question of Mancunians wearing a football shirt from another UK team (Norwich City’s yellow and green, or Crystal Palace’s red and royal blue), but it sees it acceptable to wear Barcelona or Brazil shirts over their team’s own colours. This may reflect an openness to other cultures and a perception of shared heritage (Barcelona was another cotton town, and many Mancunian workers went to Brazil to set up their cotton industry in the 1910s).

The Spanish-inspired design on the *City Life* cover may reference some of House music’s debt to Ibiza and the continental café culture that had begun to infiltrate

Manchester city centre in pioneering café-bars such as Manto¹¹¹ and Dry,¹¹² owned by record label Factory and band New Order, the partnership that also owned the Haçienda. *Dry* was designed to be a pre-bar venue for the Haçienda. Manto was also a pre-Haçienda venue due to its relative geographical proximity (see Appendix 4 for a map illustrating the proximity). Both bars had DJs in the evenings and were cited as important landmarks in the interviews with Wilkinson, Stanley, Knight and Spinoza and Cunningham. In particular, for Spinoza and Cunningham, they were integral to their nightlife itinerary:

AS – [...] I mean Manto [bar on Canal Street, central Manchester] was important wasn't it?

LC – Yes, as a pre-Haçienda thing

And also as venues to see and be seen:

SA – Did you see, do you see The Haçienda as being the focal point of the scene, of the night club scene?

AS – Ermm. Yes. I think that Dry. 'Cos obviously, it was very dark, people were off their heads [at the Haçienda]. But at Dry you could actually see what people were wearing. Dry opened on my birthday didn't it? July 24th... I think it was....

LC – I think it was '89...

AS – '88.

LC – No. '89, I think.

¹¹¹ Manto was a bar that opened on Canal Street in central Manchester in 1990. The bar had a DJ in the evenings and was open to both gay and straight people. It served food and coffee as well as alcohol and was designed minimally with clean lines. It was the first bar in the area to have large front windows reflecting an out and proud attitude and acted as a catalyst for similar bars in the area that formed what is now known as Manchester's *Gay Village*.

¹¹² Dry opened in 1989 on Oldham Street, in Manchester city centre. Designed by Ben Kelly, the interior had a minimalist, industrial feel, reflective of the record label's design aesthetic. With links to the record label and club, the bar attracted a cool clientele in the 1990s. As with Manto and the *Gay Village*, Dry was a pioneer in what is now known as the *Northern Quarter*.

AS – It will be a matter of record. It shouldn't be that hard to find that out. So I think Dry was important.

Both Dry and Manto marked a shift in attitude for the city away from the industrialism, public houses and working men's clubs to leisure tourism, café bars and city centre apartments, converted from the derelict warehouses. In Redhead's words around the time, "Cotton has been replaced by popular culture" (1997: 95). The 10th anniversary cover reflects past Manchester in the sepia-toned male leaning against a brick wall, a background referencing bleak urban industrialism. This is contrasted with the 1993 woman in full colour leaning against a bright stone or concrete wall. If stone, this may be the newly cleaned stonework of the city, or if concrete, a celebration of the newly built city centre apartments. Both materials reflect the city's move towards a more cosmopolitan style.

The contrasting images juxtaposed to encapsulate the changes in Manchester from 1983 to 1993 reflect a shift in attitude in the city perceived by the interviewees in the music and club scene. The music depicted not only reflects changes in technology (moving from vinyl to compact disc), but changes in music style, such as electronic dance music, influenced the sounds coming out of the city. The garment styling highlights the shift of sensibilities as people began to draw varied and eclectic reference points in the clothes they wore.

4.6.4. Findings

The interview evidence supports the theory that there was a shift away from traditional subcultures towards a neo-tribal amalgamation of looks and attitude where traditional boundaries of dress and styles were broken down and re-combined. The combination of styles, often deriving from traditional subcultures (such as skinheads), or the following of cult bands (such as The Smiths) sat alongside both a more upmarket European-centred, body conscious look and a casual, loose, psychedelic-referenced look stemming from Rave culture. Evidence

suggests that this happened in Manchester in a timeframe ranging from late 1980s to the first half of 1990, a reflection of the prevalence of the recreational drug Ecstasy and the playing of a variety of musical styles in clubs with an open door policy, such as The Hacienda and The Venue. The interviews held for this research found The Hacienda the main location for this where, as identified in the literature, a sense of unity was established away from mainstream culture.

Daly, an integral member of this movement at its inception, felt a sense of ownership in the movement that was lost as a host of individuals from a variety of (sub)cultural backgrounds merged on the clubs and cultural locales. Daly's interview, both from the perspective of his own experiences and his witnessing of the girls from Coventry shows how integral the culture associated with night clubs and the music scene was to their lifestyle. Daly's viewpoint of the scene becoming generic as more individuals congregated, forming aggregations that dispersed the concentration of taste sensibilities associated with his peers, is evident in his distinction between flares and baggy. This marks the shifting in attitude, moving away from traditional subcultures into less tangible, more eclectic taste constellations. This manifested itself into an attitude that emulated the bricolage nature of urban dance music found in Manchester nightclubs and embedded in the sounds produced by the bands from the city, all of which contributed to and developed a Madchester/Manchester multi-tribal identity manifested in a variety of concurrent looks.

5. Analysis

5.1. Introduction

This chapter begins by reflecting on the initial aims of the research, including the thesis title which queries the loose fitting silhouette associated with the Manchester music scene. The exploration of links between the city's music and club scene and local fashion culture during the key decade of 1986 to 1996 has uncovered how the most significant looks responded to the experiences of its partakers. Particular cultural references in dress and music, a position of distancing from the mainstream, and ultimately a quest for authenticity were identified as central local fashion influences.

In the course of analysis, the research went beyond initial aims to address underlying questions, pulling together strands across the themes arising from its findings. These concern the continuation of a bricoleurian approach to dress by partakers in the subculture/movement; the developments of local 'dialects' contributing to the overall look and attitude of scene participants; the tacit physical and visual elements of the dressed body in motion; and the importance of a sense of authenticity.

5.2. Response to Aims

The commonplace assumption that there was a loose fitting style associated with the Madchester music scene has been queried by the use of the question mark in the title of this thesis, with one aim of this research being to question the style concept of *Loose Fit* describing the look, and immortalised in the song of the same title by The Happy Mondays. While there is no doubt that a loose silhouette was prevalent in Northern youth fashion during the time period studied, my findings show that there was more to "loose" than the scruffy, almost comical "Baggy as Fuck" look that gained attention in much contemporary and subsequent popular literature. Importantly, a contemporary distinction was made by wearers of flares and wearers of the baggier look. These separate looks were understood in more limited ways by the London-based press and subsequently academic commentators, and as such, this finding makes a contribution to knowledge of dress in the Manchester music scene. There were other styles of equal note that came out of the Manchester music scene.

The aim to explore the links between the city's music and club scene and local fashion culture during the key decade of 1986 to 1996 was fulfilled through interviews and visual analysis of contemporary photographs. The evidence confirmed that the "Flared" and "Baggy" looks each reflected the musical tastes of distinct groups. For Flared, it was 1960s psychedelia, looking towards musicians such as Jimi Hendrix and The Byrds, and associated imagery. The initiators of this look took part in the early years of the Madchester music scene, including the band

members of the Stone Roses (see Lee Daly's interview, Appendix 1.8). For the later and younger Baggy look, partakers gravitated towards the developed Madchester music scene, influenced by both the bands and the burgeoning club venues. The owners of Baylis and Knight, and Identity described how they situated their fashion design practice in the Manchester music scene inspired by night clubs and bands, as well as being ahead of it by informing what the bands wore as they bought into the brands. These brands included the loose and baggy styles, but also a contrasting tighter, more body conscious silhouette that referenced both the sporty element of high-energy dancing to the House music played in the nightclubs, and a more sophisticated Mediterranean-inspired look¹¹³ (see sections 4.1 and 4.6). These coexisted with styles from established subcultures, and the followers of cult bands, such as the Smiths. While such amalgamations have been identified throughout the literature studied,¹¹⁴ this research has situated Madchester as the site where this happened. The factors that contributed to this are discussed in the following section.

The egalitarian attitude promoted by the open door policies of night clubs such as The Hacienda and Venue, the eclectic range of music played, and the rise of the recreational drug Ecstasy, were amongst the factors that encouraged an amalgamation of looks where styles were re-combined from a range of local fashion influences, the tracing of which was an aim of this research (see section 4.6.2, and in particular, Tilton's photograph of Manchester clubbers in Paris, figure 42). Original workwear, second hand clothing and contemporary local designer garments were seen together at clubs The Hacienda and Venue, in parallel to the variety of musical genres played by the DJs in those clubs (see Stanley's interview, Appendix 1.10). The range of cultural references in dress and music included the heritage of the Manchester music scene, such as the band The Smiths, established subcultures like Rockabilly and the newer music of the club scene.

¹¹³ The Mediterranean-inspired look was a more glamorous look inspired by European, in particular Mediterranean culture worn by clubbers who were professional rather than students (see Spinoza and Cunningham's interview, Appendix 1.9). The look had a distinctly designer-feel to it and consisted of garments such as the sleeveless, fitted, possibly stretch black dress with low neckline in figure 43 as well as bright colours and prints as seen in figure 44.

¹¹⁴ Polhemus, (1994 & 1997); Thornton, (1995); Maffesoli, (1996); Evans, (1997); Bennett, (2000); Jenks, (2005); Hall, (2007), and Woodward, (2008).

Local fashion influences also included Manchester's working class heritage, in some ways amplified as heritage by the move towards to an increasingly cosmopolitan and urbanised European perspective. The quest for authenticity in clothing was paramount to participants in the Manchester/Madchester scene, as an antidote to the mainstream, but also in relation to music taste and perceived musical heritage. The stated aim of the research to trace the influencers of the most significant looks was not exposed in-depth by the interviews, but was nevertheless touched upon as interviewees spoke about friends, colleagues and competitors.¹¹⁵ This element of the aims deserves further exploration, but it is worth considering that rather than the fashion influencers being omitted from the interviews, there may not have been such singular personal imputers into the movement. Instead, a "trickle across" process could have operated where fashion transferred horizontally between groups on similar social levels, here, in response to the tacit notion of experience within the locale.¹¹⁶ However, in the course of analysis, underlying questions beyond the initial aims were addressed. The following sections pull together strands arising from the themes, going on to pose a conceptual theoretical framework for Mancunian fashion identity that may serve as a basis for further study.

5.3. Bricoleurian Approaches

As argued in the literature review, Madchester fits within the post-subcultural theories, clearly exhibiting the shifting in attitude that mark the move from traditional subcultures to fluctuating style and taste sensibilities that individuals engage with and freely draw upon.¹¹⁷ A combination of factors encouraged the

¹¹⁵ Appendix 4 illustrates where the influencers mentioned by the interviewees were based in Manchester's city centre.

¹¹⁶ "Trickle Across" is an extension of the "Trickle Down" theory conceived by George Simmel (1904) and the "Trickle Up" theories (Field, 1970. Polhemus, 1994 called it "Bubble Up"), based on class structure and class difference. Rather than a trend occurring based in class, "trickle across" is achieved through "collective selection" (as identified by Blumer in 1969 [1998], see Skov and Melchoir, 2008: 6) communication and mass production (and therefore availability) (Crane, 2000; Reilly, 2014).

¹¹⁷ Polhemus, (1994 & 1997); Thornton, (1995); Maffesoli, (1996); (Evans, 1997); Bennett, (2000); (Jenks, 2005); Hall, (2007), and Woodward, (2008).

relaxation of traditional boundaries of subcultural dress and styles in the Manchester context: coming together in opposition to Thatcherism, the rise of the recreational drug Ecstasy, the egalitarian attitude promoted through the eclectic music choice available, and the open door policies of night clubs such as The Hacienda and Venue. Hence, an amalgamation of looks arose at local sites where styles were broken down and re-combined. Styles from established subcultures or the followings of cult bands were combined and incorporated into two broad-based divisions: one, a more upmarket, European-orientated, body conscious look; and the other a casual, loose, psychedelic-referencing look (the latter included both flared and baggy versions). This amalgamation marks a shifting in attitude; the point at which identities became less fixed. However, this research supports the notion that rather than subcultures “dying” as a result of becoming the object of social inspection, nostalgia and commercialism (Clark, 2003), they evolved from niche groupings attending specialised events (traditional subcultures) into less tangible, more eclectic taste constellations or aggregations (Woodward, 2009). This thesis posits that rather than mere eclecticism, emphasis was put upon where the clothing items were from and how they were combined, bought or acquired because of their meaning to the individual and their local networks. This process remains one of bricolage, despite moving away from the original use of the term in traditional subcultural definitions.¹¹⁸ This thesis argues that the evolution of subcultures went beyond such traditional notions of bricolage and neotribalism,¹¹⁹ not only referencing multiple cultural sources that reveal cross- and counter-cultural ideals, but including a more tacit understanding that is inspired by locale, tastes still associated with class background (Bourdieu 1984), and a continuing interaction with the commercial environment.

As identified in the literature review, Entwistle’s (2000) theory that the dressed body is a site of both identity and personal expression through the act of wearing

¹¹⁸ See Hebdige, (1979); Evans, (1997); Calefato, (2004); English, (2007), based on the work of Levi-Strauss; (1962); and Certeau, (1988). Although limited to what these items will signify because of their history and original use, the heart of subculture bricolage is where the original meanings are subverted, representing their own ideals and place, in opposition to the dominant culture.

¹¹⁹ Maffesoli’s (1996) theory of neotribalism is based on the argument that in place of mass dominant culture we are now fragmented tribes of humanity, organised around commercial culture.

remains pertinent to this research. So, too is Craik's (2009) concept that clothes are not just neutral, but are structured into social processes and meanings by the ways in which they are perceived as cultural signs, bearing some analogies to language.¹²⁰ Using linguistics as a metaphor, the notion of communicating messages is presented, in both the user's native tongue, imposed by the dominant order, and through their own accent and "turn of phrase", where the fixed formulas and rules of language that govern speech and writing are more fluid. Employing Certeau's concept of bricolage reveals the difference between subcultural and youth culture modes of consumption; in this bricolage, the original meanings of the items selected are subverted, representing the wearers' own sense of ideals and place.¹²¹ It parallels and supports the metaphor of a regional dialect that relates to a more tacit sense of belonging based in specific sites of consumption and experience, at particular points in time, such as nightclubs, music venues and their associated scenes¹²² where mainstream culture is translated and repositioned within local social structures and cultural issues. This is also tied with a feeling for realness or authenticity, local habitus with a sense of community. In this sense, "hanging out" remains an integral part of constructing identity within subcultures.¹²³ Hanging out occurs at both day and night sites; visiting friends' homes, the shared experiences of dancing in a nightclub, places where recorded music is purchased or exchanged, or an independent local clothing boutique. The notion of hanging out supports one of the key aspects of Bourdieu's theories on class formation where; location in a social space shapes an individual's opportunities, life chances and

¹²⁰ The potential of clothing for communication (the communication of the wearer's identity) has entailed an extensive literature, much of this based on Barthes' semiotic theory of dress (1984, 2006). Referring to Barthes, Craik (2009) maintains that fashion is a language or set of signs, elaborating that symbols are internalised and naturalised so they are understood almost automatically. In this theory, fashion is a system of communication almost like a language made up of a vocabulary (a collection of items of clothing typical of a culture), syntax (the rules about how clothes can be combined or organised) and grammar (the system of arranging and relating garments) and conventions of decoding and interpreting the meaning of a particular look.

¹²¹ Place can mean where they are from and where they hang out.

¹²² Stanfill describes the "creative trinity of music, fashion and design" (2013, p9). This is a concept also raised by Calefato (2004) and Miller (2011) who both describe a correlation between fashion and music. Crewe and Beaverstock (1998, p301) write about development of "taste constellations" based around fashion alongside music, clubs and dance. Breward (2004) and Cole (2013) write about the importance of the creation of fashion in the context of music scenes and locations.

¹²³ Woodward (2009) and Wenting et al (2010) highlight the importance of the act of hanging out (see also Polhemous, 1994) with particular people, in a particular location.

habitus, giving rise to a tacit “sense of place” or “class unconsciousness” (Bourdieu 1985, 1992; Crossley 2008: 88).

This thesis maintains that for the bricoleur, putting looks together is not just about the semiotics of dress, with clothing a visual language; less tangible moods, emotions and how garments *feel*¹²⁴ also occur and are presented and shared. Davis (1994) compares this to the fluidity of musical mood, allowing for the flux of metaphorical meanings expressed through dress. In-line with Davis’ theory, the amalgamations of styles in clothing emulated the bricolage happening in urban dance music found in Manchester nightclubs and embedded in the sounds of the city’s bands, all of which contributed to the Manchester/Madchester tribal identity.

A sense of authenticity relating to feelings evoked by listening to the music was responded to in dress. Calefato (2004) and Walker’s (2008) comparison of such an approach to a DJ sampling, mixing and remixing music provides an appropriate metaphor, and one that is pertinent to this research, particularly as the time of the study is the point when this approach to music became popular, both in House dance music and Hip Hop. Just as the DJs drew from a range of music, creating a soundscape in response to their locale – whether that was audience or surroundings, wearers constructed their *dress-scape* with items drawn from a variety of sources. Second hand, original workwear and contemporary local designer garments were drawn upon, giving a range of cultural references embedded in the the city itself and living in it. Non-local meanings of garments could be subverted or selectively emphasised within “looks” that incorporated the items’ heritage (physical and cultural), and sourcing, while drawing attention to how they were combined to represent the wearer’s personal ideals and local affiliations.¹²⁵ The importance of authenticity raised here will be further expounded

¹²⁴ Crane (2000) argues that within a highly fragmented society, in which individuals move from one interest, lifestyle, or allegiance to another and evolve, they make choices of what to wear and how in order to project self identities that are meaningful to themselves at any one time. Woodward (2005) illustrates this in her essay which studies women’s wardrobes and how particular outfits conveying certain messages, tried and tested in defined social occasions, “feel” right or not, depending on the situation and mood.

¹²⁵ For example, Manchester’s working class and musical heritage, together with the newer music and club scene and ambitious European perspective of the city.

upon, but first the local dialect in dress and attitudes contributing to the bricoleurian nature of the amalgamations of style will be discussed.

5.4. Local Dialect and Attitudes

The interviewees (Atkinson, Tilton, Daly, Darrigan, Knight and Stanley) revealed that there was a preference [among young Northerners] for buying clothing locally, from independent retailers and designers, such as those of interviewees Darrigan (Wear it Out), Saxe (Gangway, Arndale Centre market) and Stanley (Identity). This was part of the process of bricolage, rooted in authenticity: referencing heritage, cultural origins and experiences, and bound up with the process of “hanging out”. As mentioned in the Response to Aims section (section 5.2), the owners of Baylis and Knight and Identity described how they situated their fashion design practice in the Manchester music scene. As such, the research has found that local cultural atmosphere contributes to the inspiration behind designing for a look. Mancunian heritage and its associations, in particular its music and night club venues, acted as both a means of inspiration and a distinguishing factor. This heightened the “local buzz”¹²⁶ of the time and contributed to the cultural capital of those who were part of the scene and wearing the look,¹²⁷ which in turn drove the development of the scene.¹²⁸

As with those wearing flares on Manchester’s football terraces, buying local underpinned what Russell terms a sense of “symbolic citizenship”.¹²⁹ This focus on the locale ensured there was a self-containment of the scene and provided an

¹²⁶ Wenting et al (2010) page 1337

¹²⁷ It has also been found that in certain urban locations high fashion and high street fashion, is mixed with a “local dialect” of street labels and local designers. Insight into the local brands can indicate a “higher cultural competence on the part of the consumers” (Woodward, 2009: 12), especially to others who are part of a local group. This evokes the idea of a local fashion identity where global youth culture is “translated, appropriated and creolised to fit into local social structures and issues” (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006: 234).

¹²⁸ According to Moore (2008) when writing about Boursieu’s concepts of Capital; “capital can be understood as the ‘energy’ that drives the development of a field through time” (105).

¹²⁹ Football sociologist David Russell writes, the allegiance to local football teams has provided a “symbolic citizenship” (1999:19), renewing their sense of belonging to a certain place since the late nineteenth century as towns and cities grew too big to be knowable to their inhabitants.

opportunity for designers and individuals to construct identities - particular looks and attitudes - firmly rooted in Manchester with a sense of pride in locality, defiance in difference and distinctiveness. As established in the findings, authentic lives are viewed as lived in opposition to the mainstream, not yielding to pressures to adopt the dominant cultural norms in dress and behaviour (amongst other things), here read as (usually) London-based, clothing labels and retailers. A sense of authenticity has always been fundamental to the ethos of subcultural communities. For the subjects in this research, buying from local designers and retailers was an integral part of this; where the garments were bought, and the styles worn, articulated a clear group identity to members and outsiders and expressed “connective tissue” (Entwistle, 2000).¹³⁰ Brake (1985) argues that such connectivity has been used to subvert mainstream ideologies, while promoting one’s own group. For those in this study, this meant buying from local independent labels and retailers with their fashion design practice situated in the Manchester music and club scene. As Bennett (2004) highlights, locally produced music referencing local knowledge and understandings is important as it informs notions of collective identity and community in given regions and localities. London-based fashion trends were disregarded in favour of styles reflecting the “local buzz” of Manchester’s cultural heritage. Mancunians wearing garments from local designers and retailers, mixed with clothes from second hand shops and the high street, to local social occasions supported a “local dialect”. However, it is worth noting that the musicians who were part of this scene were touring the country and releasing music on a national and international level that would have announced the look to their fans and observers across the United Kingdom and beyond.

The research has found (see section 4.5) that amongst participants in the Manchester scene there was also an attitude of disregard for mainstream journalism and preference for locally based fanzines. As with the local designers

¹³⁰ As seen in the literature review, while individual distinctiveness is an important element within subcultures, styles are worn to articulate a clear group identity to members and outsiders, to establish a sense of similarity (Entwistle, 2000). Brake (1985), argues that this is done to express commitment to the group, which Entwistle (2000) calls “connective tissue”. This accords with Wilson (2010), who refers to the heightened sense of connectedness within a particular group that serves to distinguish group members from the dominant culture. Woodward (2008) cites Simmel (1979) when she writes that to belong “is the core of being human”.

and retailers, local writers appear to have shared the same socio-cultural experiences with those they were writing for, being able to communicate within the group while maintaining discursive distance from London-based media. This reinforced the self-containment of the scene and construction of identities firmly rooted in Manchester. This supports Thornton's (1995) stance that the mainstream is what clubbers define themselves against, with discursive distance being a measure of their worth.

Despite this discursive distance, Thornton (1994) posits that the media is crucial to the construction, demarcation and development of subcultures, not just representing, but actively participating in their practices. It is through representation in the media that Thornton¹³¹ believes that members of subcultures acquire a sense of themselves and their relation to the rest of society and as such, subcultures are actually largely constructed by the media. For example, the mainstream media attention contributed to the evolution of Madchester by bringing more "converts" to the scene and creating more energy around it. In this sense, the discourse acted as a positive impulse in the development of the movement. This can be sensed in Stanley's interview where, despite being accused of "selling out", his coverage on Channel 4 seemed to act as a signpost for those looking for a place to gravitate towards, supporting the preference for buying clothing locally from independent retailers and designers, and ultimately contributing to the younger baggy look identified in this research.

In contrast to the supportive impact by the media on subcultures are the *i-D* articles featuring Daly's group of friends labelling them as "Baldricks". Thornton (1995) contends that it was the mission of niche style magazines emerging in the 1980s, such as *i-D* and *The Face* to search out and formulate subcultures.¹³² The articles

¹³¹ As cited in Bennett (2001).

¹³² Thornton (1995) cites an article in *The Face* in June 1988 about "Shoom" a nightclub in London (that is mentioned in Polhemus, 1994 as a key venue for the Rave subculture) that "effectively transformed a club crowd into a fully fledged subculture" (159). Thornton goes on to claim that these magazines were as responsible for the popular conception of the Rave subculture as the dancers, musicians, and drugs themselves. Often the people included in these images were friends or associates of the magazine employees with the writers themselves involved in the scenes they were describing, and to some extent creating.

featuring “The Baldricks” seemed to be part of one such mission, describing the group as at the forefront of a burgeoning scene. There is no doubt that this group were influential in the look of Manchester’s flourishing music scene during the time studied; however, the evidence suggests that the origin of the cognomen “Baldricks” is sketchy, with the group themselves not using the term. There is also no evidence that the term was subsequently adopted locally to describe what was happening in Manchester. This may be to do with the negative connotations of the article, but equally likely, as the evidence suggests, it reflects a disregard for London-based media. Just as it was the mission of the style magazines to search out and formulate subcultures, it is a mission of academia study to categorise phenomena: in the case of the “Baldricks”, their mis-representation in *i-D* became part of academic discourse when the term went on to be used to describe Manchester’s response to the Rave subculture in Polhemus’ *Streetstyle* (1994). Hence, this thesis supports the recent re-evaluation of subculture theory that exposes such self-perpetuating matters.

The evidence presented in the interviews does not support a conscious resistance to discourse in the manner that Evans suggests in her coining of the term “flight from discourse”. She explains this as the desire to avoid identification and be deliberately anonymous in response to the moral panic created by Rave culture (and documented in the mass media). Rather, as Daly, Saxe, and Atkinson all posit, it is because of a deliberate distancing from major brands, labels, magazines and the music press that were usually based in London; a flight from London-based discourse aimed at local autonomy. Those involved in the Madchester scene were using their distance from London-based media discourse (mass media such as national newspapers, but also niche media such as *i-D* and *The Face*) as a measure of their cultural worth, valuing such media differently than the micro, locally based fanzines, which underpinned their sense of identity and community in Manchester, rooted in its local authenticity (see Appendix 3 for examples of locally based magazines).

5.5. Fashion in Motion: Tacit and Visual

The term fashion in motion has been established in this research to define the interaction of garment and wearer in movement, and its visual result. This takes place from two perspectives: from the outside through an observer's perspective and from the inside as the experience of the wearer. The baggy silhouette evolved during the time studied, both as a response to the need to feel comfortable and the sensual effect of the garment fabrics when dancing in the nightclubs. This view supports existing literature (Calefato, 2004; Champion, 1990; Haslam, 1999; Luck, 2002; Robb, 2009). As established in this study, clubbers bought clothing especially to wear in nightclubs, non-habitual clothing specific for their social role in the ordering of their wardrobe (Woodward, 2007). Clubbers could therefore be specific about the clothing's characteristics, such as appropriateness for dancing to specific types of music. The looseness of the clothing enabled the wearers to keep cool when moving. Stretch fabrics, used in the baggy t-shirts and the alternative, tighter fitting, lycra-influenced silhouette predominantly found in womenswear, (but also seen in men's cycling shorts – see figure 10) were used to emulate sport and dance wear. Stretch garments were designed and styled to reflect the active nature of dancing to House music, a response to the needs of those who danced continuously throughout the night, buoyed by Ecstasy, but not exclusively worn by them. The research has established that local designers, such as Baylis and Knight, responded to a gap in the market not yet taken up by sportswear firms when they produced these garments to meet clubbers' desires. As was identified in the research, clubbers began to travel to attend nightclubs in different towns and cities. How the looks worn in Manchester clubs inspired visitors and were translated elsewhere is a subject worthy of further study as it may further contribute to the evaluation of the "trickle across" theory which this thesis suggests may have been how key looks spread across the country. Further study may also contribute more generally to the understanding of the spread of fashion practices.

The footwear identified in the interviews¹³³ and analysis of images¹³⁴ would also support the use of the term *fashion in motion* to define the interaction of footwear and wearer in both movement, and its visual result. From the perspective of the wearer, the flat shoes and trainers worn would have been comfortable options when moving (in particular dancing). From the perspective of the observer, the footwear would have contributed to the silhouette of the looks, giving it a sense of solidity and gender neutrality where, for women, the wearing of men's shoes would have acted as a stabiliser for some of the flouncier styles of garments. The flat, casual styles would also contribute to the more laid-back look of the scene. From both the perspective of the wearer and observer, the wearing of footwear with its roots in workwear and military wear (such as Dr. Martins, Red Wings and desert boots) would have contributed to the trance-like marching to House music through their inflexible soles, hindering agile footwork.

During the time period studied there were separate looks within the Manchester club and music scene that can be seen in two broad-based divisions: the loose-baggy silhouette and the tighter, more body conscious silhouette. The wearers of these looks were part of the same club and music scene, sharing the same experiences but with a different appearance that can not be seen as part of a single subculture from a visual perspective, and might be read as socially separate. This lack of one clear look, a symbolic element of the scene, highlights how the concept of traditional subcultures is inappropriate for this time. The research has found that a tacit understanding based on common experiences was shared by participants that was more fundamental than purely visual based judgements (evident to outsiders) in the music-orientated gathering places. Aspects contributing to such tacit perceptions include the heat of the venue and exertion from dancing. As Woodward points out, "reducing clothing to its visual properties ignores the crucial tactile and sensual aspects of clothing worn by people" (2007: 27). The use of *fashion in motion* to define the effect of garments on wearers as

¹³³ Interviews with Wilkinson and Saxe describe flat, practical footwear such as Dr. Martins boots and desert boots (see Appendices 1.6 and 1.2 respectively).

¹³⁴ Ian Tilton's photographs used in the *i-D* feature of the "Baldricks" clearly shows Daly and his group of friends wearing trainers, the toes of which are peeking out from under the hems of the flares (Figure 16).

they move and are observed was a key element of the shared understanding between partakers in the scene as the garments were worn in response to dancing to House music. The crowded environment, venue lighting, and modes of travel to and from the venues were an integral part of the Manchester club and music scene and the experiences encountered, and inseparable from its fashions.

The flared trousers of Madchester are said to have some lineage from the Parallel trousers of the Northern Soul movement; this research did not uncover evidence to confirm or deny this proposal. However, analysis of the overall looks, the differing silhouettes, and the effect of the clothing (in particular the trousers and footwear) in response to the different dance moves does not suggest a connection. Instead, how the clothes moved on the body (known from the documentary film),¹³⁵ suggests that similar garments were used to different effect when coupled with music played, drugs taken and dance moves. The tactile relationship the clothing has on the wearer's skin as they move and the garments' effects on their movement affects identities (Woodward, 2007). In the case of this research, this includes similar garments' effects in response to the differing dance movements undertaken by those in their respective groups, underpinning the identity of those partaking in the scene. This supports the notion that a tacit understanding particular to each cultural group is shared between its members and moves beyond the visual into the experiences shared as a result of attending the same venues, shopping in the same stores, consuming the same drugs, and listening and dancing to the same music, while wearing garments with a particular sensual effect (in response to movement).

¹³⁵ Documentaries of Northern Soul and the 1980s House / Rave movement sourced as part of the research for this study contain film footage of dancing to the respective genres where the differing dance moves can be compared. These include for Northern Soul: *The Culture Show: Northern Soul – Keep the Faith* 2013 [TV Programme] BBC. London and *This is England – Wigan Casino* (1977) [TV Programme] Granada Television. Manchester. For House / Rave: *Celebration: Madchester – The Sound of the North*. (1990) Granada Television, Manchester; *Pump up the Volume* 2001. [TV Programme] Channel 4, London and *The Chemical Generation* 2000 [TV Programme] Channel 4. London.

The concept of *fashion in motion* is not limited to dance and supports the premise that there was more to the loose fit look than oversized t-shirts and flares, in particular as it was worn beyond the dance floor into everyday life. The posturing associated with the look, together with the effect of the bagginess on posture and gait have been indicated in the interviews and by photographs from the period. The new-found pride in working class heritage and the sharing of experiences, including those happening in nightclubs, manifested not only in a look but in resulting postural expression and gait, encompassed by what this thesis has called “Swagger”. This can be compared with Brake’s (1985) use of “Cool” for mods and “Angry” for Punks (cited in Entwistle, 2000) as examples of “gait or postural expression”, one of his three aspects of subcultural style. This is linked to how less tangible, more instinctual aspects of dress are communicated and shared when wearing garments in a certain way, and experiencing how this *feels*. This sartorial communication has been compared by Davis (1994) to music where meanings, such as emotions, allusions and moods are presented and sufficiently shared without the need for verbalisation.¹³⁶ The aspects associated in this research with “Swagger” (working class heritage, musical taste and dance) are integral to what clothes were worn and how (in particular the loose fit look). Upon analysis of the findings, this thesis posits that the experience of fashion goes beyond the visual and therefore proposes a modification to Brake’s subcultural aspects with the addition of a fourth category; “Attitude”,¹³⁷ which addresses the more tacit, intangible and visually unlocatable aspects that are essential to subcultures, or here, post-subcultural groupings.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ According to Davis (1994) there are no fixed rule-governed formulas in dress. He questions whether clothing is less tangible, making a comparison to music where meanings, such as emotions, allusions and moods are presented and sufficiently shared.

¹³⁷ Attitude is used here in its original sense to describe bodily posture or expression indicating a particular mental state (Oxford English Dictionary, 2016). Schmitt (1989: 130) describes attitude (calling it gesture from the Latin *gestus*, meaning the movements and attitudes of the body) as the outward physical expression of the inward soul.

¹³⁸ Schmitt posits that since the publication of Marcel Mauss’ article *Body Techniques* (1979), it has become accepted that gesture and attitude are social acquisitions, either consciously or unconsciously learned or imitated that “only seem ‘natural’ because they are common to a whole society, the shared property of an entire culture” (1989: 129)

5.6. The Authenticity of Loose Fit and Search for the Origin

This research confirms that an underlying factor of subcultures is a perceived lack of authenticity in mainstream culture, and a search for that authenticity as an antidote. It has also revealed that the notion of “keeping it real”, loosely translated as keeping true to oneself, contributed to the success of key figures, such as musicians, within youth culture. As such, a sense of authenticity was fundamental to subcultural communities both in terms of objects and their origins, and the perceptions of the group. The importance of authenticity, which has presented itself throughout the previous sections, underpinning all elements of these conclusions will be expounded upon in this section.

The Loose Fit look exemplifies a sense of authenticity for the Madchester scene from its inception, as clothing (and the associated music) was appropriated and re-appropriated from the past. The scene evolved with perceptions of authenticity varying according to the wearers’ origins and experiences. There was a distinction made by the interviewees between the original look of flares and the later Baggy look. The wearers of the Baggy look were described as a younger group than the originators who remained at the forefront of the scene. These younger adherents gravitated to the Manchester music scene attracted by the commercially released music and television coverage. For some interviewees, Baggy seemed to dilute the purity of the original look, to the point that it appeared to have nothing to do with its origins and lacked its authenticity. Of course, this next generation of Madchester was no less authentic than their predecessors in finding its own relationships and reference points. Their clothing choices can be seen as a later, alternative dialect, its users remaining true to themselves with their own sense of the authentic. In any case, interviewees’ perceptions suggested the existence of these two interrelated groups: an established scene, and a younger scene that revolved around them before evolving into something new. This premise would best be verified by further research amongst the younger crowd that has not been possible within the constricts of this thesis.

Statements consolidated from the interviews with Lee Daly, AJ Wilkinson, Terry Kane and Andy White, Phil Saxe and Leo Stanley revealed that the wearing of flares by Mancunians associated with the loose fit look pre-dates the Madchester movement, and was initially seen on the terraces at Manchester football matches. Rather than being the persistence of an outmoded style, flares were shown to be a local variant of the Liverpoolian initiated Casual look, with the manifestation of flares being traced to an interest in the psychedelic bands of 1960s America. Casual itself was a mode of oppositional dress that rose in Northern cities as distinct from the mainstream, even if in the circles frequented by the initiators of the Madchester look, such as the terraces of football stadiums, it was perceived as a dominant, mainstream look. The wearing of flares was a reaction against tight jeans, part of the established Casual look of sharp dressing and wearing expensive designer labels. This reaction for the purpose of gaining distinction from “the other” was an important stimulus for local looks, especially where there was an easily identifiable feature to work against, such as the designer labels and tight jeans of this case. Avoidance of labels and brands as oppositional stance was also a form of resistance to branding as identified by Saxe when comparing Manchester to Liverpool fashion influences (See section 4.5.3), where in Manchester the style of the garment was more important to the wearer than its brand and as such, a discursive distance could be maintained from mainstream and designer labels.¹³⁹ This discursive distance is also a reflection of desired autonomy from mainstream, often London-based labels as well as a being measure of the wearers’ worth. In wearing flares, Manchester football fans demonstrated to fans of other clubs their civic allegiance, while further distinguishing their club allegiance to their particular Manchester team more subtly through the width of flare. Hence the adoption of flares was oppositional to non-Manchester clubs, in reaction to the dominant Casual look on the football terraces, while intra-Manchester the width of flare was a means of distinction between supporters of opposing teams. Thereby, the looks worn on the football terraces communicated a sense of locale and the “symbolic citizenship” identified by Russell (1999).

¹³⁹ This would include both labels belonging to “figurehead designers” in opposition to the uprise of the “designer label” and those worn by *Casuals*, such as Lacoste, Ellesse, Barbour, Fiorucci and Pringle (Thornton, 2003).

This extension of football culture emerged as the focal point of a new sense of pride in coming from a working class background against the backdrop of the de-industrialisation of the North during the late 1970s and 1980s, a process that had challenged previous symbols of class solidarity. As working class roles changed, in particular male roles, expression of this solidarity required a visible focus. We saw this in the dress behaviour of Lee Daly's gang of male friends, also remarked upon by Ian Tilton when recalling their attitude when he photographed the group for *i-D* magazine. We saw how this way of dressing reinforced the feeling of belonging and pride: manifested in confidently emphasising difference by dressing in flares, with longer hairstyles, and presenting themselves through a particular way of walking and posturing which was all contrived, yet not consciously formulated within the group. The confidence generated in playing the role has already been described here as "swagger". Swagger encompasses the interaction of clothes with the body in keeping with Entwistle's (2000) emphasis on embodiment: "shaping the self physically and psychologically". Swagger has also been used in this thesis to describe the "attitude" of the scene in my adaptation of Brake's practical aspects of subcultural style (see section 5.5).

The popular literature on the Manchester music scene, such as Champion's *And God Created Madchester* (1990), either states or implies that men predominated. The predominance of men was supported by the evidence of Daly's gang; this group provided an example of the indifference to women by men involved in music making. This follows the conventions identified by Bennett (2001), and indicated early on by Frith and McRobbie (1978) in their term "cock rock", which manifested itself in Daly's group by practically ignoring their partners in most of their social activities. These activities largely comprised of hanging out at each other's homes, where alongside taking recreational drugs, they listened to and discussed music. Surprisingly, however, this research has found that these male activities mimicked aspects of behaviour normally associated with how women "hang out" together. There was clearly a culture of clothing interactivity where members of the group experimented with, lent and swapped clothes. The eloquence with which the male subjects of the interviews in this research talked about clothes, both at the time,

privately in their social groups, and in hindsight when interviewed, contradicts the traditional assumption that men aren't interested in clothes. It also reiterates the working class male fascination with attire. This fascination with clothing has been remarked upon in popular oral histories such as Hewitt's (2002), tracking of the Mod aesthetic from the 1950s to 2000, but in particular in Thornton's (2003) investigations of the Casual movement. The clothing behaviour highlighted by this research widens our knowledge, and is also of importance because the obsession and attention to detail was belied by the apparent scruffiness of the look, and might otherwise be overlooked.

American 1960s psychedelic bands held a particular resonance for Daly's group who developed an interpretation of the bands' music, alongside images they sourced, as expressive of a set of values that they sought to emulate and saw as true to their identity. Many subcultural movements looked to the counter-culture movements of 1960s Europe and America for inspiration, a time when being conventional and participating in the capitalist economy became linked to a sense of phoniness. This can be interpreted as the beginning of authenticity in counter-, or sub- culture. This view concurs with Trilling's concept of "originative power", as the foundation of authenticity, moving through "all cultural superstructures to some place where movement ends, and begins" (1972: 12). Shumway's study of authenticity in stardom and rock and roll (2007) saw Trilling's theory as about authenticity of the self, but it can also be applied to judgement of authenticity of cultural artefacts. Shumway identifies Trilling's theory as following from Foucault's (1966) characterisation of the modern episteme, as the philosophical double of the retreat and return of origin. This is the endless search for an origin that must be there because it is founding. However, the origin cannot be grasped precisely because of this: that it founds the search that is seeking it (Todd, 2014). There is a shift in the origin from its source to where the search begins as its narrative evolves. Following this line of thought, we can observe the desire to return to sensibilities of the late 1960s because that was the origin of sub- and counter-culture, and therefore authentic culture, but this cannot be achieved because of what has since shifted in its narrative to an almost mythological stance. The search

for authenticity always seems to harbour this paradox, and can be applied to other elements of clothing adopted in the Manchester scene, such as workwear.

Workwear, in particular American workwear, was also a popular look for Daly's group. I propose that this was part of a "cultural memory reservoir", as identified by Loveday (2014: 732),¹⁴⁰ acting to reinforce the pride in working class origins during the transitional phase of class identity in the 1980s when many traditional male working class jobs were lost as factories and mines closed. It is unclear from the interviews why American rather than British references were adapted, but with roots in cultures of "the people",¹⁴¹ these industrial references were filtered through American film, television and music. Jenß (2004) argues that dressing in garments with history produces a feeling of individuality and sophistication, distinction in Bourdieu's sense, and a sense of resistance to consumption of uniform mass fashions. It is also worth noting that there is a different wearing experience with original garments as the textiles and cut are different to contemporary garments: they *feel* different. Woodward's citing of Barnes (2007), and Eicher's (1993) introduction in *Dress and Gender* both highlight the importance of the tactility of garments and sensual experience of wearing being as impactful on the wearer as the visual on the viewer (see section 5.5 for a fuller discussion). These original work garments transport ideas of authenticity that can be appropriated to construct a "credible" self, with a status of uniqueness and originality that merges with the wearer as part of their (sub)cultural capital (Bourdieu, cited in Jenß, 1992; Miles, 1996 and Thornton, 1995). This is also the case for garments that have been appropriated in the spirit of history (here, the case of psychedelia) satisfying the wearer's sense of bricolage.

A suggestion that also comes out of the interviews is that the difficulty in acquiring such garments produced a pride in ownership of something rare yet without the elitist overtones of high fashion. This reinforces the sense of authenticity in its anti-

¹⁴⁰ Loveday's research has found that his male participants with working class heritage use a type of collective "cultural memory reservoir" (732): a nostalgic combination of mythology and lived experiences as a strategy for working-class identification.

¹⁴¹ Barker and Taylor (2007) use roots in cultures of "the people" as a source of authenticity. They use jazz and folk music as examples.

commercialist, anti-mainstream position, supporting Handler's suggestion of the authentic as a search for unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched and traditional (1986). It also reflects the definition of Barker and Taylor (2007), that authenticity is a quest. For example the quest of acquiring the Red Wing footwear (see section 4.4.3). While it might be said that Barker and Taylor define authenticity as "something that can never be attained" (x), this was not regarding an individual object, but in its overall sense.

6. Conclusions

6.1. Introduction

Skov and Melchoir advance that the human body and the self are at the centre of everyday dress practices (2008:11). Attention to the practice of dress in its conjunction with the practice of music consumption has informed this thesis adding to the culture-based approach. Taking its lead from Wilson, whose *Adorned in Dreams* posits that fashion is an everyday art form, (Skov and Melchoir: 7), this thesis sees fashion as offering a set of tools for creative self-expression, tools that complement those of musical expression, and operate along similar lines. This is clearly observed in those affiliated to subcultures, both in their traditional form and

in their multi-faceted evolved form. Responding to the foregoing analysis of this research, the conclusions address some of the strengths and weaknesses of the approach taken, and the thesis' contribution to knowledge.

Firstly, the chapter examines the methods used, the issues surrounding recall of memories and the reshaping of memories, as well as interviews missed. Then it outlines the research's contribution to knowledge. The contributions are seen as: re-examining subculture, the sense of authenticity that is key to subcultural movements, and the tacit understandings linked to locale, together with notion of attitude as a practical aspect of subcultural style. Finally, the chapter looks at the implications of the conclusions derived from the research for future study, which point towards expanding the conceptual framework for local fashion using the case of Mancunian fashion identity and image. Understanding the persistence of the local despite global pressures toward conformity, forming a habitus that is a combination of an internalised local structure as well as global influences, is important to appreciating fashion as a lived practice rather than an imposed system.

6.2. Reflection on Methods

The subject of this thesis has prompted much interest and triggered voluntary anecdotal reminiscence from many friends and colleagues during informal discussions. But despite the seeming ease of gathering information on a recent period of popular interest, in reality this has proved more difficult. As in any research that relies on interview evidence, there are weaknesses in coverage and depth. When it came to targeting key individuals with direct links to the scene for the interviews, it was difficult to pin people down for appointments. For example, contact with graphic designers Central Station was attempted through their website, their gallery representative and various email channels to no avail, and regrettably an interview with them had to be abandoned. Central Station would have offered further insight into the Manchester/Madchester music scene from a

visual perspective through their work with Factory Records and the listings magazine *City Life*, as well as their personal work and social activities and networks.¹⁴² They were renowned for brightly coloured graphic design, often with a hand drawn element that de-emphasised typography. Their style was in bold contrast to the minimal, industrial, clean and precise work of other designers, in particular others who were employed on projects by Factory, such as Peter Saville and Mark Farrow. It would have expanded our understanding to find out if the Central Station style responded to the evolution of Madchester, with its sense of optimism and psychedelic references. The perspective of the studio's designers on the visual culture and styles of the time, encompassing both a London-based standpoint and a return to Manchester could have offered a unique insight. Since it would have been useful to further investigate Mancunian women's place in and out of the movement and unpick their influence, Central Station's Karen Jackson could have played a key role. However, with any thesis, there are limits to the number of possible interviews. I felt fortunate overall in the generosity, freeness and loquacity of the interviewees who participated, helping to balance out "the ones who got away".

It took various attempts to elicit a response and confirmation of appointment from Leo Stanley. This meant that he was the last to be interviewed, at a time when the research was already being written up. Finally pinned down, Stanley was forthcoming in the interview, a natural raconteur, as was also the case with the first interviewee Phil Saxe. Both Stanley and Saxe had already been interviewed for publications on the Manchester music scene (such as Haslam's *Manchester, England*, 1999, and Robb's *The North Will Rise Again*, 2009). This prior experience probably contributed to the sense of being rehearsed coming across at times in their responses. As identified in the Methods chapter (Samuel and Thompson in Section 2.4), memory is not fixed but continually reshaped to make sense of the past from the perspective of the present. For Stanley and Saxe this reshaping has

¹⁴² Brothers Pat and Matt Carroll (trained graphic designers) and Karen Jackson (a trained printer) are Central Station Design. All three Mancunian designers worked in London, returning to Manchester in 1984 to start their own graphic design practice. The trio also had lively social lives, attending The Hacienda regularly and sharing a house with members of The Happy Mondays (The Ryders are cousins to the Carrolls) and other active members of the scene (Lucas, G. 2008).

taken place on numerous occasions as they reviewed their memories each time. As the creative reshaping of the past within memory is an inherent part of human experience, this cannot be seen as a fault as if there existed a single “objective” viewpoint. The interviewees who were not used to talking about the subject, such as Lee Daly, and Terry Kane, by contrast presented a tone of reflection where they revealed fresh accounts that they had not discussed, or perhaps even thought about since their occurrence.¹⁴³ The varying perspectives of the different interviewees, whether fresh or rehearsed, help to inform each other and consolidate a picture, not a uniform picture but still coherent.

Within the interviews the issue of memory was ever-present; details had been irrecoverably lost with certain points impossible to pursue beyond the surface. This may have been to do with the use of alcohol and mind-altering drugs at the time, all of which effect memory to some degree, but also time lapsed and the general issue of recalling memories, even from the recent past. It is also a possibility that there was a holding back of information that the interviewee didn't want to share, for reasons such as confidentiality or commercial sensitivity, or simply they did not want to take the time to recall, excusing it under the guise of not remembering.

Seven of the nine interviews were conducted with men, with only three of the nine including women. Within these interviews, the eloquence of men when talking about clothes arose. This consisted of talking both about the time itself, in their social groups where there was a culture of clothing interactivity, and in hindsight

¹⁴³ It may have been pertinent with these interviewees to have a follow-up conversation to see if any further insights had come to light after bringing their memories to the forefront of their minds, but practical matters made this impossible. Grinyer and Thomas (2012: 220) suggest that there are a number of advantages in interviewing a research participant on more than one occasion, such as assisting in the development of trust and rapport, offering time between the interviews for both the interviewer and interviewee to reflect and that elements from the first interview can be clarified or expanded upon in the subsequent interview. Grinyer and Thomas cite Hollway and Jefferson (2000) who undertook follow up interviews, a week later in their research on the fear of crime in a British city. The time between the interviews enabled analysis of the first interviews and formulation of more precise questions for the second, thus building up familiarity and trust.

when interviewed. The focus on men's perceptions of attire could be used as part of a framework for future study; and it would be useful to see if this male clothing culture is equally present in movements away from the "modernist aesthetic", to use a term that Hewitt (2002) coined to describe the lineage of subcultures based on the principles and attitudes of the *Mod* ideal. It would also be beneficial to further investigate women's place in and out of the movement and unpick their influence through further interviews with women who were part of the scene, such as Central Station graphic designer Karen Jackson, but also other fashion designers, photographers and musicians. This research helped not only to reveal this gap, but to begin to give a sense of what is missing without the Madchester women's perspective.

6.3. Re-examining Subculture

The research has established that the Madchester era marks the time where there was a shifting in attitude, a point at which subcultural identities became less fixed. This fits with theories that subcultures are thought to have evolved from their traditional sense into less tangible, more eclectic style and taste sensibilities. Applying the concept of bricolage placed further emphasis upon where the clothing items came from and how they were combined, hence referencing a variety of social and cultural sources. The bricoleur also brought to dress choices a tacit understanding arising from shared experiences inspired by locale. This research has identified this way of dressing as dress-scapes, emulating the soundscapes created by DJs in Manchester nightclubs through sampling, mixing and remixing music in response to their audience and surroundings (Calefato, 2004; Walker, 2008); embedded in the sounds of the city's bands, and contributing to a Madchester/Manchester tribal identity. Dress-scape differs from the term "look" that has also been used throughout this thesis, not only in having a broader compass, but by including more than the visual elements of dress. Rather, it is about the impression of a perceived unifying quality, that can be reflective of the tacit nature of dressing in response to environment and experience. As we have seen the

Madchester dress-scape was able to encompass more than one look, and in fact, its diversity was a characteristic of its dress-scape.

When writing about the Manchester/Madchester music scene, it has been difficult to continue to use the term “subculture” when it seems not to apply to this period. Despite initially taking a stand that this was the term that would be used in the thesis (see page 47) due to the lack of suitable replacement, instinctively the term movement became preferred to describe the Madchester scene; it has been used in place of “subculture” where appropriate (although it became confusing to use “movement” when discussing fashion in motion and therefore this term was avoided in sections relating to this subject). The term “movement” was considered in the literature review (page 48), as appropriate for describing looser social coalitions, centred around shared activities or geographies. Its pertinence became more apparent as analysis took place. It has been established that the term “subculture” is no longer relevant to this period, with the thesis proposing that Madchester is the point that there was a shift in attitude to less fixed identities. However, none of the terms suggested to re-define “subculture” by other scholars seemed to fit, including “taste constellations”, which seems to entail ideas class and consumption rather than dress practices. *Movement* allows for a broader, level of affiliation, reflective of the less tangible, constantly mutating, multi-faceted cultures. It is also more dynamic, relating to creative practices such as fashion, design in general, art and music, all integral to a thriving youth culture.

6.4. Authenticity: Asserting Symbolic Citizenship

A fundamental underlying factor in the formation of subcultures (and youth movements) is a perceived falseness in mainstream culture, and a search for authenticity as an antidote. Incorporating objects and their origins within the culture using the process of bricolage is one of the ways the groups seek authenticity: this provides an opportunity to reference approved heritage, presumed origins and personal experiences, all of which contribute to a sense of authentic meaning. These are bound up in the process of “hanging out” as the site and occasion for

developing dress-scapes as they evolve in response to experiences, and testing new additions, reacting to the opinions of the group: sometimes articulated, sometimes unspoken. Authenticity forms the difference between subcultural and youth movement modes of consumption. In subcultures, the original meanings of the items selected are subverted such as the Punk' swastika, whereas in movements original meanings are desired and magnified, as we have seen with American workwear and psychedelia. In each case, the adopted objects come to represent the wearers' own sense of ideals and place. Where the garments are bought, and the styles worn, articulate both individual distinctiveness from the mainstream and a heightened sense of connectedness or "connective tissue" (Entwistle, 2000; Wilson, 2010). A clear group identity to members and outsiders can be used to distance mainstream ideologies, while promoting one's own group (Brake 1985). For those in the current study this meant buying from local independent labels and retailers with their fashion design practice situated in the Manchester music and club scene, but also by appropriating and re-appropriating clothing (and music) styles from the past.

The wearing of flares by Mancunians associated with the loose fit look pre-dates the Madchester movement, and was initially seen on the terraces at Manchester football matches as football fans demonstrated to fans of other clubs their civic allegiance or "symbolic citizenship" (Russell, 1999), in opposition to non-Manchester clubs and the dominant Liverpoolian initiated *Casual* look on the football terraces. Club allegiance to a particular Manchester team was further distinguished more subtly through the width of flare. The symbolic citizenship established through the wearing of flares extended beyond the football terraces onto the streets of Manchester, representing a working class Northern identity that manifested itself in its music culture (necessarily adapting here Bennett's 2001 use of "rock culture") and was particular to the city. Rather than being the persistence of an outmoded style, the manifestation of flares can be traced to an interest in the psychedelic bands of 1960s America. The counter-cultural movements of the 1960s were interpreted as the beginning of an authentic style. Original workwear garments and accessories were also a popular addition to looks making use of a "cultural memory reservoir" (Loveday, 2014): a nostalgic combination of mythology

and lived experiences as a strategy for working-class identification. From the perspective of satisfying the wearer's sense of bricolage and a more tacit wearing experience, dressing in garments with history, or in the spirit of history, produces a feeling of distinction and construction of a "credible" self with a status of uniqueness and originality, advancing the wearer's (sub)cultural capital. The desire to dress in history concurs with Trilling's concept of "originative power" (1972) as the foundation of authenticity. This theory explains that as the narrative of authenticity evolves, there is a shift in the origin from its source to where the search for it begins, as the origin cannot be grasped. The search for authenticity always seems to harbour this paradox. Shumway's contribution clarifies this further in this context stating that authenticity is "historically and culturally relative" (2007: 527).

As the scene evolved perceptions of authenticity varied according to the wearers' background and experiences, such as the distinction made by the interviewees between the original look of flares and the later Baggy look that may have been difficult to distinguish from outside of the scene but was quite apparent within. For the perpetrators of the original flared look, the Baggy look had nothing to do with its origins and lacked its authenticity. However, in-line with Shumway's contribution cited above and Foucault's argument that since it is "always against a backdrop of the already begun that man is able to reflect on what may serve him as origin" (2012: 360), I argue that this next generation of Madchester was no less authentic than their predecessors in finding its own relationships and reference points. Their clothing choices can be seen as a later, alternative dialect, its users remaining true to themselves with their own sense of the authentic.

6.5. Tacit Understandings

In contrast to the aforementioned loose-fitting distinctions of flared and Baggy not distinguishable by outsiders, there were two silhouettes in Manchester during the time period studied that though in appearance very different, were part of the same scene (dress-scape). The wearers of these looks - the loose-baggy silhouette and

a tighter, more body conscious silhouette were part of the same club and music scene and shared a tacit understanding based on common experiences, although manifesting in a different appearance. From the outside, by those accustomed to defined subcultures, the looks were seen as socially separate and not part of a single subculture. In fact, the experiences shared by the participants were more fundamental than purely visual based judgements (evident to outsiders). This lack of one obvious look highlights how the traditional concept of subculture is inappropriate for this time. Club culture has been suggested as an alternative (Thornton, 1995; Redhead, 1995; Bennett, 2001), and is appropriate for the night-time element of Madchester in its emphasis on locale.

Clubbers bought clothing especially to wear in nightclubs; non-habitual clothing in Woodward's terms. Clubbers could therefore be specific about the clothing's characteristics, such as appropriateness for dancing to specific types of music, not just for their visual effect but the tactile and sensual effect on the wearer and in turn the wearer's stance. As the movement progressed, Madchester's looks evolved during the time studied, both as a response to the need to feel comfortable, and responding to the sensual effect of the garment fabrics when dancing. This view extends the understanding of baggy clothing in the existing literature (Calefato, 2004; Champion, 1990; Haslam, 1999; Luck, 2002; Robb, 2009). This thesis uses the term "fashion in motion" to define the interaction of garment and wearer in movement, and its visual result. This interaction has two effects, one from an observer's perspective and the other from the inside as the experience of the wearer.

Shared experiences are an integral part of youth cultural movements, inseparable from their fashions, and reinforcing localism. The comparison of Northern Soul with Madchester expounded in this thesis supports the notion that a tacit understanding particular to each subculture/movement is shared between its members and moves beyond the visual into these shared experiences.¹⁴⁴ The differences in the

¹⁴⁴ Experiences shared include attending and travelling to the same venues, shopping in the same stores, consuming the same drugs, and listening and dancing to the same music, while wearing garments with a particular sensual effect (in response to movement).

experiences of both scenes, despite a comparable silhouette in the form of flared trousers, meant that the similar garments' different effects (in response to different dance movements) affected the identity of those partaking in the scene. The tactile relationship the clothing has on the wearer's skin as they move and the garments' effects on their movement is part of attitude, a projection of identity.

6.6. A Fourth Practical Aspect of Subcultural Style

Brake's concept categorising three practical aspects of subcultural style,¹⁴⁵ (also adopted by Entwistle), offers insight into identifying such groups through their dress, gait and vocabulary. These are all easily identifiable, tangible aspects. However, this thesis posits that the experience of fashion goes beyond the visual incorporating less tangible, more instinctual, tacit aspects. The experience of being part of a group wearing garments in a certain way, the way the clothing *feels*, and how this feeling is internalised and projected, is integral to the communication of identity, and shapes the self both physically and psychologically. This thesis proposes a modification to Brake's subcultural aspects with the addition of a fourth category, *attitude*, which addresses the more tacit, intangible and visually unlocatable aspects that are essential to subcultures/movements.

Entwistle used 'cool' for Mods and 'angry' for Punk as examples of Brake's gait or postural expression (136) and these examples could easily be transferred over to examples for attitude, responding to the instincts, moods and feeling of being part of such groups. For Manchester during the time frame studied, this manifested itself in *swagger*, representing an attitude deriving from a sense of pride in the city's working class heritage, cultural origins, and experiences, bound up in the process of "hanging out". The communication of less tangible, more instinctual aspects of dress through the practical aspect of *attitude* can be compared to music where such meanings, emotions and moods are presented and sufficiently shared

¹⁴⁵ Brake's three practical aspects of subcultural style are: 1) image, in this context the dressed body, accessories and artefacts, even vehicles; 2) gait or postural expression and, 3) argot; the delivery of the particular vocabulary of the group.

without the need for verbalisation (Davis, 1994). Attitude is an aspect of dress and fashion that requires further study, which will be remarked upon in the following section.

6.7. Future Study

Dress is integrally linked to music within youth movements; comparative study of music and dress in other movements would be worthwhile, in particular, how a tacit understanding may be shared between its members. Of particular interest would be Northern Soulers, and also those who attended *Shoom* in London during the same period as the Madchester scene to see if these movements too shared a tacit understanding that united their partakers and how this was performed; this would shed further light on the practice of dress, and help validate this theory.

The research has found that there were two interrelated sets within the scene that could be identified as the looser, baggy fitting look acknowledged as the dress of Madchester in national discourse. This encompassed an established scene (*Flared*), and a younger scene that revolved around the former for a while, then evolved into something new (*Baggy*). With their own cultural references, both authentic, and responses to social and cultural atmospheres, these two sets illustrate how interrelated groups (and looks) have been interpreted as the same scene from the outside, whereas within they were perceived as different. Equally, the two distinct looks, loose (encompassing flared and baggy) and tight fitting, were part of the same movement through a tacit understanding, based on common experiences shared by those on the inside of the scene. The visual differences in dress meant the two looks were perceived as separate subcultures from the outside. Moving beyond the purely visual in our understanding of dress, the idea of tacit understanding within scenes would usefully form part of a conceptual framework for any future research.

This thesis' findings illustrate the importance of "unpacking" the first glance, catch-all terms given to (sub)cultural movements. Querying the partakers' cultural

heritage and reference points, together with shared experiences and locales would help inform conceptual frameworks of future study. A potential area of future study related to this advice is one raised by Phil Saxe (see Appendix 1.2) describing how as a Mod based in Manchester in the 1960s, he had a very different look to those in London, with the wearing of turn ups on trousers and larger vents in the back of pockets. With hands in trouser pockets, a particular stance and style of walking was encouraged. Saxe's demonstration of this within his interview suggested a kind of *swagger*. Might such a swaggering stance form a practical aspect of Manchester's style across time and locales? If so, it could be further extended to investigate whether other movements and locations adopt particular stances as part of their identity. In other words, is attitude a uniting feature in local fashion?

As mentioned in the Response to methods used section, the focus on men's perceptions of attire could be used as part of a framework for future study, although it would be useful to see if it is equally so in movements away from the modernist aesthetic (Hewitt, 2002), such as Northern Soul (already an aspiring area for future study) or movements surrounding the Punk scenes. One area touched upon within this thesis that warrants further study is the impact of the clothing worn in the nightclubs by clubbers from other towns / cities who travelled to night clubs such as The Hacienda in Manchester. Such an investigation could examine how looks translated back to their own locale and other nightclubs they visited. Was such movement all one-way, or did other Northern looks infiltrate Manchester as well?

Due to the participants found for this study, there was a lack of coverage of the student and gay scenes. This is in no way intended to diminish their importance. Further investigation, specifically, into these scenes and their interaction or separateness from the Manchester scene would benefit our understanding. It is expected that the scenes were mutually influential and that there were overlaps in locales, such as music and clubbing venues, alluded to by Spinoza and Cunningham (Appendix 1.9) when discussing the Canal Street bar Manto as a pre-Hacienda venue.

These investigations would both contribute to the knowledge of the influence of the Manchester music and club scene(s) on youth fashion as well as provide further information about the “trickle across” process in operation where fashion moves horizontally between groups on similar social levels.

6.8. Loose Fit?

At first glance loose fit appears to be an oxymoron. Loose suggests relaxed, slack and roomy, whereas fit implies an emphasis on cut and tailoring. When The Happy Mondays wrote about loose fit, they were defining a look that was interpreted as a subculture by observers from outside of the movement. However, beneath the surface Madchester’s music culture had more than one look. This lack of one obvious look highlights how the traditional concept of subculture is inappropriate for this time. The looks of the Madchester era began to place more emphasis on local sourcing of clothes and local hang-outs. Looseness was an attitude that could be interpreted in different ways: feminine floatiness, comic bagginess, a response to the music played in venues across the city, or the swagger of a new-found pride found in working-class and Northern heritage. In this diversity of interpretation, looseness may well be an apt metaphor for the Madchester style.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interviews

1.1. Description of interviewees (in chronological order of interview)

Phil Saxe

Phil Saxe is currently a Senior Lecturer at Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts on the BA (hons) Music, Theatre and Entertainment Management. Saxe co-owned *Gangway*, a market stall on The Arndale Market, Manchester which sold casual wear. He was also The Happy Monday's first manager and the head of A&R for Factory Records during the time period studied.

Bruce Atkinson

Bruce Atkinson is currently a lecturer on the FdA Fashion Design at Mid Cheshire College. He is also a freelance pattern cutter and sample machinist. During the time period studied he was employed by Manchester based mens and womens wear label Baylis and Knight.

Alison Knight

Alison Knight is the co-owner of Manchester based mens and womens wear label Baylis and Knight.

Ursula Darrigan (with Alison Knight)

Ursula Darrigan is currently the co-owner of Manchester based mens and womens wear label Baylis and Knight, in partnership with Alison Knight. During the time period studied she was the owner of Manchester based independent clothing label and small retail chain, Wear it Out.

AJ Wilkinson (with Terry Kane and Andy White)

Terry Kane, Andy White and AJ Wilkinson are all lecturers in photography at Mid Cheshire College. During the time period studied Terry Kane was a Disc Jockey (DJ). AJ Wilkinson and Andy White were photographers, for City Life magazine (Wilkinson) and freelance (White).

Ian Tilton

Ian Tilton is a photographer who specialises in the music industry.

Lee Daly

During the time period studied, Daly was a friend of band members from The Stone Roses and The Happy Mondays. He is credited with initiating the Baldrick / Madchester look and was one of a group of young men photographed by Tilton for an i-D magazine photo shoot (October 1987)

Andy Spinoza (with Lynn Cunningham)

During the time period studied, Spinoza was editor of City Life magazine and later editor of the Diary page of The Manchester Evening News. Lynn Cunningham, Spinoza's partner worked for Manchester City Council.

Leo Stanley

Leo Stanley is the owner of Identity, a t-shirt brand and shop in Affleck's Palace that was open during the time period studied.

1.2. Phil Saxe

Interview between Susan Atkin (SA) and Phil Saxe (PS) 22nd November 2011, 10.00am, Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts (LIPA).

Conversation started in the lift up to Phil Saxe's office before recorder could be set.

Phil Saxe (PS) -that's what I was when I was thirteen and fourteen and er, so I drew a little..... I buy records all the time now. Anyway, you're interested in the 80s and 90s?

Susan Atkin (SA) - Yes, what I'm trying to find out if there is a Manchester look. My question is about the influence of youth culture, music on fashion, Manchester fashion...

PS - Right

SA -But because it's such a huge project I'm focussing on 1986 to 1996.....

PS - So you've read things like Paul Thornton's Casuals?

SA - No, I've been looking at, in a similar way to your research, place and space and I've read John Robb's oral history. But am trying to also focus on more academic theory

PS - Of course, you've got links as well. You've automatically assumed that there is a link between fashion and music.... Right...and there's a lot of anecdotal evidence to suggest there is, but I'm not always sure there is. And, you know, a great example I always think of this is Teddy Boys are perceived as rock n roll aren't they? But they preceded rock n roll. They adopted the music two years after they were Teddy Boys. Erm.... I suspect similar things happened with lots of other youth cultures.

SA - Do you not think that they feed into one another?

PS - Well, they do.

SA - And with my focus on this time period there seems to be a lot of anecdotal evidence.....

PS - The whole Madchester thing, there is a lot of myth and mythology. You only have to read Shaun's new book to realise the flight of fancy. Sometimes he comes out with things like "some doctor told me my thyroid had completely disappeared."

SA - I'm tempted to read the book...

PS - I haven't read it. Well, come on. What do you want to ask me then?

SA - Just where you fit in really... and what I've read you were both involved in fashion and music.

PS - Well, like you said music when all said and done when I was in the late 60s... I was a DJ and Brian and I began the Northern Soul thing when we started importing and playing. I mean, you know what it's like, if you're the DJ, you've got control over what people listen to. I mean, nothing ever appeared on the radio. There was one radio show I think at the time. In the mid 60s there was one called "Soul Supply" done Hammer Horror actor called Mike Raven who used to appear on Radio Luxemburg [Soul Supply was named after a series of rhythm and blues singles, one or two lauched a week by record label EMI] and then later than that there was a guy [Alex is Korner] who used to be in Blues Incorporated [British early 1960s rhythm and blues band]. He had a soul show on Radio One but it was very peripheral and on a Sunday 1977 – 1981] Erm... So the DJs in the clubs could play stuff that you wouldn't hear anywhere else. Which I think is probably different than nowadays so for instance, that's why you got places like Twisted Wheel became central to music because we played something to a crowd of people that they wouldn't hear anywhere else and certainly the records were never hits because you didn't play hits and there was a low supply of them. They were rare and then when we started importing them from the states..... Errr.... It got even, you know, more obscure and rarer and It developed into a big scene in the '70s. So Brian and I were there. After that I wasn't involved at all but I always had a big record collection and was always interested in music and when the Twisted Wheel became Placemate [6 Whitworth Street, Manchester] I DJ'd for about three months and by this time I'd got into The Velvet Underground and Iggy Pop and David Bowie.... Erm.... And I started playing that..... erm... In the club and got sacked because I got told it was attracting the wrong kind of people.

So it was a vague little flirtation with being a DJ in the '70s and after that I was just a record collector. But I used to hang around with a group of people in north Manchester. My late wife lived in Middleton and I was from Stretford and she lived next door to a.... Err.... A family named the Pickerings and Bill and Margaret Pickering were Bill and Vera Sullivan's - Jean was called Sullivan - their best friends. They'd always go on holiday together and this sort of stuff and in fact my parents weren't at my wedding, I got married when I was twenty to Jean.... Erm... Because I'm Jewish and Jean wasn't, they wouldn't come to the wedding. So Bill and Margaret Pickering were my substitute parents at the wedding. So we were quite close.... Erm.... So I would have been twenty. I was twenty when we got married. We used to go to a club in Manchester called Pips [Fennel Street, Manchester] and hang around with all the... we were sort of like... it sounds quite embarrassing but we were like the centre of that sort of beginning of the glam rock

scene in Manchester Err... And albeit that would have been a little bit behind London because Manchester always is and so yes, we were part of that scene. We were the married couple in that scene and everybody else was probably a bit younger – nineteen - around that sort of time and a group of people, one was Mike, who you probably realise was M-People and went to Factory Records and Deconstruction... Erm... And behind the Warehouse Project, all that sort of stuff. The other one was Mike's best friend from watching City [Manchester City Football Club]. That was the only problem with Mike, a City supporter, Rob Gretton who wasn't managing Warsaw - no Joy Division - Warsaw, New Order yet but that was in the future, and the other lad was err.... Err.... A guy called Martin Fry and Martin brought along, I always remember, we had a party once and Martin brought along a Jonathan Richmond [founded The Modern Lovers, a proto-punk band in 1970. Since the mid 1970s has been working as a solo artist] album and we listened to that so there was a group of people who all actually ended up working in the music industry but at that time we were just people who went to a club in Manchester and were into John Cale [founding member of American rock band The Velvet Underground] and the Velvet Underground and all that sort of stuff erm.... I met Martin for the first time at a John Cale concert at the Free Trade Hall.

So my involvement with music is like that.

So I was well known for having a big record collection and certainly in the '70s I got involved in liking quite disparate types of music. Because having my background, I always bought soul albums and I got very much into blues and then I got interested in pre-war blues so like tons of pre-war blues albums so we'd listen to like, erm.... Charlie Pattern and Sun House and people like that, Skip James, people like that all the time and at the same time because I was interested in The Velvet Underground and a huge John Cale fan I got interested in a lot of things because of John Cale. If you think of all the albums John Cale produced the first time round, you know, Patti Smith [Cale produced *Horses* (1975)], erm.... You know Jonathan Richmond, etc etc. I got into all that erm.... And because of that I was also very interested in music from Roxy Music Brian Eno so by the mid '70s erm.... Brian Eno had brought out an album..... Erm.... I mean a record label called Obscure Music, Obscure Records I think it was called and I always remember my late wife bought the first 5 albums for me as a birthday present. God knows how old I was, about twenty four and so I had the whole series of them and I got into experimental music so I used to buy stuff by John Cage, Phillip Glass, particularly Penguin Cafe Orchestra are still my favourite artists etc etc so I had quite eclectic tastes. I never really got into punk until Pickering took us to see Television at the Free Trade Hall with Blondie as support. I wasn't bothered by Blondie but I liked Television. So I got into them post punk arty things, Talking Heads and other stuff. But all through this time I was a marketing manager. I started erm.... Working basically because I had

to leave home when I was eighteen 'cos I told my Mum and Dad I was getting married to a non-Jewish girl.... Erm... I didn't go to university to become a lawyer which is what I was meant to be, a good Jewish profession so what I did was I went to work after my A-levels and became a trainee buyer in Trafford park and then I ended up working past Carrington and eventually going to work at the Co-Op [The Co-operative] in central Manchester and I was erm.... The product manager for frozen foods and I ended up, I was really good at that, and then I ended up being head hunted by a firm in Hull so we moved to Hull and my daughters were born in Hull and strangely enough the oldest one, Charlotte, she is now thirty three. She was born at a place called Beverly Westwood and she went to Oxford and then moved to London which is where she lives now and met a lad who was also born in Beverly Westwood. Strange! But Hull's always been part of the story for the Saxe family but anyway all that sort of erm... I'm just trying to think where we're up to... Oh yes, so we went to Hull so I was never really involved in music again just football. I used to go to all the United [Manchester United Football Club] games home and away and then, I'm just trying to think when this would be, probably just at the beginning of the '80s, I got made redundant... Erm.... From a firm I worked for in Hull called Humbro they made tins of paint and airfix and all that and I got made redundant and we were skint and I errr.... Came back to Manchester during the week and Jean was in Hull by herself and we had hardly any money and I used to work with me brother. Me Dad had a tailor's outfitters shop in Didsbury. My brother had a stall in the Arndale Centre. And that's how I got involved in clothes. Clothes were always in the background because my dad was a tailor and when I was a kid I was a mod so I was always wearing nice suits and now I wear suits now for work. So I was always aware of fashion because of my dad erm.... And I was always very aware of what made Manchester distinctive from somewhere else

SA - What would you say that was?

PS - Well, I don't know - It was never anything big usually. Its usually something very very minor but I think what tends to happen with regional fashion is that - the first thing is a temporal thing, you're always a bit later, so the first mods were in London and you're probably talking '62, '63. It didn't really filter into Manchester probably a year, two years later but by the time i was a mod 1966-7 I suppose it was a bit old hat in London but peculiar – and I don't know if it was North West or Manchester but there were particular ways of wearing things. I always remember this, when I went to a Jewish Summer School in Felixstowe or somewhere like that when I was about fifteen and the London lads who were all my age all thought what I was wearing was a bit daft. I was very suited up but we had, and I've still got this here now, I've still got this as a trait. Manchester mods had very big vents in the back of their jackets so if you look...

SA - Oh yeah

PS - ... they're very big vents. Right. Manchester mods did that and there was a way of walking where you'd walk with your hands in your pocket with your – showing how big the vent was – at the back of your pocket – (*stands up to demonstrate hand in back pocket*) at the back of your jacket and that vent - in fact that needs sewing up – that vent was part of that thing. I don't think that that was ever part of London.

SA - Right

PS - Erm... Also.... And things change over time. If you talk to a mod now about desert boots and stuff. Clarks Desert boots. I'd never heard of Clarks desert boots when I was a kid. You bought them for five shilling from the Army and Navy store. You know, so things change over time. People mythologise what happened but big vents were the thing. I remember that. Erm... I remember the fact that I think we all wore turn ups on our trousers so you see (*points to hem of trouser*) turn-ups. I think that was a Manchester-y thing. And probably imported from Glasgow – a lot of Glaswegians moved to Manchester in the '60s – was carrying a steel comb in your top pocket. Unfortunately the handle would be sharpened so it was basically a weapon.

Erm.... That was distinctive. That was a Manchester thing then – very much Twisted Wheel. But I think the way we were dressed, like sometimes it was with jeans and a jeans jacket, a checked button down shirt, a steel comb and short hair – we probably looked like skinheads

SA - Right

PS - In fact I always remember in the 1970s someone shouting from the bus “Suedehead” and I was “what the hell's that? Suedehead?” But in London they would have been skinheads, but in Manchester they were Mods if you know what I mean?

SA – Yeah

PS - That there was that displacement. So that's one factor thinking about it. But I think that regionalism. It's not just temporal, that you're a little bit behind, it's that you always do something a little bit different. Erm.... And I also think it changes for the particular period so even on the mod scene if someone dressed absolutely like a mod they'd probably look odd because everything's slightly changed. So you get mods who wear pointed shoes. No mod in the '60s would have worn pointed shoes. It was a no-no. But it becomes part of scenes as they change. You get a

few wearing double breasted suits, no-one would have worn double breasted suits. It was all three buttons high lapels, do you know what i mean?

SA - Yeah

PS - Everything gets changed. But you know, when you're a twenty eight inch waist you can wear things, when you're sixty and a thirty eight waist you can't wear the same things. So everything changes. Erm... So I think there are a few different things going on.

And what happened, I came back to Manchester and me brother had this stall, he used to sell to Scallies and the usual sort of people you'd expect would shop on an indoor market in the Ardnale centre in Manchester and errr... His errr... It was called... What was it?... It was called "Gangway", the stall... And he had the stall and we managed to get another stall, you know, quite fortunately just because, you know, I was made redundant and I sort of like went back into the family business, erm... And so I was on a stall and Leonard would lead the way, we'd buy jeans and things for the Scallies and all the rest of it. Erm... I was still a bit interested in music – we used to go and see bands play because the Hacienda had opened by that time and Mike Pickering used to book the bands at the time for the Hacienda... Erm... So, you know, we'd go and watch the bands.

And then, probably about 1984... Erm... I'll always remember this – dead clearly, three girls, we used to chat to people on the stall and... You know, I'd always chat to the kids, I've always been someone who likes talking to young people – that sounds weird now dunnit now? (laughs) But - no it is - but yeah – I've always been interested in what young people thing and what young people do. Erm..... And these three girls used to come and chat to us. One of them – and they were from Salford. And they had these sort of palm tree hair dos in those days.... Now you've got to remember in the early '80s, Northern fashion, I think was very Liverpool influenced. It was all those trainers... very very tight light blue jeans or stretch jeans, you know – that was the thing. Everything was very very Liverpool and you know the Liverpool/Manchester enmity football wise and all the rest of it. Errr... I just think it was the right time for a particular Mancunian thing to happen.

Erm... And these girls were from Salford and they said "do you ever get any flares in?" – they would be about fifteen, sixteen, these girls, and I said, "Flares? What do you want flares for?" Exactly the opposite of what everybody is wearing and they said, "We're on the dole. We can't afford twenty quid for a pair of jeans so we were just wondering if there was any old stock?" So I actually went to a warehouse that night, found some old stock of flared jeans – you know, twenty inch bottoms, twenty four inch bottoms... Erm.... And brought them in. And the girls came back and they all had a pair and, you know, within two weeks we must have had about two or three hundred customers. It spread like wild fire. I mean, it's a weird thing because... You know, to be there when Northern Soul first developed

SA - Yeah

PS - And then to be right at the focus of flares being worn in Manchester was great. I suspect nobody in Manchester wore flares before those three girls. I don't think they were copying kids from round their way, but I think everybody started copying them and part of that original two or three hundred were people like Shaun Ryder and Paul Ryder and Paul Davies [band members of The Happy Mondays] and all Salford connections.

SA - So it was definitely all Salford?

PS - It was all Salford. Erm... It was all Swinton and Salford and Worsley and all that sort of thing. And you'd wear them very long, dragging on the floor.... Erm.... Trainers or there used to be these Clarks trainers that used to be all one colour you used to get from the Underground market, from a friend called Simon, Si, on the Underground market. I was on the Arndale Centre market but the underground market on the other side of Market Street, this guy worked in a shop there and used to get seconds of these Clarks shoes... So anyway, it was a fashion but it was very very Mancunian. Nowhere else in the country wore flares so much so that it was very associated with football in the early days, and I always think - not that my views are coloured because I'm a United fan but there was a definite distinction between the city fans and united fans - fashion wise. Remember this is before the music.

SA – yeah

PS - Erm... Very quickly all the... –and when you think about it its Salford innit? United?

SA – Yeah

PS - The first lot of flares that came out, everybody would wear really exaggerated twenty five inches stuff right? But the Salford kids soon started narrowing that down to what they would call semi flares. Eighteen inch, twenty inch maximum right? So that's what – in a word – in the first flurry you go a bit berserk and then a couple of months later it's all honed down a bit, got to look smart, people would spend hours trying on jeans to make sure they looked good, you know what I mean, all this sort of stuff. And eighteen to twenty inch. But City fans carried on wearing twenty five inch bottom flares...

SA – Right

PS – And so City fans got known for wearing the widest flares but they looked knob heads basically. (Laughs)

SA – (laughs) (inaudible)

PS – Yeah, yeah, but I thought it looked daft after a while because it was too exaggerated. I think that's what happens with all fashions, you know, and all music to some degree. It's all extreme at first and then it sort of gets gentrified, dunt it? And I think that's what happened there... So there was a clear distinction by about '85 I think of City fans wearing very very wide flares and United fans wearing something a bit..... Straighter. Errr... But of course everywhere else around the country, they thought you were mad. And I know that because where did I get the from? I used to drive all around the UK, buying up old stock. Everybody used to want to give it us, you know, for nothing because they can't sell it in Nottingham, London, wherever... Only in Manchester could you sell them. Erm.... And so for eighteen months we made a right killing and then of course it spread all around the country. Erm... And it spread all around the country probably related to what the beginnings of the Madchester music scene was.

And what happened was that Shaun and Paul who were customers gave me a tape and said they knew I knew Mike Pickering.... No I don't think they did... They gave me a tape anyway or they said they were in a band and I said, "awww great", then give me a copy because I've got a mate who works for a record company and works at the Hacienda. So they gave me a tape and I remember listening to it on erm... Oldham Street, we were driving up Oldham Street – no not Oldham Street – the one next to it, whatever its called...

SA – Newton Street?

PS – Newton Street. I was driving up there with my brother and we've got the tape on in the car and we were going, "ey, this is alright, this", and so I went and saw them rehearse, gave the tape, no I said I might have got a band would be worth putting on at the Hacie– they had these home grown nights errr... Like on a Wednesday night or Tuesday night or something. I said, "do you want the tape?", and he went, "no", because he was a great mate of mine, he said, "do you like them? I'll put them on". And that's how they got to play the Hacienda first. Errr.... And of course, nobody was interested in them at all, you know, so this is the exact opposite of anything the music scene in Manchester was about, you know, at that time The Charlatans were called The Electric Cranes...Erm.... The Stone Roses were like a goth [gothic] band....Erm.... You know, everything that was hip and trendy at Factory was all Jazz Defectors, erm... A Certain Ratio, Fadela, all doing

jazzy sort of stuff which was alright when you went there, you could like tap your foot but as soon as you left you couldn't remember a word of it... Erm... But it, you know, it was sort of a hiatus really and anybody who was a bit muso and you know, there were people who were dressed in like, a bloke would go out wearing shorts, socks worn up to here (*points to just below his knee*) and a very very short Tin Tin haircut and a little jacket. They all looked really ridiculous – I thought – and I used to hate the Hacienda, the people that went in..... Erm..... I remember going there – no, actually I remember – no this is – actually, I've got it wrong. Before they gave us the tape I was at the Hacienda watching a lad off the market's band playing one of these hometown gigs and Shaun and Paul and Paul Davies out of the Mondays [The Happy Mondays] and Si came in and sat with me.... upstairs to watch the band. And I couldn't believe that lads like that were in the Hacienda, 'cos you never got lads from Salford – working class people – in the Hacienda, it was all middle class muso.....

SA – Right, Okay...

PS – I mean, that's really what it was. You know, you can imagine the arty sort, I mean, the Peter Savilles [graphic designer and art director. In 2004, Saville became Creative Director of the city of Manchester] of the world... It was all that. The lads – you know, I was surprised they even got in, you know. These lads went and got pissed on a Saturday night, you know.... Errrr..... And went dancing to disco music or something in all the big clubs in Manchester. So these lads were in the Hacienda and that's when he said, "oh, we're in a band and that's why we're looking at these. That's when I got the tape. Erm.... But I just loved – you've got to remember the fashion's already there and I just loved the idea that some people who dressed like this were in a band... And.... I just thought, why shouldn't kids like these from Salford have their own music? And really, that's how I got involved with the Mondays.

SA – Right.

PS – And because I was the only person who knew anything about business at all but nothing about music business really, that's how I ended up managing them.....

SA – Right.

PS – It was through the fashion first. And I was always very very aware of that. Erm..... You know.... Fashion was dramatically important for the Manchester thing, and then you had The Stone Roses copying how the Mondays dressed.... Erm.... Mainly because.... they....they used to have a guy that used to dance on the stage with them who wore very very wide flares, but he used to hang around with the

Mondays, but dance for The Stone Roses, you know, that sort of thing... Errr.... Clint [Clint Boon, founder member and keyboard player] out of the Inspiral Carpets. Clint was a Mondays fan. He used to come to all the early gigs. He used to have a John Cale haircut which is why I started talking to him at first and he used to say, "oh, I love the Mondays", then soon afterwards he joined The Inspiral Carpets, and then The Charlatans changed their name, he [referring to Tim Burges, lead singer of The Charlatans] got rid of his leather jacket, had a fringe, you know what I mean? He used to have slicked back hair and all this sort of stuff. Everything changed because of that. But the fashion then became that Madchester thing, which was a bit later. And then I ended up working for the record label [Factory] and perpetuating that fashion and music thing.

SA – Right. Because you're credited for sort of creating this "Baldrick" look....

PS – Yeah, but who called it "Baldrick"? Some....

SA – I don't know, I mean.....

PS -Someone in London or who doesn't understand it all.

SA – Because I'd never heard of it until I started reading up on stuff...

PS – Yes, but it's that mythology business again. I mean, certain things about it. As far as.... People.... The gatekeepers of society, like the record labels, the press, the radio – media – picking up on what was happening in Manchester – They didn't. As usually the case London picked up on it. Unfortunately for Manchester London picked up on it before Manchester. Right? What happened, the Mondays..... A shambolic sort of band, wearing these flares, errr, they'd wear flowery, paisley type shirts and big baggy jumpers. They had little wispy beards or goaties and stud. And, yeah, Baldrick was on t.v. Right? And, you know, Baldrick's quite errr... errrr.... A damning term from a middle class commentator...

SA – Well, yes...

PS – Absolutely. Baldrick suggests a dirty.... And all this sort of stuff... Emmmm... Living in the gutter. It was very very casual sort of.... look. But, you know.... everybody's....It's not.... I think it's a bit of an insult really...

SA – yeah?

PS – ...And.... But nobody in Manchester was interested. When we played the first really great Mondays gig, it was at errr.... A small club just off St. Anne's Square – I

can't remember the name of it. But there was about.... It only fit 95 people and every single person was one of these kids - Girls and boys – it was brilliant. And you just felt like, "Wow. This is a complete little scene and no one else knows about it". The Mondays played and a band of hairdressers from the Hacienda called The Weaves, they played as well. But the Mondays were unbelievable, you know, it was just a great great gig. And very very distinctive. But outside of that, people – you know – no one was interested. Tony the Greek who had a radio show on Radio Manchester would never play the Mondays stuff, didn't play anything until the album came out – wouldn't play Freaky Dancing, wouldn't play the first track etc. Nobody actually (inaudible) in Manchester. No press. I think Bob Dickinson did an article but really, generally, people weren't interested. They were still into jazz funk, jazz this and that and looked down on these kids who can't play their instruments from Salford and smelly whatever, they thought wearing.... You know, you can see the fashion now still here... They're wearing cagoules with their hoods up on stage – you know – all that – that's what they're doing. Ermmm..... Yeah, no, and.... Then Mike basically got us recording for Factory Records, I'm managing them and I suppose some of it's because I'm his mate, so.... They end up being on Factory. Then we've done – do stuff in London. But some – I mean – Tony was great – Tony Wilson was a great guy – but I don't think Tony really realised they were on the label until.... after Freaky Dancing [1986]. Right. Ermmm..... They had this thing called The Festival of the Tenth Summer at GMEX [Ten events took place between 12 July and 19 July 1986 (The GMEX concert) to commemorate ten years since The Sex Pistols performed at The Lesser Free Trade Hall in July 1976. Events included music events, seminars, film, exhibitions and merchandise issues]. The only Factory band who didn't get tickets was The Happy Mondays. Tony thought The Railway Children were going to be the next big thing or Fadela, or stuff like that, you know, he just used to let Mike Pickering do what he wanted with The Happy Mondays and you always get that, "oh, Tony discovered The Happy Mondays" but he actually discovered them two records in on his own record label.

SA – (laughs)

PS – Ermmm.... 'cos, you know, Tony didn't get the fashion I wouldn't have thought, you know, Tony's fashion sense was infamously bad. You know, I always used to say to him, "Tony, when you left the shop with that suit, I bet they were smiling weren't they. They would have been dancing by the time you got down the road. 'Bloody – good God, we managed to sell that suit!'" . Ermmm.... And he did, he had terrible dress sense. Errr.... And he always though he had great dress sense, but he had terrible dress sense. Errrr..... But anyway... Errr.... So we're on Factory and we went to London or we'd had a release in London and there was a guy called – he was really instrumental in this – Jeff Barrett. And Jeff Barrett... Errrr... Latterly was Heavenly Records. But Jeff was our Plugger or our guy who

dealt with NME [New Musical Express], Melody Maker, all that sort of stuff. And Jeff championed the Mondays. And what happened was that he got all the journalists in London interested in the Mondays. So we would play to two people and a dog in Manchester, you know, apart from that small core of fans. You'd go to London and play a small pub in Camden and it would be full of the NME and Melody Maker and all the trend setters in London. So the tastemakers were in London. And they championed the Mondays when everyone in Manchester ignored them..... It's a weird thing....

SA – Yeah

PS –That's what happened. And I think partly that's the fashion as well. And Jeff Barrett eventually set up his own band called Flowered Up....

SA – Right, yeah.

PS –Which was very much a take on the Mondays but a London thing. Ermm.... So it was strange the way the fashion took off. But it was Salford primarily. It was working class... Ermmmm..... And it was just a bit different and then of course, it took over didn't it?

SA – Yeah

PS- And then it becomes Madchester and all that sort of stuff.

SA – So when do you think it became Madchester then?

PS – Errr.... It became Madchester.... The first album no, it became Madchester when they did WFL. The remix of Wrote For Luck off the second album. And by that time I'm working for the record label – I'm not the manager. Errr... and I think a lot of the – I think it was that.... Marrying.... The Mondays with.... that sort of... err.... rave culture. That's what happened intit really?

SA – Yeah.

PS – Which was great for the Mondays – they got really popular and all the rest of it but in some ways ruined it all because they never actually developed into the band they should have done. If you listen to the first album and you listen to Bummed they are fantastic rock albums. And the sound would have developed. After WFL you end up with Pills, Thrills and Bellyaches... And... Basically they're DJ remixes aren't they?

SA – Yeah.

PS – No one ever heard what the tracks should have been like and I think we saw that that was a bit of a shame, you know, so they became a band that was famous because they were remixed to buggery, you know, and you could say that their producers were as important as the band after that. But the first couple of albums were really heavy and different and.... The lyrics were unbelievable.... yeah.....

SA – I guess I'd never thought about it like that because they were a band, and not the production.

PS – Oh well, the first album was produced by John Cale because he was my hero and we managed to persuade Tony that he should do it. Ermmm.... And he didn't do a great job because it was done in twenty days and I think they started again after five. And, but there's a certain power to it and a lot of people will now say, "oh, that's a classic album". But it must have sold a couple of thousand when it came out. And then when they did Bummed... Ermmm.... They did it with Martin Hannett [music producer and partner in Factory] and it's all quite dark and heavy and it's got that dance beat but it's slightly subdued. I mean the only track that con... crossed over – which showed the direction we were going in without the remix would be Twenty Four Hour Party People . Twenty Four Hour Party People was actually made after the album. 'Cos the album had a track on called Desmond that we had to take off because it was Ob La Di Ob La Da to different words and... erm... after Northern Songs had originally said "okay", they changed their minds when they heard what the lyrics were about.... Erm.... The dealer in the market place, blah blah, all this sort of stuff. So we actually went back in the studio to record one track and because the album was called Twenty Four Hour Party People Plastic Face etcetera [*Squirrel and G-Man Twenty Four Hour Party People Plastic Face Carnt Smile (White Out). (1987)*], we thought we should have a track called Twenty Four Hour Party People and it wasn't John Cale who produced it, a guy called Dave Young who was the engineer on the session for John Cale. And if you think about it, that's the only track that ever gets played from the early days. Nothing off Bummed [1988] that was not remixed, nothing – and I wasn't the manager then – err when it was actually recorded – I was there for the demos – but that was the way we were going and if you think about it and, you know, what it was was Twenty Four Hour Party People was me playing lots of soul tracks, northern soul tracks to the boys and them attempting to do northern soul. And that's where Twenty Four Hour Party People comes from. The whole thing about it is all northern soul. And then rave sort of took over – but that wasn't remixed – that was just it.

SA – Right, okay.

PS – That was just it, that was what we were trying to do. You know, I think we were there actually a year and a half before the remixes actually happened. And what I'm trying to say was that the band didn't actually need the remixes. They would have developed that way just... naturally. But it didn't happen that way.

SA – Do you think the producers who were DJs, later on. Do you think that was because of the rave scene? The power of the DJ?

PS – Yes, absolutely. But fashion-wise, that took that and it then became the big thing didn't it?

SA – Yeah.

PS – And you got some horrible aspects of it. Joe Bloggs, for instance, you know what I mean, you'd be so embarrassed to admit you wore Joe Bloggs jeans at any time. Erm.... And a lot of people jumped on the bandwagon.

SA – Yeah. So what were the labels you were buying when you were on the....

PS – Labels weren't important –

SA – So it was just anything you could get?

PS - Labels were a Liverpool thing. This is a big distinction between Manchester and Liverpool. Okay, the jeans would have been Levi or Wrangler initially. But it is jeans and cords were – and we bought loads of Dickies cords – never heard of them – we bought tons of them imported from the States at something like £2.00 a pair. Right? Erm... Everybody was wearing them, twenty inch bottom cords. Erm.. We must have had two or three thousand pairs of them imported in. Nobody had ever heard of them so labels weren't important.

SA – So it was about the silhouette basically?

PS – What it looked like, yes. And again this is the enmity in football coming out; I always think, you know, Liverpool fans, you know, go “look at me, I've got this pair of trainers on, this pair of jeans on – don't look at me, look at my label”. Salford people were a bit more confident about the fashion, “look at the width of my bottoms, forget about what the label is”. That's the point.

SA – Do you think that's because of Liverpool going over to Europe with the football and bringing the labels back?

PS – Well, that’s what everybody says.... Yeah..... But I think it’s part of the psyche.... Ermmm.... My brother-in-law who was, still is very very rich erm.... He’s in property now. He used to have shops all over the country selling leather coats. His busiest shop was in Liverpool. And he always used to say, “why do you think that is? The poorest area I serve is Liverpool, that shop’s the busiest”. But if you think about it, there’s a social thing there isn’t there, you know, “look at me, I’ve got a leather jacket on”, right, “I might be a Scouser but I’ve got a leather jacket on”. Ermmm.... And then, they’re just as poor in Salford but they’ve never had that chip on their shoulder.

SA – I wonder why.

PS – I’ve no idea why.

SA – Do you think there’s a difference between Manchester and Salford in that sense?

PS – Well, I never used to think but if you think about it, it must be. Because this was definitely Salford. And I think that Salford influence on United was definitely important. And you get the peripherals, Stretford’s more or less Salford etcetera etcetera. Whereas east Manchester is like the back of beyond – probably still wearing twenty five inch flares there

SA – (laughs) That’s where I’m from

PS – Oh right, And doctors that kill you and people who take you to the moors and bury you... I always think it’s a weird place. Whereabouts?

SA – Droylsden

PS – Oh I know Droylsden well enough. No, I’m thinking about places like Ashton, Hyde and places like that. I know loads of people from Droylsden. In fact my brother-in-law lives in... What’s that errr... the bit where you go down inbetween and there’s a railway. Oh, what’s it called? Clayton Bridge?

SA – Guide Bridge?

PS – No, Clayton Bridge. Clayton and all around there. I know that area. I’ve got lots of mates in Droylsden.

SA – I don’t live there now

PS – no, you live in leafy Cheshire

SA – No, I live in Whalley Range

PS – Oh well, leafy Whalley Range then

SA – It is leafy yes.

PS – Now it is. It used to be where all the brass used to go

SA – yeah, I know – and not that long ago really

PS – and now it's very cosmopolitan.

SA – It is yes, the Chorlton [Chorlton-cum-Hardy] overspill

PS – I know, yeah. My err.... How old are you?

SA – Thirty five

PS – Oh right. Hannah who is my thirty year old daughter she's always wanted to live in Chorlton. She's err.. a lawyer, works in Manchester and lives with her boyfriend in Eccles at the moment. She wants to move to Chorlton or Didsbury..... There's lots of little bars there, there's a little scene there isn't there? Errr... In Chorlton, in the evenings. I know quite a few people who go there and listen to music and stuff.

SA – yes, there's a lot of live music on in Chorlton, there's the Irish Club and the Carlton Club, a bowling club in Whalley Range....

PS – Well, a mate of mine puts the bands on at the Irish Club... errr.... what's he called?... I dunno, he's a bit of a promoter. There's a few people round there. Quite a trendy little area..... (Discussion of Wigan and restaurants) But fashion is a great thing, I love fashion.... Errrr..... Like I've said, my old fella being a tailor, I'm into stuff and I still get two suits made a year, you know, and all that sort of stuff. I look all over the place for shirts that are tack collars, you know, it's great. I love it all...

SA – Where do you get your suits done?

PS – I get them made by a guy who lives in Chorley, a guy called Keith. He does them at home, you know, I used to get them done in Chester. Its all good stuff, I still love fashion even though I'm sixty now. I still like the while idea of youth, sort of stuff. In fact, talking about, I'm trying to set something up, 'cos I did In The City as well, you know, the music convention, for years and years and years so Im looking at something – not music related – but to do with youth. So I'm trying to turn it around so all the old models for conferences and stuff was that young... students... young people... junior management go and sit at the feet of old people and their experiences in the past and I just think that's rubbish now, that we should be charging the old people, the heads of the organisations money to go and hear what the young people have to say. And so I've got this idea of setting up a competition for fourteen to eighteen year olds because I think they're too old at university. They're past it. Fashion starts for fourteen to fifteen year olds. And what we'll do is get people to sponsor awards – have a big dinner, invite the heads of all these companies.... (49mins 54 secs to 51 mins 58 secs further elaboration on idea and his employment at LIPA)

SA – What do you think they wore? Was it all bought at the markets?

PS – Ermm... No there were shops. There was a shop at that time called Stolen From Ivor, and I would say, but the mainstream followed.... I mean, Joe Bloggs, Stolen From Ivor, they all followed eighteen months after it first started. And seriously, for a year, no one in Britain sold what we sold. It was just us. Weird. To think that that was it.

SA – And were shops in Affleck's not selling them?

PS – No. Not at that time. That came again – what you probably had was, you had a year of just us, then after a year you got maybe the Underground Market, maybe other market stalls in Manchester.... Ermm..... No shops. They probably started getting them six months later, mainstream. I remember because Wrangler started making flares again, for that market.

SA – And were you still selling them at that point?

PS – Errr... Well, it all collapsed and that was the end of it really. I only did it for about..... I don't know..... Probably..... After flares came the Baggies. Baggy. Which were the same people but they, they weren't flares, they were baggies. I've not mentioned them have I?

SA – No

PS – You know, like baggy jeans, so sixteen inch bottoms but baggy....

SA – Baggy all the way down?

PS – Yeah.

SA – Okay. And you just got them in the same way?

PS – Yeah, exactly the same way. Ermmm..... In fact, that's where you made the money really because as soon as you're having to pay £12 a pair from Wrangler there's no money in it anymore, everyone's competing on the same basis. When you can buy all the old stock for a couple of quid and sell it for ten quid, then you're doing alright.

SA – In the terms of Baggy, was it just a case of you seeing that flares were less available?

PS – No. People had started asking for it.

SA – And you've said that they wore shirts rather....

PS – In fact, if I think about it, baggies became the thing when Wrangler started making flares. So it's always the case innit? As soon as something becomes mainstream, you look for something different. And that was probably, I don't know, err... Another year, we got out of it. But after another two and a half years.... in marketing terms the distinctive advantage we had disappeared. Errr.. Everybody was in the same boat. And erm... So various sort of business reasons why we didn't invest when we were distinctive for various family reasons... Ermm... And then I left because I then joined Factory Records. And... In some ways, I was that impetus anyway for that sort of fashion connection. So I wasn't really interested after that and the business went down the nick, and my brother is now a taxi driver.

SA – Do you think you could describe that time?

PS – Ermmm.... Well, obviously Factory had a huge influence. There were a lot of unemployed kids. We're talking about ermm..... I suppose the only thing people bought that were expensive were probably trainers, but there was a lot of lawlessness. You used to get – it used to be part of the fun for a working class kid on a Saturday afternoon was to meet with a gang in the centre of Manchester and run through a shop and nick stuff. That used to happen a lot in the Arndale Centre. You don't see that anymore now and if you do its a full scale riot int' it? Reported in the press.

SA – And televised...

PS – Yes. Yeah, you see, the revolution will be televised. Ermmm..... But that used to happen a lot and I always remember because at that time, I used to have, on the stall, I used to have this big metal rod and if I ever used to see someone's hands coming through the.... because we used to hang all the jeans up, all pinned together outside. So if I ever saw anyone's hands coming in to nick anything, I used to smack them on the hand with the rod. People always used to have respect for us – we used to have banners that said "Gangway: We Know The Score" on the side. So in other words, don't mess with us, we're one of you lot, even though we were ten years older, fifteen years older. We knew they were lads. We were always seen as part of all that.

And in fact, the great thing is that, I got a bit of a shock the other day in that there's a lad from, a young lad from Moss Side who's started my first year. His Dad used to be one of these customers who actually worked for us at that time. It's weird. He ended up doing the security for the Mondays. Strange innit?

SA – Yeah, strange. Do you think, I mean you were obviously well respected on the scene, because they would come and sit next to you at that time and give you a tape...

PS – I was the only person they knew anything about business. I had the stall, that was all.

SA – So they thought that you would know something?

PS – Yeah. And because I started talking to them I suppose as well really, yeah. If I hadn't have spoken to them, I don't think they would have come and spoken to me. They would have just looked at each other and thought what the hell are they on about?

SA – So you just asked them over?

PS – No, they just came and sat with me because they knew me from the stall.

SA – So it came just from you talking to them on the stall?

PS – That's what I said, the fashion came first..... The music was secondary. Like I say, I suspect that's true all the time.

SA – And between them all, it was the same haircuts and everything else they wore?

PS – Yeah. They were very distinctive. They did – defiantly wore stuff that everybody else didn't wear and that everybody else started copying. You know, even to the extent of ermm.. I remember them playing a gig in the university in Hull in the very very early days, just after the release of the first single... And.... Err... They played the university in Hull and everybody has got a cagoule on, on the stage – with the hood up... And.... Errr..... The Housemartins were in the audience and they started then wearing cagoules err... When they first started out and I always used to think, "I know where you got that from".

SA – It obviously has permeated elsewhere...

PS – Yeah.

SA – I think it still does if you just look on the streets of Manchester there's that look.

PS – Yeah there is, there's that regional thing. You always get that with places. I remember when I first started working in Liverpool... Ermm... I used to think – I could tell Scousers from a mile off. Even the tramps. There used to be a tramp who used to dress like he was in Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band. Like with the uniform on. Bright red jacket and I used to think, "I bet you wouldn't get that anywhere else in the world" . And you can tell where people are from, from the clothes they wear. Even though the clothes are not distinctive to a place, it is the way they are worn. So, I remember telling Yvonne's lad off for wearing – he had these jeans that were gathered at the bottom and I said, "you can't do that, you're not a Scouser". (laughs) Because that's how they wear them, or you know, with their socks outside their jeans. You never get that in Manchester. You know, Manchester will probably always have their jeans hanging a bit on the floor, you know what I mean? And... Haircuts. They're always very subtle and I'm sure the same is for Leeds, Nottingham, etcetera. Every single place, there's something distinctive.

SA – But what I need to know is why...

PS – Because... Well, its Glocalisation innit? I always remember.... I did a..... Someone interviewed me once for an article they did or a piece for The Guardian and it was about the internet and saying, "do you think there will ever be local music scenes again?", because, everybody gets to hear about everything all of a sudden, straight away don't they? But I think there will. Because.... You can't send

people down the internet. So.... Mannerisms.... I mean, look at Oasis, you know, Liam, you know, that whole Manchester mannerisms thing. So much so that you can take the mickey out of it on the Fast Show, or whatever they did, you know.

SA – Yeah. If you look at his label, Pretty Green, it's a very Manchester label.

PS – Oh it is. Absolutely.

SA – The man has lived in London for the past twenty years and yet he's still produced a Manchester label.

PS – I bet he still drinks a bottle of beer as though he's a Mancunian. There'll be a particular thing, that'll be it. I'm absolutely positive if you sat in a bar with the equivalent social groupings in London and Manchester or different places, you can note all the behavioural differences between places. I've no idea why. It could be for various reasons. I always remember someone once saying how – and being Jewish I've always been interested in Jewish history – I always remember someone saying that Jews look the way they do because they live in ghettos, so the pace that you live in does affect you.... I don't know.... (Description of train journey home and how people look and sound different from personal point of view)Distinctions.... If you can have that in voices why wouldn't you have that in the way you walk, the way you wear a pair of shoes, what colour socks you wear, the way you wear your jacket, the way you wear your hair.... Erm.... The way you talk, the way you slouch. If you can have it in a vocal manifestation, why not in other things you communicate, your body language or whatever. Of course you would.

SA – It could just be as simple as a form of regional accent.

PS – I think that's what it is. Absolutely. So maybe that is the reason. Maybe that's a term, a fashion accent? And I bet you it's.... very very localised. You get some people – you get people who are very good at it – years ago, when I worked at In The City [Manchester based music convention], back in the early days, I was chatting to someone, pluggers, press people in London. And the woman I spoke to asked, "where are you from?" And I said, "Manchester", and she said err... "Stretford?" And I said, "yeah. How do you know?" And she said "oh I can tell from your accent". Now, I don't think I'd be able to..... Now I suspect that happens in loads of things; clothes, like you say, behaviour, probably what you have for breakfast etcetera etcetera.

SA – Yeah, yeah. Fascinating isn't it?

PS – It is.

SA – Well, thank you very much

PS – Pleasure

End of interview.

1.3. Bruce Atkinson

Interview between Susan Atkin (SA) and Bruce Atkinson (BA) 1st November 2011, 5.00pm,
The Stretham Fox, Antrobus, Cheshire.

(laughter)

Susan Atkin (SA) – Okay. So...

Bruce Atkinson (BA) – Right

SA – We're going to talk about Baylis and Knight

BA – Okay

SA – So do you want to start by telling me what you did and when you worked there?..... What was your job title?.....Did you have one?

BA - Alright, I started in 1990....'87. Ermmm.... I think one day a week.... Ermmmmm.... And. I. Did. Some. Machining. Possibly.... Hemming. Or..... Or cover stitching of T-shirts.... I can't really remember.... Ermmm... But ermmm as the company grew ermmm.... And I worked more.... Ermmm – I'm just trying to think. There were two, there were two partners. There was Bayliss – Sandra Baylis and Alison Knight. They had a machinist who worked for them from home I think.... as an outworker... And there was one who came in part time, possibly once or twice a week. And that was it. And then I worked for them a day a week, which became two and then became three days.....

SA – Is this while you were a student?

BA – No, this is once I finished

SA – Was it immediately after graduating or....

BA – It was six months or so. February, I think.

SA – Was the job advertised, or was it word of mouth, or....

BA - Word of mouth.

SA – How? How did it come about?

BA – Ermmm... I think Steve heard something in the pub and told me to ring Alison - or Sandra in fact. I think Sandra's exact words were, "tell him to give me a bloody ring", and that's how it would be...

SA – So, Steve was a mutual friend and he knew that they were looking for someone?

BA – Yes.

SA – And that you were available?

BA – Yes.

SA – So how did you know Steve?

BA – I shared a flat with him.

SA – You shared a flat?

BA – Yes. Do you want me to tell you how I met him? (laughs)

SA – Well, it might be of interest..... It doesn't matter if its not relevant.... But – Yes. Just someone you knew, hanging out? Or going to a certain?.....

BA – Orig. – No – I knew him before he moved up to Manchester. Originally he was one of the Crawley boys... Ermmm.... Who used to go to lots of different gigs... Ermmm.... In and around Crawley and London when he was in Crawley and London. Erm... And he knew someone that I was already sharing a house with errr.... Originally so he- he- he- originally when he was up in Manchester he used to come and see her. Erm and when he'd moved to Manchester he used to come 'round. Partly because he was there to see Marie and partly because it was a suitable distance that he could run. (Laughs)

SA – He could run? What from Crawley to Manchester?

BA – No. He was living in Hulme to Rusholme.... as part of his training. (Laughs)

SA – And how did he know Sandra?

BA – From the White Horse [Hulme Walk] as far as I can remember. It's a musical thing, I mean, he used to go to kind of, he's got a great original singles collection of kind of old punk classics that you can imagine so he would have gone to all of those gigs - the kind of seventies and eighties, early – late seventies, early eighties. Erm... Bought the records at least and he was known for going to King Kurt gigs which was notorious for having water and flour thrown so you got covered in mess and he was called Studley Stay Pressed at one point because he used to come out of it as clean as he'd gone into it with his, you know, his pristine clothes, pristine hair....

SA - Right, Okay. So that's how she knew him, or he knew her?

BA – I think it was a music connection and the pub that was kind of closest to our flat was kind of... Erm..... Frequented by a lot of different musicians.

SA – This is in Hulme?

BA – Yeah. Like..... Big Ed from Big Ed and his Rocking Rattlesnakes. Ermmm..... The Inca Babies, ermmm..... Oh. Yeah. Loads of – lots of others I'm sure as well.

SA – So there was an immediate social connection before you even started working there or did you know them socially?

BA – Ermmm.... I met Sandra, but I didn't know them particularly no.

SA – And how old were you at this point?

BA – Twenty one. Twenty two maybe. I can't remember that! Twenty two? Would I have been twenty two by then?..... I must have been twenty one or twenty two.

SA – So.... You were there one day, then two days, then three days doing cover stitching, bits of production?

BA – Yes.

SA – Did your role change as you were there longer or was it purely to meet the demands of the manufacturing?

BA – Originally it was just to err.... Meet the needs of the manufacturing so I would have been, would have been machining. I would have been hemming, but then it quickly became apparent that we needed people to do more cutting of garments. Ermm... So I certainly did more of that and when Sandra Bayliss decided that she was going to spend some time in America and kind of ermmm... Leave the company as such... Ermmm.... It became imperative that someone else was doing the cutting. I mean, there wasn't enough – she had too much to do it all herself, the way it was being done. So, we had to move it into a larger scale. Because by that point there were ermmm... there were..... Erm... A lot more garments being manufactured.

SA – So when you started, how many shops were they supplying?

BA – They were definitely supplying Wear it Out in Manchester which was in Affleck’s Palace [Church Street, Manchester] and the Royal Exchange [Unit B, Lower Ground Floor, Royal Exchange Shopping Centre]. And probably four, maybe six others? In places like Sheffield and Birmingham and..... I can’t remember. If I thought about it, I could recall the names of them..... I can’t..... Lisa’ll know, Julie will.

SA – Was Lisa working there at this stage?

BA – No. When did she arrive? She didn’t arrive much after me. I can’t remember when she arrived. But it was about a year or so after I’d been there. That was because we needed someone in the office to start organising things like, or take phone calls.... Ermmm.... think about, you know, the PAYE, the accounts, ermm- and do the books. And do orders, you know, kind of get orders together, and kind of do general office, office duties.

SA – So how quickly did the business grow?

BA - Really quite quickly. I’m just trying to think. I mean it wasn’t – I don’t think the business has particularly grown much by the time we moved premises but after about six months, after, I would have said ’87, we moved into – from Bloom Street to Sackville Street [42, Sackville Street in April 1988 Manchester telephone directory]..... And..... Then..... the..... I don’t know, I can’t remember the amount of people working there.... Again. People always came and went but we always needed new people, partly because people were coming and going and partly because there was just too much work to do. And partly because we hadn’t got all the production processes right. So, for example when we were sewing buttons on, we used to sit and watch Neighbours and sew buttons on (laughs). And, we had a buttonholer but we didn’t have a button sewer at that point so it was just, everyone used to just sit around and sew buttons on. (Laughs)

SA – So it grew quite quickly, so I guess the, sort of... strategies weren’t in place to meet demand?

BA – No.

SA – Do you think there’s a particular reason for that?

BA – What that the strategies weren’t in place?

SA – Yeah. Was it like just. Because.... Well, why do you think it was?

BA – Erm. Partly because ermmm... It happened so quickly, partly because people had different skills sets and knowledge, partly there was some, there was some..... necessities involved in costs and ermmm.... I guess, the kind of ermmm.... physical expansion into the – a – a given area that we had. Erm. In that if we want to cut more we need a bigger cutting table, getting the equipment together to build the cutting table, and to have a bigger cutting table you need to have a bigger area to put the cutting table in, for example. Erm. If we're making more and we're making more machines or machinists which again means a bigger area. Again, if you've got more, you've got more orders going out each week you need more area to store more stock, finished stock and again its about irons, presses, kind of rails, storage, and everything associated with growth. And trying to balance all of that without.... erm... without trying to spend too much money in case it's just a flash in the pan.

SA – And was it a flash in the pan?

BA – No..... By..... The time I finished at Bayliss and Knight. I think that was 1998. Because I'd been there about fourteen years. Does that make sense? Fourteen?.... I don't know, maybe not. At some point we'd been up to about twenty people directly employed by the business, maybe even? Yes, twenty five would have been about the most. With a turnover close to a million pounds.

SA – Right. Who were they supplying then? Was it like lots of shops or was it more like....

BA – There were lots of independents but also lots of small chains as well. But. It varied at some points depending on what we were making and kind of what the clothes were. There were, there were different shops in Manchester. Errr. Depending on whether it was mens or womens. So, for example, Wear it Out had always been kind of a customer. And Alison now is working with the owner of – errr – Ursula was the owner of Wear it Out. Erm. So she at one point had three different shops. In Manchester and they had a very high– errr – a quite substantial turnover, not just of our things, and of other designers. Or Manchester, local designers.

SA – Were they all local designers?

BA – Mostly. I think. I can't remember exactly who they were but....

SA - Was it womenswear?

BA – it was all womenswear. So it would be err... Lyssa Strata, Britain [Britain Designer Clothing, Unit E, Royal Exchange Shopping Centre], Bayliss and Knight, Consalvo Pellecchia [now a freelance pattern cutter], ermmm.... Heyday [Heyday, fashion design and manufacturers, 50, Newton Street]. And they would probably be the main kind of five. And then there would have been others as well here and there every so often.

SA – what about menswear? Where did you supply menswear?

BA – In Manchester? Identity was the main one but occasionally we used to deal with Chris Barton and we also used to sell things through..... mmmmm..... As such with menswear it was mainly Identity I think.

SA – In Identity in Affleck's?

BA – Yeah. But he'd also opened up another shop by then. But I'm trying to think... Yeah... Because at various forms, Ursula [Ursula Darrigan] was, Wear it out was in Barton Arcade, ermmm... The Royal Exchange, Affleck's Palace..... Ermmm..... Lewis' after the bomb and there was another place by – oh and we used to supply Exit at one point..... Oldham Street..... Even in Manchester there were a few different places.

SA – Do you think there was a demand for Manchester brands during this time period?

BA - I think that the..... In Manchester it wasn't necessarily that it was a Manchester brand... Ermmm... I think that the type of clothing that we were making, and the type of nightlife particularly was important to the sales or the high volume of sales of the clothing that was selling through places like Wear it Out. Ermm....

SA – So what do you mean by that? Do you mean.....

BA – That there wasn't.....

SA – That there was a type of clothing and a type of night life? Were you designing or your brand designing specifically for nightlife?

BA – No. But. A lot of it was kind of..... wasn't particularly expensive and it would have been easily affordable to be bought and worn out on Friday or Saturday night. It would have been worn again because it was good quality but it would have been – that was what was happening – the vast majority of the sales were kind of Friday and Saturday. And all the clothing was being worn in all the different clubs,

particularly at the Hacienda. So because in Manchester... because there wasn't such a label conscious label situation as there is in big labels and designer labels. In Manchester that was a thing, the thing that if, there was a certain style a certain type of clothing, whether it was erm.. you know, kind of, some sheer or some particular styles or erm... once Lyssa Strata did with a flower detail that was cut out of the garments. They were very popular and they were very, in a way there was a look, the things that were all sold in places like Wear it Out. I'm assuming that as we kind of did better that the connection with Manchester in places like Sheffield, who again had their own club culture.... And Leeds who had their own club culture. And Birmingham. Again. Club culture. Again, without it being dominated by bigger labels. Erm... Whether it meant that it was more popular in different cities because it was from Manchester I doubt. I think it was just a particular phenomena of its time.

SA – So when you say Club Culture, what do you mean by that?

BA – That a lot of the clothing was being bought to specifically go out to different club nights... On Friday and Saturday night. In Manchester that would be in Various different clubs but that's the same, the same, same case in..... Leeds and Sheffield. And Birmingham, but not only that is, that a lot of people did travel. It was the first instance of people starting to travel from different cities, particularly to come to Manchester.

SA – What kind of music was being played in these clubs? Was it the same across the country or was it different?

BA – Originally, erm... Manchester started, supposedly, the House scene so it started with early House music. And.... It then progressed into the, I'm guessing. Erm... Kind of the Rave-y type of music which erm... is kind of synonymous with drug taking as well.

SA – So when you were mentioning the type of clothes and you mentioned sheer and cut-outs as a style, was this across the board? If you could describe the style of Bayliss and Knight at that time?

BA – If I could? We made a lot of day wear, we made a lot of trousers, we made a lot of jeans. Things that were really popular were day dresses with sailor collars in tulip print for example. Erm.. We also kind of did a lot of things in wool jersey, jackets and culottes which wouldn't be the sort of thing that would be worn on a – on a night out particularly. Erm... So it was the beginning of us kind of, erm, dresses and – which tended to be tight and erm stretchy and easy to move in

so I think that's where we kind of started so it was kind of nylon lycras, cotton lycras ermmm and I guess, easy to move in.

SA – So would you say that was a signature style then?

BA – Yes.

SA – So lots of people were working at Baylis and Knight.

BA – Yes

SA – I'm assuming lots of different types of people, reflecting the different types of jobs?

BA – Yes. We found that we still had a certain amount of home workers and we were always trying to find people who would work from home just because it meant that we didn't have to..... expand the amount of space and machinery that we had in the factory. But I would have thought at any given time we wouldn't have had more than probably.... Six or seven. Ermm, whereas we would have had at least eight machinists and most of those had had some sort of proper training within errr... Some of the older clothing businesses. There was one, I don't know really what they made – something to look into – is a label called Crazy Face [Crazy Face Wholesale Clothing Ltd., 70, Portland Street, liquidated 1983]. Most of our machinists had worked at Crazy Face at some time or another. They must have been incredibly good at teaching their machinists or giving them training.... Ermm... Or maybe that was just pure coincidence. And it was – come through different Manchester labels such as.... errrrmmm... what's the outwear label in Trafford Park?

SA – Henri Lloyd?

BA – No. Oh yeah, someone had been at Henri Lloyd. Ermmm... Ermmm.... I don't – But time moved on and it was getting difficult to get more machinists because they were getting older – some of them were near retiring age. But we did quite well. In the end we had someone who was... ermmm... Someone who was straight out of college who was doing ermmm, a lot of the pattern cutting. Ermmm. We had someone - ermmm – two people who were doing the cutting.... Ermmm..... Kind of full time.... Ermmm.... We had me who was overseeing the, kind of, the pattern cutting, the cutting and the manufacture.... And the sales. Let's see, what else didn't I do? (Laughs).... Ermmm.... They would have had two pressing. At least two people pressing full time.... Ermmm..... Somebody putting orders together full time, Lisa still in the office full time. At one stage we had someone else in the office

helping her, and then probably... And we might have had someone to put buttons on, two people cover stitching and then maybe eight machinists? Does that get up to twenty five yet?

SA – It's getting up there isn't it?

BA – Yeah. And we had a driver. So, yeah, depending upon whether we were buying or collecting or delivering, it depends who we had, so probably, yeah, definitely at one point we had two people driving.

SA – Did you socialise together?

BA – Mostly, yeah. Oh, well, not with the – quite a few of us did. Ermmm... So there would be a core of us probably – It wouldn't have been - I wouldn't have said that it would have been more than six at any given point. But we all had – we were all connected in one way or another to the same group of people.

SA – Did that, again, did people get their jobs at Bayliss and Knight through word of mouth or were jobs advertised?

BA – A lot of people got their jobs through word of mouth. If that, if we happened to know someone for a job that was suitable their name was put forward.. Ermm... And they came in... And again, whether they were formally interviewed or not is debatable, but, you know, at first, people were just taken on as they were – as we thought they might be useful, to us. I'm just trying to think, some of the best people there never had formal interviews. That only came about later when we realised that was a necessity, when we were having to advertise in the newspapers and press in order to kind of be able to get enough people of different skill levels.

SA – So, okay. Where did you hang out then?..... Where did you go out? Did you go about drinking or was it more about the clubs?

BA – Personally?

SA – Well, personally, but you talked about going out with the core group. Is that something you did all the time?

BA – Oh yeah, well I was connected to lots of people who weren't very cool though.

SA – That weren't very cool?

BA – Yeah.

SA – Well, you don't have to be cool.....

BA – Oh, well – yeah – I used to drink ermm.. Pretty much every night of the week, so that meant I went out every night of the week. Ermm.... And three nights of the week I was with old school friends, so, that doesn't really count as going to – Wednesday would have been – would have started out at the – at the – what was then Manchester Polytechnic, kind of, Wednesday night... Ermmm.... And then we would be going on.... Somewhere else after a while... Sometimes we stayed there all night...

SA – So that was at the Poly Disco?

BA – The Poly Disco, yeah. And then there was the – the – the Hacienda on different nights such as Flesh and ermm.. Zumbar... Ermmm.... and there was more but don't push me on those because I can't remember at the moment.....

SA – What nights were they on?

BA – I can't remember – at the moment.

SA – Weekend nights? Or...

BA – I can't remember... Flesh was a Friday, or a Saturday I think and Zumbar was a Thursday... Oh, I can't remember... Ermmm.... I'm trying to think of other places... Ermmm..... And bars before like Corbieres [Corbieres Wine Cavern, Half Moon Street, Manchester].... And... I can't remember! What was the one downstairs?

SA – Corbieres?

BA – No. I'm trying to think of the one inbetween, kind of, where The Cornerhouse is now and the Hacienda was, kind of the one that was midway, downstairs? That was very popular. I always used to see people there....

SA – The Venue? [17, Whitworth Street]

BA – The Venue. Yeah, but because I had different – I'm blurring some of my, you know, kind of, some of the places that I went out 'cos I had slightly different groups of friends.....

SA – Is that not because life was blurry? (Laughs)

BA – Maybe. Maybe.

SA – So, you've mentioned that drugs had a lot to do with the scene at the time?

BA – They had a lot to do with the clubbing scene. I don't know if it had a lot to do with the female, kind of, clothing scene... Ermmmmm..... I would of though it had something more to do with the male scene. So, for example, the type of clothing – and again that was a lot about dance music. It was a lot about keeping cool possibly. But when we started making men's clothing.... Ermmm.... It was mainly, I mean it was, it was, kind of casual, but it was mainly about being seen and wearing it in clubs.

SA – So can you give me some examples?

BA – Well, we had “Bully” T-shirts for a start.

SA – “Bully” T-shirts?

BA – Erm. I don't know why they were called that. Three circles down the front on the left hand side which generally had numbers on them. I'm guessing someone thought they looked a bit like something from Bullseye. (Laughs).

SA – And did you call them “Bully” T-shirts or is that what they were known as?

BA – No, we called them – they weren't known as that. It was about Bullseye, not being bullied.

SA- Were they different colours?

BA – Yes. With a white circle. But we had erm.. We were using erm.. A lot of African batik print which wasn't necessarily manufactured in Africa because most of the Batik was printed by a company called Brunschweiler in Manchester then exported back to Africa. So we had a good supply of Batik fabrics which we used erm in women's clothing to begin with. And either we were using it to cut up into smaller pieces into things like the bra cups of bra tops or kind of, you know, things like skirts and various bits. But whatever we were using it for meant that we had quite a lot that was left over. Erm.... And... At one point, well, we were doing, we were starting to do the fronts of garments or we were doing the fronts of sweatshirts, or the fronts of T-shirts or parts of T-shirts, and then we started putting different squares of batik together because of the off-cuts we had and we used

something – well, we just developed a square shape, it's not difficult is it? My Magic Square (laughs). My Magic Square (laughs).

SA – Who decided to call it your Magic Square?

BA – I think it was somebody errr... Ironically. Sarcastic.

SA – They must have been impressed with what you could do with it?

BA – Yeah. It was just the right size for four of them across the front of a garment. And it was about the right size that fitted into all the..... Where we had kind of ermmm..... a few fabric utilisation issues shall we say – where we had leftover fabric.....

SA – Were these menswear?

BA – Yes.

SA – What was the silhouette?

BA – They were baggy. They were loose.

Interview ends due to interruption.

1.4. Alison Knight

Interview between Susan Atkin (SA) and Alison Knight (AK) on 9th February 2012, 7.30pm.
Hilary Step, Whalley Range, Manchester

Susan Atkin (SA) – So when did you start?

Alison Knight (AK) – I think it was, I can't really remember, I think it was 1986, 1987 as Baylis and Knight.

SA – Right... So were you doing something else before that?

AK – Ermmm.. Well, I used to make clothes and I had them in Affleck's Palace [indoor market. Stalls sell alternative and second hand product] when Affleck's Palace first opened and I worked with all sorts of different people and then I just started to work with Sandra Baylis and we went on the Enterprise Allowance Scheme [initiative set up by [Margaret Thatcher's Conservative UK](#) government which gave a guaranteed income of £40 per week to unemployed people who set up their own business in the early 1980s]. Where I got, I think I got £30 a week for, and my daughter had allowance...

SA – So you'd had your daughter?

AK – Yes.

SA – Did you know Sandra before?

AK – I just knew her, just from... She'd done a fashion degree at Man Met [Manchester Metropolitan University] and erm.... I think she'd just finished her degree and we decided to do some work together.

SA – And do you have any education?

AK – I went to Hollings, [Manchester Metropolitan University Fashion Technology Campus] for Garment and Clothing Technology... I think I did it for about a year and a half and then just gave it up... because I thought I could just.... It was easy, 'cos I lived in Hulme, I had a big flat and ermm... got money to do it, so it was just easy, an easy way to make money at the time...

SA – It's not so easy to make money from it now (laughs)

AK – (laughs) No

SA – Why was it then?

AK – Because there was no choice whatsoever, so if you made something that people liked you could sell hundreds of them.

SA – In Affleck's?

AK – In Affleck's – yeah, mainly in Affleck's and Wear It Out. I used to work with a shop called Wear It Out [Unit B Lower Ground Floor Royal Exchange Shopping Centre Manchester] a lot, Ursula Darrigan [owner of Wear it Out], that's my business partner now.

SA – What did you do? Were you the designer?

AK – Ermmm.... It was a collaboration, designing, buying, making and selling.... We had premises on Bloom Street, just had a bit of a warehouse on a floor that we shared with someone who made dishcloths and ermmm have you heard of Abigail Porter? She was a designer at the time and shared with Sandra and I, and we worked there. And we just used to do everything, we used to cut.... we must have had machinists as well, one or two.... and we used to have outworkers at the time.....

SA – So when did it start to take off?

AK – Ermmm.... I'm just trying to think... Just before the start of Madchester, Sandra had left for a year, she wanted to live in America for a year and ended up only going for two weeks but she didn't actually want to do it anymore so I had to do it on my own and we were making things out of tablecloths, you know, crochet tablecloths and that's when we started to do really loads.... I think we used to see things out, like at the Hacienda, we'd always see things being worn there, but that was the time it went really big and we couldn't make enough of anything and then people would come up from London and buy things and then they'd copy it all and started selling at trade shows....

SA – Did you ever do any trade shows?

AK – No, I didn't do trade shows..... I don't think I've got enough ambition, you know.... I think I've just always been busy doing things and I think sometimes when you're just too busy..... I've had agents, but not done trade shows.

SA – Did you see a parallel between what you were doing and the Madchester scene?

AK – ermmmm..... Not entirely, I mean, obviously, we were making clothes for that music scene and we were making clothes for that.... when I used to work in 42 – 44 Sackville Street, when we moved there, Grand Central Design [graphic designers] who did all the Happy Monday's covers were upstairs... and... ermm.... do you know Sue Barnes? She's another Manchester designer and she had the floor above me and ermm.... so there was a lot going on really and there was a guy called, do you know Gerry Howard from Swell Guy? He was there as well.... The Bailey Brothers who made the Happy Mondays' videos, early videos and ermm Johnson, do you know Trevor Johnson? So there were loads of people in Sackville Street. And there was a shirt maker downstairs as well. And a fabric place on the corner..... I don't know if women's fashion was ever that big in Manchester, I mean, the men's fashion always seemed to be a certain way, but the women's fashion... I don't know..... We were talking about it the other day.... One of our agents sells to Liverpool and it's just so much more glamorous. Because it did go a bit glamorous but then it went – you couldn't sell a dress when Madchester happened...

SA – So what were they wearing then?

AK – ermm..... I think we sold cat suits... We did hooded tops, we did the crochet thing, which was like ermm something would have a crochet hood on it, we'd do sleeves or make a whole outfit from fifteen crochet tablecloths, like individual bits of it and stuff. So it was more stuff like that and baggy tops with erm we did loads and loads of tops with toggles on the sleeves.

SA – So it was all body conscious or looser?

AK – I wouldn't say it was body conscious..... We did a bit of body conscious, a bit of Lycra but it was very expensive then - you're talking £7.00 a metre at that period of time. You might be able to make stuff in jersey rib but you couldn't afford Lycra, it was just ridiculous. And also, we'd just used to buy fabric from the warehouses and stumble upon something and make something out of it really, and I suppose the tablecloths just came from a tablecloth warehouse.

SA – Those fabric warehouses just aren't there anymore...

AK – No they're not. They're all gone, I mean, I've been in so many and they're so interesting, so interesting, and I mean the range of fabric, you're talking fabric from the pre war to more modern stuff, so it was interesting. More interesting than it is now, much more.

SA - It's sad that it's not there anymore....

AK – Well, we just used to be able to leave the door and buy everything, or go to Cheetham Hill. It was very near and very close. And there were machinists around so it wasn't very hard really.

SA – Do you have trouble finding machinists now?

AK – We don't have any machinists. It's just the two of us. We make everything.....

SA – No wonder you're busy!

AK – It's a nightmare! (laughs)

SA – But easier too, I would imagine

AK – Well, it's easier in the sense that when we get an order we make it so we're not carrying loads of stock and so it's kind of easy – it's less wasteful. It's more stressful in that you're busy doing stuff but it's less stressful because it's less..... it feels like less responsibility. I mean, I used to employ, I think I used to have sixteen people working for me at the height... Before I made everybody redundant. I can't remember when I did that... I'm trying to do a timeline... Lisa [Lisa Healey, worked in the office at Baylis and Knight] might remember but then that might be a bit uncomfortable for her.... It must have been about twelve years..... Fourteen years ago. I think I might have just thrown everything away. So that was a horrible time. Having to do that was absolutely awful.

SA – Why did it happen?

AK – Well, what was weird was, I wasn't making any money and then I stopped Baylis and Knight and then immediately started making really good money, and made really good money for about... probably two or three years and I was making a massive amount of money the year that I got divorced.... and I got took to the cleaners and have never had any money since! (laughs) It's really funny!

SA – Do you think in terms of Bayliss and Knight as it was then, and your husband being in a group [Tom Hingley, lead singer with The Inspiral Carpets, 1989 – 1995 and 1995 – 2011].... You say you're not sure if there was parallel with Madchester but...

AK – Yeah... I suppose we did make, there was stuff, there was so much going on then, people were... there was several years when people did buy stuff..... I guess at the start of Madchester, we were making lots of men's t-shirts, lots of shirts.... some people in bands bought things... I did make a t-shirt with 808 on and 808

State [Manchester based electronic based music group, 1987 – present day], because they were so nice, I knew them really well and they were upset about that and they had – I don't know if they made their point strong enough that we stop doing it but we didn't really make many so it wasn't like I wasn't making loads of money off them. I don't think anyone had realised at the beginning... I think it was before all the merchandise thing happened really, it was just at the start of it... There was Leo's [Leo Stanley] shop, Identity, they were selling those...

SA – Did he sell band t-shirts?

AK – Yeah, but I don't think he did then, that was too early.... I don't know when that band thing took off.... Did the band t-shirt thing take off with the Inspirals? I'm not sure..... I think they got their t-shirt merchandising really together... I'm not sure about the Happy Mondays....

SA – There was James [Manchester band 1982 – 2001 and 2007 – present day] as well. They all used the same printer apparently?

AK – Liam. Liam used to make some for them and ermm.. Sid Saffa, I know he printed loads for them. You know Heyday? [Manchester based womenswear label] Kathy from Heyday, her then partner, he was making t-shirts. I mean, and I used to print some of the t-shirts with Liam for them. On occasion.

SA – Did you have much involvement with their t-shirts?

AK – Not... No. I only helped Liam because I knew Liam. And they were fine with me doing the t-shirts and Clint's [Clint Boon, keyboard player in The Inspiral Carpets] girlfriend selling the t-shirts until they realised they didn't want girlfriends around on tour and then they stopped.

SA – That's quite something...

AK – Well, not when you're on the other end of it, it's not....

SA – But they wore some of your stuff on Top of the Pops didn't they?

AK – Yeah.

SA – Do you think that helped?

AK – Ermmmm... It might have helped a bit in Manchester.... Ermmmm.... Maybe it did a bit, yeah probably for the men's stuff it did. I don't think I ever sold much

stuff,.... because I used to sell in Leeds..... I don't think it ever went as far as London though. We used to sell the women's wear in London and around the country but I don't remember so much of the men's – not the Madchester menswear – we did a range of menswear that was really popular. It was like.... it was all stuff from Whaley's [fabric wholesaler] in Bradford and it was like raw cotton ermmm... Shirts that were, it was like a slubby, knitted fabric on the front and they were really, really, really popular, we couldn't get enough of those and that went all around the country and then my agent decided to copy it.... at the time.... and he did that.... until I found out about it....

SA – That was a bit naughty...

AK – Yeah (laughs)

SA – Why do you think they were so popular?

AK - They hit the right note at the right time. The dresses..... Oh yeah..... because we were doing those dresses with the two stripes down the side... That's what happened. We did the crochet stuff and then we had a photographer take some photographs and we did some stuff with three stripes down the side and we got in *Drapers Record* and then we got a phone call from Adidas, as it's their trademark and then we were really, really cacking it because they're such a big company and their lawyers were so dreadful – because you can't make things with three stripes, but you can make things with four or two. So we did them with four for a little while and then we thought, "Oh, God, this is too much work", and then we started doing things with two stripes. And that was just make and make and make and make. We couldn't get enough fabric. We couldn't get enough stuff to do the stripes.

SA – Do you think that was popular because of the Adidas connection?

AK – Well, no because.... ermmm.... No one had ever made anything – it wasn't an original idea particularly, but nobody – Adidas – nobody did anything like it, you couldn't buy anything like it on the high street.... if you wanted it.... we independent designers... virtually were the only people who you could get these things from. So I think that's why they were popular.

SA – So that sporty vibe that Adidas do so well, they weren't doing it at the time....

AK – Yeah, it was dresses and leggings and tops that we did in that, before that we used to do shirts with turned back cuffs, fitted shirts – nobody did those – in various fabrics – like, ties on sleeves. They would sell and sell and sell. I think Ursula used to sell big printed shirts that sold like mad. I think really what we all

wanted to do was make clothes that looked like 1940s and 1950s clothes and stuff. We weren't really trying to make anything modern then.

SA – Was that for men and women?

AK – No, it was just for women. Really, the men's stuff was always just a filler. It was always a summer thing because, like, we wouldn't sell that much in the summer and we'd be like, "Oh, God, What can we do?", so we'd get some fabric and we'd think, "Oh, I'll make some men's shirts". And then, because nobody was making anything different, we'd sell those and then we'd make a few more and.... that's the way it would just be. I suppose. And then we started doing, like, quite body conscious men's things with fluorescent bits and pieces on them and they were quite popular for a while with the zips and they used to sell a lot.... It's all a bit jumbled up really..... [AK talks about 1993 marriage and subsequent divorce to Tom Hingley]

SA – In terms of inspiration, was it the fabric that inspired you, you mention fabric a lot...

AK – Ermmm...

SA – Or do you get an idea and then....

AK – I think it was.... sometimes its fabric and sometimes it's like, what you see. We did use to look in magazines all the time and see people wearing things. If we made something that was similar to what someone was wearing in a video, it would always sell, it's no different now really, like, we made a dress a bit like one that Kate Middleton wore and, you know, it sells. It's just, just the way it is. I think it's more now, I think it was get inspired by something, make one thing and then other things would lead on from that really. But we always used to get the fashion magazines, like *Collezione* and stuff like that and look through them and get different ideas, or you might see someone, when I used to go out more, you'd see people wearing things. They'd catch in your mind...

SA – So this would be when you went out?

AK – Yeah.

SA – Where would you go?

AK – Erm..... The Hacienda, De Villes [Lloyd Street, Manchester]..... I don't know if De Villes was a bit before that.... Rafters [St James Building, 65 Oxford Street,

Manchester]..... I can't remember what the club was on err... I can't remember, was it called the Venue [Whitworth Street, Manchester]?

SA – Did you have to go downstairs?

AK – Yeah, along from the Hacienda. We used to go all over the place, I mean, obviously when The Inspirals first started, I think I used to work a lot, and look after the children, after a while. So I think things got much harder then. You're not going out and you're not seeing what people are wearing, then it starts to get more difficult, especially as you get older. You go out less, see less.

SA – Was it the case of you seeing younger designers coming through?

AK – Ermmm.... not really, I mean, I always thought I could make money, you know, with a sewing machine. I think it's harder now, much harder now. It's much harder now to get cloth than it used to be. I mean, Affleck's is still there so you've still got a start up in that respect. It's so hard to fund yourself while you're working. It's so hard really. What year was it from?

SA – 1986.

AK - There were a couple of years where it was awful. There have been years where virtually no one could sell anything. It was really odd. When I lived down in London people overnight suddenly stopped buying.

SA – I think it might have been 1992.

AK – The year I got married, I had Elsa in 1991. Having babies and working made things difficult. I was back at work 2 weeks after they were born. Ridiculous.
(laughs)

SA – Like you said earlier you've got responsibilities, not just for your employees.

AK – It's hard to keep things going then. I think 1992 was a terrible year then it would pick up again. I think it might have been the year before as well. It was terrible. There were some years where we couldn't sell anything like 'Stars' in Holder and Pennington. They were doing really well, places like Topshop in London and stuff. We weren't. We were in that much debt.

SA – With hindsight would you do anything that long?

AK – Not in tune with it, not going out enough, not quite in tune with what young women were wearing probably at that time. If you don't go out looking, not constantly on the ball, it can go off really quickly or if you are really busy and focusing on one thing, you're just working away at that, not developing anything. Then it will suddenly start and I'm like "Oh my god, I'm being really thick, I need to do something new" and I start panicking, and it goes a bit 'Hmm" if that happens.

SA – Can you do collections?

AK – Yes, we do collections. We've done collections that have been really popular but then we couldn't make them, we couldn't get the fabrics. We'd be buying end of lines. We'd either be buying too much and it wouldn't sell, or we'd be buying too little and it would be selling like mad. We'd be buying fabrics from abroad. It might come in from abroad.....I didn't have a clue you know. I can't remember when we started going to fabric fairs. People started to treat us like we were rubbish. We just didn't get booked. Nobody would give us time of day. When we first started we'd go to the Bank Manager and they just weren't interested.

SA – Did they start to take referrals?

AK – When we were turning over money they did.

SA – When you started it was two women then one woman running a business. Do you think it was sexist?

AK – It was sexist then. Ursula has got a couple of horror stories about Bank Managers. Mine aren't as bad as hers. They didn't take us seriously at all. They thought it was a little girls' sewing circle.

SA – With it being fashion as well.

AK – But we didn't really have a clue anyway. (laughs)

SA – The sexist thing seems to be rife. Quite stroppy. Young women nowadays would be appalled at the way you were treated.

AK – Sexism is different but not being treated seriously when you're timed by fabric, that's not changed.

SA – Not as an independent I don't think. You just haven't got the volumes have you?

AK – No, I don't even think it's to do with the volumes, they're not really very interested in being very helpful.

SA – I remember going to Premier Vision [Bi-annual fabric tradeshow in Paris, France]. That was just like.....I don't know what I thought.....

AK – Have you ever had the floor library in Premier Vision?

SA – We went looking for fabrics.

AK – Ursula and I went a few times. We had a lot of press which really helped. But then again we were so stupid. She'll kill me (laughs). We had designs of things we weren't even making. We went to Premier Vision with that and they were alright with that and we were in loads of magazines. I think if you do have PR you can make money. You've got to be very organised about it. If we didn't have PR we wouldn't have done it. You can get in magazines, get orders and make money. But that's being able to afford the PR.

SA – Did you decide to invest in PR for a bit?

AK – Yes we did. We were doing collections and doing well. We got PR and it was really helping. When you're in fashion and really busy, you can't not order enough cloth. If you want to get it in time and it's not going to come for weeks, if you've ordered so much its probably faulty anyway, you can't get anybody to make it and everybody wants it now, it just ends up being like ridiculous. You're disappointing everybody.

SA – It's difficult isn't it to get somebody to a certain level, if you're really busy and there's nobody to make it, how do you move staff up? You can't compete with the bigger market. Shops like Topshop are doing so well nowadays and Primark.

AK – We know for instance we've sold a dress on eBay for £28, a hand-made dress. Somebody said it was expensive. We didn't wholesale things for £28, I think we were selling things for £28 in 1991.

SA – It's for all the detail on it.

AK – A lot of see-through mesh things, they were very popular.

SA – Power mesh?

AK – A bit like power mesh. A lot was printed, a bit stretchy and bit see-through. Nowadays you can't sell anything like that unless you have something underneath it. Those girls that can wear a bra and a shawl and wear meshy dresses with print, swirly print, popular print. You can add pockets on and collars and things.

SA – They expect a full outfit don't they?

AK – They want it. They need to be shown what to do with it. It never ceases to amaze, they cannot think. They have to be told exactly. Some people can obviously, but most people have to be told exactly. And now they want it all.

SA – I've fallen into that trap myself, with net stuff. It's not going to sell (undistinguishable) They're like sending them on to the shop and I'm like "What".

AK – At least M&S can buy one you know and have one in your wardrobe. But that's because Primark dish it up to them don't they?

SA – Yes

AK – Everybody dishes it up to everybody.

SA – Do you think that's it, they're kind of spoon-fed now?

AK – You can get everything you want, all of the time now. You can find someone who will do it for you. We've started to do, not made-to-measure, but we will make things to people's measurements. We make expensive things, not ridiculously expensive but dresses for £100. If somebody pays a bit extra we will make it to their measurements. If somebody has an odd figure, not even an odd figure, I mean I can't hardly find anything to fit me, there are plenty of people that can't.

SA – I think it is the future for more independent industries, up against Primark, All Saints, even Topshop.

AK – It's like when they start the frightening "We're going to make jeans that fit". You think 'Oh my god' As if you are going to walk in and have your measurements done, have a pair of jeans on the machine.

SA – While you wait. (laughs)

AK – It's going to happen. All the nano technology that's just built in 'Oh God, you don't need me anymore', I don't like the sound of nano technology. I've read quite a lot about it.

SA – Have you?

AK – Yes.

SA – It happens doesn't it?

AK – It does happen.

SA – Primark knitwear a couple of years ago. People living and working there, terrible.

AK – Working for no money?

SA – Yes. They got over to the new pay but didn't see anything of it. Eat, sleep, work, not good.

AK – It is shocking. I don't think people realise? Do people not want to realise? I don't get it really. For instance M&S knickers are so awful now. The elastic is so rough and nasty on them. They don't last. How much do you have to pay? You can't even buy something more expensive and get something a bit better.

SA – With underwear you'd have to find something a bit more expensive. But even M&S compete with companies that don't have a policy.....

AK – But why is the elastic so rough? Why would you want them? It's obviously all margins isn't it?

SA – I did a placement for Coats Viyella that did M&S womens wear. We'd go and do shop fittings like Next and places and designer things would be on the floor, underwear. It was because they were getting them made in places so much cheaper, slave labour, whereas M&S wouldn't.

AK – I suppose that's what happens at Topshop when you see something with 90 pleats and bring it in from China or Morocco or somewhere.

SA – My brother was in the queue for the fitting rooms at Topshop. He felt really old. I think it was a reality check.

AK – Two of my daughters have worked in Topshop. My partner's daughter works in The Trafford Centre and loves it.

SA – In the Topshop?

AK – Yes, she loves it. I think retail is her thing.

SA – It's difficult The Trafford Centre, I can't even get there. I get lost going there and I'm lost there. Once I get there now I just make sure I park near the entrance so I know where I am.

AK – The car park upstairs?

SA – Yes, I always park so I can get out, in between there and Selfridges. Although I did park there before Christmas, I was going to John Lewis or something. I had a hire car, just a non-descript grey thing. When I got there at 9.50 a.m. the car park was empty. When I came out it was busy, people were looking around where to park. I said to this woman 'I can't find my car'. I ended up 5 minutes later and she's there. There are things there you can't get like blue jeans.

AK – It's not difficult to park in City Centre Manchester anymore. It used to be difficult. The street parking has got ridiculous. I go to the Trafford Centre if the girls want something. I nip up in the evening and I get there dead quick. If you go into town in the evening you still have to pay.

SA – Till 8 o'clock and on a Sunday you still have to pay.

AK – It's really expensive on the streets now. They're not doing anyone any favours. They're not making any money because nobody is parking on the streets. It used to be busy all the time before. They want people to use the trams.... [short discussion of Manchester's public transport system]

SA –....Did you do any short orders?

AK – We did seasonal, like Spring, 6-8 weeks of it.

SA – Was the womens wear sold all over the country and the menswear was more...

AK – Yeah, Leicester and Birmingham we sold some men's stuff, but we didn't tend to sell stuff down South. We did sell women's stuff all down the country.

SA – Was it mainly stuff to go out in the evening like club wear?

AK – We'd do jackets, coats.... It was all sorts, trousers, blouses, evening wear, and all sorts really.... A bit more corsetry, maybe a bit more casual. Anything really - that we thought would sell, we'd do.

SA – Do you see yourself more of an entrepreneur than as a designer? That maybe you'd see a gap....

AK – I think maybe I liked to think I was a fashion designer but not anymore.
(laughs)

SA – What do you think of yourself now then?

AK – I don't know? Someone who sews? Hmmmm what do I see myself as now? Yeah... probably someone who sees a gap in the market.

SA – But at the time, in the 80's and 90's you saw yourself as a designer?

AK – Maybe a bit more, but not properly, like "Ooh, I'm a fashion designer, this is what I do".

SA – Do you think you are more of a businesswoman?

AK – God, I'm not even very good at that (laughs) Just one at selling clothes I think more than anything. I did try to do it quite professionally for a while.... I don't even think that I can say I'm a professional designer now. Sometimes I see things that I've made and I can't believe that I've ever made it. Samples or even made a pattern for it..... I must be a fashion designer mustn't I? (laughs)

SA – Well, yes! So what did you do? Did you just see what was out there?

AK – Sometimes we did make things that were really.... Occasionally we did just, that you just did decide to make from something that would sell and that would be an achievement, but a lot of the time it was stuff that was influenced by a lot of things, but then isn't everything really? You might see a gorgeous dress or it might be something that Jean Paul Gaultier was doing.... Like when he did his fitted denim jackets, we did a really fitted jersey jacket and it had all the – every seam on it was piped with denim, that you had to sew each bit of denim in and then I think it had.... at least 12 or 14 buttons down the front, so you've got to sew 14 button holes and 14 buttons on, as well as sew it all together and put all the piping on, but we did, and we probably sold them for good money as well.

SA – It all seems quite labour intensive.

AK - When Ursula and I work together, she has had no tailoring training at all and she's really, really good. She'll look at something, just look at it straight away, and it'll be, like... say... a two piece garment but it will say everything that she wants to say. Whereas I'll agonise over it for about three days, take hours and hours and hours and have like, twenty-odd seams in it and it'll say the same thing... (laughs)... We do sometimes pare it down... I love the way things are made... I think ideally, give me twenty functional sewing machines and I'd be so happy... give me binding machines and machines that do things... I think really, if I'd have gone through college, I'd have been someone who decides how something is made rather than a designer... because that's what I like... I like to put something together that is really well made... that's what makes me happy.

SA – So the collections that you were producing were inspired by concepts, or by something you'd seen?

AK – Yeah, you'd probably start with one thing you liked and then work around from there.

SA – Create a range from there...

AK – Yeah, whether it be that I really liked this jacket or these buttons and then I'd work away from there. Or if I'd seen a dress or a collection that I liked... Fabric.... Obviously, you could decide you were going to make something but if you couldn't find the fabric then you're not making it are you?

SA – No. That's always difficult..... When you said that there was a year when you couldn't sell dresses at all...

AK – I'm trying to think.... Having said that, contradicting myself.... I'm trying to think when.... where we were... what we were making for girls.... I think we were making a lot of cat suits. We were probably making see through dresses if we were making anything like that, I think that's... we were making cat suits, see through dresses with that stretch mesh.... doing a lot of stuff like that.....

SA – From what you're describing it would seem that they were being worn by women going out?

AK – Yeah they were... Those sorts of things were. Yeah, definitely. You'd see people out in them all the time in those. And they were longer too, they weren't short. They'd be, like, ankle length dresses and people would wear them with a

pair of big knickers, a pair of big pants, a Wonderbra-type bra and maybe a little vest underneath...

SA – What footwear were they wearing?

AK – I think girls shoes at the time, I think... maybe at the time.... Adidas? The three stripes! Vertical stripes? What stripes? (laughs) I think that that was at the beginning of that time because girls were wearing.... and of course high heels because girls did wear high heels.... But if they were wearing baggy jeans they were probably wearing trainers... High tops or something... There were still some girls who dressed up.... I can't remember! Ursula would remember.

SA- You seem to have worked closely together at that time...

AK – She sold what we made, I mean... Ursula was the only person who we sold to that we could guarantee would pay us. She's a very, very, very methodical person and she was the only person... We'd do sale or return. We'd get two thirds and she'd get a third. And she would pay every fortnight and you'd never not get your money. She was the only person who was reliable.

SA – Do you think that the industry was... I'm looking for the right word here... a bit scally at the time? I mean, you mentioned your agent copied you...

AK – He was from Leeds though! We did have an agent... The first agent we had was ermm.... He actually does all Ted Baker's stuff now. And has made absolutely masses of money. Ian... I can't even remember his surname... And then we had another.... I think people just saw an opportunity... And if you were a bit slow on the uptake... If you're just working and you can't produce enough and people are screaming out for it then I suppose that they saw the market and thought that they would just do it.

SA – It wasn't very trustworthy though...

AK – No. No, it wasn't very nice. I mean, I was just working in Manchester and didn't know what was going on anywhere else and so didn't have any knowledge of it really. It's never been very scally for me... I've not really.... It only became a bit scally for me when all the paint from The Stone Roses' album cover came through the ceiling because Sue Barnes had moved out and they actually did that album cover in the room above, in Sackville Street where I was working... it came down from above... But I used to live there as well, we all used to live there, a few of us lived there. We weren't allowed to but we did. Until the electricity got so frightening.

SA – What? Dodgy?

AK – Oh, it was so dodgy... It was ridiculous. The fuse box in Sackville Street was in Kathmandu restaurant that was beneath it and you used to go in and see the electricity arcing over it. And sometimes... Oh God....

SA – And you say that people used to live there?

AK – Sue Barnes used to live there, other people have lived there...

SA – It sounds like there was a real creative buzz...

AK – It was, it was. It was really good. And then Mantos opened on Canal Street. I mean, when we first worked there, we used to get prostitutes working, and they'd go mental because I used to be stood outside and my Dad would like come and pick me up or something and I'd be stood with a bin bag full of clothes and someone would be coming to pick me up and the prostitutes would be virtually running me off..... After Sackville Street we moved to 104 Great Ancoats Street which was Brownfield Mill and that's been all done up now..... I never lived there though! That was a bit – it was going a bit – because the warehouses in town – I always think there is something a bit magical about the warehouses in town. You know, they're old cotton buildings where they had big doors... they were just fabulous... and dead interesting.... All gone now. It was amazing that place I had there though.

SA – In what way?

AK – Well, A guy called Dave Wilson had it and he had a lighting company and he let me have it after him. It was like a New York loft living as he'd painted it all white, there was a kitchen along one wall and he'd had a bathroom fitted. It was amazing!

SA – It was before its time in a way!

AK – Yeah, it was.

SA – I didn't realise that people lived in these spaces.

AK – People just used to find a space and live there. It's just something that nobody even thought about I think. You couldn't have a bed or anything because if the fire people came in, you'd be in real trouble. You used to have to pack up your bedding everyday and just make it look like it was work. I mean, some people lived without bathrooms and stuff. Sue Barnes didn't for a long time.

SA – So all this contributed...

AK – Well, the Inspirals used to come in. They had an office in Sackville Street, in the building I had because I let them, I cleared a space for them... before it all kind of went mental and kicked off for them. So, yeah, there was a lot of stuff going on.

SA – Did you feel like you had competitors?

AK – I'm trying to think about before the bomb.... before the bomb.... Yeah.... You did feel.... I think..... People would come and they'd start to do really well with different things and I think it's just ideas and people get the right ideas at certain times... So I suppose, there'd always be, like... We sold a lot for quite a long time and then someone else would come along and sell a lot for a while and I suppose when you're feeling you're not doing so well, people tend to feel like competitors. But when you're doing better, you're not really that bothered. I mean, there were a lot of people working alongside each other.... I mean, when Holder and Pennington came along and sold loads and then Vicky Martin would sell loads. But I was never really involved with people and Ursula and I now aren't involved. We have no idea what other people are doing. We're just trying to get along. I mean, when we sold in Wear it Out, when everybody were selling stuff, we were doing well then others were doing well and it just brought more people. I mean, the bomb was very.... a very odd experience..... Because nobody would help. Nobody would help us at all. I mean, we made virtually no money overnight. And it stopped and also stopped what was a fabulous heyday for us all. Ursula was getting loads of customers down in the Royal Exchange, it was fantastic, doing really well. I think we were all like, we felt like we were getting somewhere and then the bomb went off. It kind of went to Lewis' and it was never the same again. For Manchester, it's never been the same. For us.

SA – Do you think things changed for independents?

AK – Yeah, well, high street got its act together. I think people tend to forget how little there was in the 80s. There was so little choice in the 80s..... When I had Holly in 1984, people used to be so nasty to me, she'd go in all her 1940s, lovely knitwear that her Nana had made for her and people thought we looked so different because they all looked the same... Unless you wore second hand stuff, you just couldn't get what you wanted to wear. And that's why we all made stuff. So, I suppose we had a bit of a fabulous period where we were doing this and the high street hadn't cottoned onto it. But then, then they did and that was early 90s maybe... I don't know if it started with being able to get stuff made abroad cheaply,

or... I don't know. Or whether someone somewhere just thought "we can make money from this" And they have done.

SA – When you mention 1940s, was that a real focus?

AK – When we first started, it really was. It really was a massive focus. Yeah. I mean people, when Ursula first opened her shop in the Royal Exchange she worked with a guy that just did like really 1940 -1950's ladies suit copies and we all did 1940's skirts and things, I suppose we couldn't get exactly what would fit you.

SA – I suppose it was corsetry in them days...

AK – Yeah - it - like pleated skirts and blouses and stuff, just the demand for it and everyone made it really.

SA – Do you think it evolved into 60's or did it evolve into clubbing type?

AK - It evolved into clubbing stuff more than anything, there has always been little themes of 60's stuff, but I think when we first started off it was all more like 30's, 40's, 50's, it wasn't really .. there are certain people might be a bit into the 60's but it wasn't anything we were really that bothered about, it was all like old fashion glamour. I used to particularly, I really like the war look and stuff and it was all to do with that really.

SA – Yeah I mean you go down the high street now like you say you can pick up any kind of look you want can't you?

AK – It's like what isn't fashionable now though as well.... what would you wear that somebody would think 'hmm no, that's not fashionable' because you can look at the magazines now you could probably pick up a magazine from 4 years ago and there wouldn't be virtually anything in it that you think .. that's old or that's new.

SA – Surprisingly not less so in womens wear than menswear I think. You know I think the men's is sort of the silhouette of, say a suit has changed more dramatically than women's does.

AK – Yeah you're absolutely right there .. women's is... mind you... the only thing... yeah I suppose so... I think ermm... I started wearing a few of my old clothes again and I'm a bit shocked at how wide my trousers are from like about 8 years ago and they are much more flared than I ever imagined that they ever were, like I'm tripping up over them all and I'm thinking I used to wear these all the time, I don't get it, I don't understand how they are so wide and in fact it wasn't that long ago...

Maybe no, but they keep on trying to bring them out don't they? They do though, don't they? I always think it is a bit of a thing because, like... I mean, like, the gypsy skirt thing because no one had a gypsy skirt and the pencil skirt, because what have women not got now in their wardrobes from, like, three years ago? What's going to be the next thing in fashion? I mean, I find it interesting because my daughter is at university in London and it's so much more casual – it's either more casual or more dressier on the social scene, London seems much more relaxed at the moment, Manchester is much more dressed up on the clubbing scene... But now... there is a certain element of people who will always be much more dressed up. The girls who wear the knickers and who you see falling out of clubs in London in the magazines. I suppose there is always going to be an element of that, but I think mainly, clubbing is much more casual isn't it? I mean, they might wear high shoes but the kind of girls who go out to the Warehouse Project, they're not dressed up to the nines....

SA – They do still make an effort.

AK – But it's much more of that London look, that Northern Quarter look.

SA – Would you say there is a Manchester look?

AK – I don't think there is. I think there is for boys but not for girls... No, not really. There's a look I always associate with young people around the Northern Quarter...

SA – What? Male and female?

AK – Yeah, so you get your beardy boy with his quiffy hair, the girl maybe wearing a skirt with tights and a bag slung across and a blouse, and some kind of nice jacket... But I think people like coats here, which they don't in Newcastle do they? (laughs) And London is so vast isn't it? You see, I think I was a bit bitter about London, we were a bit bitter about London when we were younger. As I've got older, I understand now that it's just the way it is because it is so vast and there is so much going on down there, and it's just – I suppose if you're up in Manchester it can cross over.. but... I don't know, it's just not that important...

SA – What, to you anymore?

AK – Well, yes, but also... you've got to have the money behind you and there just isn't that... I think I've just been wrapped up in the children and you've got to spend time doing it. I don't know why.... I mean, I do work really hard... and have worked incredibly hard. I think it's a bit different now because my twins are now 18. So I've

not got as many demands on my time... Because for a while, I wanted to make sure I was there all the time for them..... (discussion of childcare and the options of employment and self employment – requested by interviewee not to be included)..... The problem for us now is that we don't have the manufacturers anymore. There's nobody around to make the stuff. It's really difficult to supply people, to make stuff. We used to cut it all out ourselves and have an outworker who was absolutely amazing. She lived in Stretford. She was the fastest machinist I had ever seen and I think that's when we made all our money, Ursula and I. And when we started using a factory, who used to cut it out and manufacture, there's a woman called Hazel in St Wilfred's, do you know her? As soon as we started to use her, we'd be paying out thousands and thousands of pounds every week. And I'd be like, "we're not making thousands of pounds a week. How can it be costing us this much to have stuff made?" We'd never get it quite right, we'd be having a bit too much made, but we're getting it right now. We were starting to earn enough to be VAT registered and it had to support three people and we were, like, this could be what actually stops us from doing it. Now we think, we'll work below that threshold, but we're not sure because it doesn't give us that scope and we need to have enough wages for three people... It's quite easy to make money online. Just put it on eBay and when you sell one, make it..... I think you'd probably need an eBay shop... Or ASOS....

End of interview

1.5. Ursula Darrigan (with Alison Knight)

Interview between Susan Atkin (SA), Ursula Darrigan (UD) with Alison Knight (AK), on 22nd February 2012. Baylis and Knight's studio, Whalley Range, Manchester.

Susan Atkin (SA) – So your shop was called Wear it Out [Unit B Lower Ground Floor Royal Exchange Shopping Centre, Manchester]. When did you open the shop?

Ursula Darrigan (UD) – Probably 1983.

SA – Why did you decide open the shop?

UD – Because I had been making clothes in other shops and there was Affleck's [52, Church Street, Manchester city centre. Indoor market. Stalls sell alternative and second hand product] which made it really easy to just open somewhere.

SA – So you started off in Afflecks?

UD – Yeah and I didn't just sell my stuff I sold other small designers.

SA – How did you know those designers?

UD – I think a lot of it was just from going out at the time and probably word-of-mouth.

People would come and say "Oh I make clothes" and show me. In the end I think I got down to probably about eight that you know I just wanted to do who were a bit more professional.

SA – Yes because there are definitely marked differences. I know from my own label that there are people that can take it that step further.

UD – Yes, manufacture as opposed to just saying can you make this dress or whatever.

SA – So if you started in '83 at Afflecks, when did you start to expand?

UD – I opened another shop at the Royal Exchange in I think that would probably have been about 1984 or '85 I can't remember one or the other

SA – Why did you choose to open at the Royal Exchange?

UD – Just because if you think about Manchester then it was a lot smaller and there was less choice and the opportunity arose to be able to have something on fairly flexible terms, on the other side of town which was a bit more upmarket really. It was just a chance to have another outlet really.

SA – When you say more flexible terms is that because of the Royal Exchange?

UD – I think it was just they had odd spaces. They were quite big, big enough for a large multiple to go in but a large multiple wouldn't want to trade in that kind of building. So they split it all off into smaller units and were able to let them all.

SA – So who was your landlord?

UD – It was Powered Securities, they were an Irish investment company.

SA – Right because I've never really known, because obviously it's part of the Royal Exchange..... So my time period that I'm focusing on is from '86 to '96.

UD – I think everybody that you talk to would probably say the same thing, in that the choice wasn't there in the shops and you didn't want to kind of sell something down the high-street so you made something different. That's what it was really, a bit more niche and upmarket so it wasn't kind of mainstream... bit trendy but not high-end trendy.

SA – Okay, so did you have a signature look that you made?

UD – I wouldn't have thought so no. Just evolves like fashion does now I would say. You wouldn't sort of say Topshop has a signature look particularly would you?

SA – Yes, you could get anything and everything up Topshop.

UD – Yes I think it was a bit like that really.

SA – So you wouldn't compare it to All Saints for example which is more defined?

UD – No, it wasn't like that at all.

SA – Did you just do womenswear?

UD – I only made womenswear.

SA – Did you sell menswear?

UD – For a short time but then I got fed up of it.

SA – Why did you get fed up with it?

UD – Because it's a bit boring isn't it? Just variations on a theme, so I didn't enjoy it.

SA – What made you decide to go into it?

UD – Again selling alternative trends which you couldn't get in the shops. It was baseball jackets, leather sleeved baseball jackets and Doc Martins shoes. That was around '85, it didn't last long.

SA – So you were inspired by what you were wearing and what you wanted?

UD – I sold that because you can't actually get it and people wanted it.

SA – When you said you were meeting designers by word of mouth and places you went to, what kind of places were you going to?

UD – Oh gosh. Places like the Hacienda and the Venue [both clubs were on Whitworth Street, Manchester] and little pop-up clubs that I can't remember the names of.

SA – Was that from the early 80's onwards or do you think there was some kind of shift?

UD – Not particularly no. I think it's always been a really creative place right up to the bomb. There were people working and making a good business out of it.

SA – The bomb is one of the reasons I cut off there. I was told to keep it as tight as possible. That was the time that I started out and I noticed how hard it was as opposed to how it was before. I think partly because it lost its focus

UD – I think possibly but I also think that high street changed as well in that they were offering everything. Initially we could adapt quickly and naturally to change much quicker than the high street but then the high street changed. It was interesting after the bomb. Did you get one of those questionnaires that was commissioned.? I cannot remember who it was, it was made out as if it was Manchester University asking what made Manchester fashion tick and who it is marketed to and blah blah blah. So I thought this is really interesting sort of

collating getting peoples opinions as they happen rather than waiting till afterwards which I thought would be quite good but apparently Selfridge's who were yet to open in Manchester commissioned the university. I was so pissed off, so annoyed.

SA – Was that after the bomb? [15th June 1996]

UD – It was after the bomb 'cos we'd relocated to Lewis' then and it just seemed like such a kick, it was a real kick as they got all this information out of us, I felt under false pretences because there was no way I would've.

SA – Was it the University or at MMU [Manchester Metropolitan University]?

UD – I don't know, I don't know. It was that guy we used to see out sometimes, you remember, he had funny eyes. We were out with Wendy at the Metropolitan [public house, Burton Road, West Didsbury] and he had a young girlfriend do you remember it was him? Can't remember his bloody name I did give him what for actually.

SA – It wasn't Andy Lovett it was it?

UD – Yes. I was so pissed off when I found out his name I actually rang him up and told him what I thought.

SA – It was a proper kick while you're down that.

UD – Yes it was a bit because I think just before the bomb everyone was doing really really well and it seemed like we got through that and the early '90s recession which was horrible and it seemed like everyone was getting more professional more organised only bit more grown up really which obviously everybody had. Then the bomb happened which was awful again but then because I relocated to Lewis' [Manchester city centre department store]. I was a bit sceptical about it but that was really interesting, I really enjoyed it. It was quite a positive experience. Everyone was doing really well as well and then it was the election and Labour got in. It seemed to be doing great but then something changed and I don't know quite what it was.

SA – Did they make everybody move in Lewis' because they shut the top floor didn't they?

UD – Yeah the Royal Exchange reopened..... Which I was a bit... I mean I was glad but I don't know you kind of knew it wasn't going to be the same I don't know.. I mean there were lots of new pressures in that they wanted everyone to commit to

25 year leases and you're thinking oh that's a bit much. Because of the shift in town the square footage prices all went up because I think Pret a Manger [sandwich chain] moved in and the landlords over the road commanded premium prices so the new landlords at the Royal Exchange because the previous ones had gone into administration decided, "oh well, we can get that". It was all a bit I think from that point we never got the footfall back. Because it had all changed which is you know it's just the way it is really.

SA – Yeah well it wasn't organic because of the bomb, it sort of forced things to shift and then they never went back. Because it was quite a long time from the bomb going off and then.

UD – Yeah it was three years... two or three years I think.

SA – But Topshop and people all got their act together and River Island didn't they? Chelsea Girl shut down and River Island kind of... I don't know when that was. That made things change.

UD – I mean there was more available stuff and I wonder... I wonder if it was stuff to do with China. To do with the fact that people were able to get stuff made abroad even. The whole world seemed to open up more.

SA – I was having a conversation this is off the subject but with someone at the weekend about China 'cos he works... he used to work for Bench he works for Bank now. He was saying that China now the prices are just going up and up.

UD – Well quite rightly so because people don't want to be sleeping outside factories either waiting for their poorly paid shift to start. So it's only right.

Alison Knight (AK) – Because they want their iPhones and iPads and their cars and their beef.

UD – Yes, whatever it is that people want.

SA – He was saying how it could eventually come back to being domestic but there aren't the skills there anymore.

AK – But people just coming from other countries though I think.

SA – Yeah he was saying that people are coming from Poland.

UD – All the ladies you see all seem to be foreign. The out workers and stuff.

SA – Did you use out workers?

UD – Yeah.

SA – Did you use factories?

UD – No, we just had out workers.

AK – You did use factory workers.

UD – Oh, yes. I did.

AK – You're a liar (laughs)

(laughter)

UD – Yes I did. Cheetham Hill [inner city area of north Manchester].

AK – You had some coats made, didn't you?

UD – Yeah, they used to make coats and jackets and things because I couldn't do that.

AK – How did you find them?

UD – It was next to where I used to get trimmings in that Church that burnt down that was near Howard Worsley's place in Cheetham Hill. I just went in because it said tailors.

SA – Did you get your fabrics from Cheetham Hill?

UD – Yes, and from Chinatown, Sackville Street, Ancoats..... Everywhere really. Round the back of the gay village.

SA – So there were loads of fabric places?

UD – Yeah loads.

SA – I guess in terms of the decline of it, it became more difficult to get fabrics and to sell...

UD – I think it's only got bad recently.

AK – I think it's got better recently.

UD – Yeah it did really get difficult for a while to get anything, but not really you know, you always know where to get stuff.

AK – What we wanted we couldn't get could we?

UD – I think it's turned round a little, I think people maybe have got a bit more used to you know smaller runs. At one time people refused to sell small amounts. There are now people who do sell small amounts, but where we are now is not too bad I don't think, because we don't need.... before we might have needed 300 metres or something whereas now we just don't need that so that's not stressful.

SA – Did you just sell in your own shop?

UD – Yeah.

SA – You didn't sell to other places?

UD – No.

SA – So there were no issues with agents or?

UD – Oh God no!

SA – So who formed the team in terms of the making and the selling really?

UD – They were people working in the shops and I had a work room and that had four of us and then there were also out workers.

SA – And in the workshop were you the designer or?

UD – Yep.

SA – So what were the other people doing?

UD – There was a couple of paperwork people and a general person who floated around.

SA – Was anything made there?

UD – Yeah some was, it was more finished there and then into the shops rather than made there.

SA – So during the period from '86 to '96 there was Afflecks and the Royal Exchange?

UD – Yeah and I had another one in Barton Arcade [shopping centre, inbetween deansgare and St. Ann's Square, city centre Manchester] for a while.

SA – And was there a differentiation between the three shops?

UD – The Royal Exchange was the money maker. It was ridiculous how much we turned over in that shop the size of it was tiny it was only about 200 ft.². It just did really well at that stage, we had to have somebody on the door to stop people coming in because it just got too full.

SA – What like a proper security person?

UD – No, just a girl saying "look can you wait a minute?" That was in the height of it. It was just such a busy place the Royal Exchange.

SA – When you say the height of it, can you think of a date?

UD – No. Probably late '80s - hang on a minute, no hang on - I'll think about the children. It was probably '88. I would say. Yeah, I would say that would be the year.

SA – Why do you think?

UD – I've no idea.

SA – What was it that they were buying?

UD – Everything, just everything.

AK – Flower shirts was that previous to that?

UD – Yeah that was previous to that.

AK – Jersey things we were selling a lot of. We always sold loads of Jersey

UD – Yeah, loads of Jersey and everything like dresses and bottoms. I'm trying to

think of things I used to make loads of. Football skirts!

SA – Football skirts?

(laughter)

AK – That was quite early.

UD – Still in the Royal Exchange though.

AK – Flared tops and things.

UD – Flirty things, georgettes and chiffons, viscose pants, wrapped tops, culottes. Used to make hundreds of those. Team did very well. Your crochet did very well.

SA - Was it for going out like going out clothes?

UD – Well I dunno. I dunno really it was everything.

SA – Do you think people were wearing them to go out in?

UD – It was daywear and stuff that you'd wear at night

AK – There was a sea of our stuff in the Hacienda though wasn't there?

UD – Yeah. Yeah there really was

AK – People couldn't get stuff though could they?

UD – No, they couldn't

AK – When Next opened [1987] that was quite like “ooh that's a bit different!”

SA – It was on Market Street wasn't it? Quite far up?

AK – They had folded things and that was a big deal.

(laughter)

UD – Were you thinking about Benetton?

AK – Yeah we were thinking about Benetton about them being folded like Benetton

SA – So who was in the shop who was buying the clothes? Could you give like ages and types of people?

UD – No. I think we always had quite a wide age range. It was younger I suppose it was up to 40s I would say at that time.

SA – And do you think that that reflected what was going on in terms of like the music scene and the club scene? Was it as wide as that?

UD – What do you mean?

SA – In terms of like, do you think that people that were interested in the clothes you were selling were going to the clubs?

UD – Yeah definitely. Yeah 'cos you used to see it when you went out I used to quite enjoy that game. It was quite exciting. We were one time at the Hacienda on the balcony looking down thinking “Oh my God”.

AK – I remember a dress that I did out of brown velvet it was, I think it was stretch velvet like cotton velvet and I think it was like a bit of a tulip style and quite tight on the top and one Christmas I did loads of them absolutely loads. That was amazing Sackville Street I can't even remember when that could've been that must've been '87 or '88.

SA – You know like you said you didn't want to meet yourself coming down the Street giving people minded that they were out and.....

UD – They didn't seem to, they got the stuff and they were like..... We didn't want to though did we?

AK – Oh God no!

(laughter)

SA – That's why you say you started off in the first place!

UD – Yeah.

SA – And how were the people wearing clothes? What were they wearing dresses or whatever with? Were they wearing heels or was it more casual?

UD – It depended on the dress. If it was a dressy dress they would wear heels wouldn't they? There was a time when people, I suppose it's like everything like now

There are trends in heel heights aren't there? So whatever the trend in heel height then was I suppose.... It's like if you go to certain places girls are wearing enormously high heels aren't they? But then as I say, at one point everybody was wearing Doc Martens weren't they?

AK – I think people were wearing flat shoes, I don't remember having heels so much.

UD – I used to wear high shoes and flats though the '80s. The late '80s were a bit more flat weren't they?

AK – People used to wear laceups shoes didn't they a lot?

UD – I'll have to have a look at some old footage of the Hacienda. If I can find it.

SA – Apparently Music District Archive have got old film.

UD – Music District Archives?

SA – Northwest Music District Archive or something. Loads of places like that this is through MMU I think they got funding to collate and preserve. Might be worth you asking if you can go.

UD – God no. Thank you.

(laughter)

AK – We know people who gave stuff to Urbis and they just lost it all.

SA – What clothes or.....

AK – No, you know Trevor Johnston? He had loads of Hacienda stuff.

SA – What and Urbis lost it? What did he do about that?

UD – I don't know.

(laughter)

SA – That could be quite valuable, I mean obviously valuable to him anyway. Shocking isn't it? Could you describe the times?

UD – No, I don't know sorry.

SA – I'm assuming for you that it was quite busy?

AK – Everyone was busy though. Manchester was busy like you couldn't park your car in the car park. On a Friday afternoon you couldn't get from Sackville Street to the Royal Exchange to do your drop-off and it would be as late as you could possibly make it. We'd be dropping stuff off at Ursula's, at Wear it Out. And you'd be making sure it was at the very last minute because there was so much to do, and then you'd have to rush down there and they'd want the stuff earlier because obviously they wanted it in the shop and you wouldn't be able to get there! You'd end up walking or something 'cos it was so mentally busy.

UD – And we didn't think it would ever end did we?

AK – No!

(laughter)

UD – It was exciting because you're young and you're going out all the time, and there are great places to go, and there was just loads going on and the music thing and it was exciting really.

SA – Did you see overlaps in terms of the music and the art, or the graphics and the fashion?

UD – I don't know, maybe if you're a bit more intellectual and you're looking at things a bit... Maybe you would, but I just wasn't even aware... it was just how it was, so I didn't even think about it or think "oh, this is fantastic", I was just enjoying it. Do you know what I mean? Whereas now, I think, "oh, that was pretty good really".

SA – Did you all sort of know each other though?

UD – Well, Manchester is quite small and I think if you're a bit alternative which... You can't tell if people are nowadays – Its like that tribal thing isn't it? Like now, everything merges. If you look at someone and think, "Oooh, they're really cool, they're like me", they might actually not be, they might be into U2 and enjoying Murder Mystery nights, do you know what I mean? It's a bit less clear and well

defined as it was then. And I think the place... I don't know... I think everybody did kind of know everybody. If not to talk to then you knew who they were and what they did..... Jolly good fun the whole thing!

AK – It was hard work but it wasn't that difficult was it?

UD – Yeah, it wasn't difficult, you just had to do it.

AK – The opportunities were there, they were just for the taking.

UD – Yeah....

AK – Whereas now you kind of have to seek the opportunities out, or there's less of them.

UD – It does seem a little bit harder now, I think. I'm sure it would be harder.

AK – You asked me about getting money didn't you, 'cos what happened when you went to the bank?

UD – Oh yeah, well, I went to the bank because I just wanted an extension on my overdraft to get a new machine. And I was told at the time, he actually said, "Well, you're very pretty Ms. Darrigan and I'm sure you enjoy spending money on having your hair done and make up but I don't think it would be appropriate to extend your overdraft".

SA – That's shocking...

UD – It was so... shocking. So shocking. And I think he must have gone to brag about it, like, "Ha, that how I've told her", because a couple of weeks later I'd gone to pay some money in and the cashier, who I always said hello to, and she said, "We've heard what happened and I'm really sorry". In a very quiet voice. So I think it was really shocking.

SA – Were you shocked at the time? Or was it something that you might have expected.

UD – No, at the time I was really really angry. And, er,.. got my Dad to write a letter (laughs) I told my Dad. (laughs) Because it was shocking really. And he wrote a really good letter. That I signed, obviously.

AK – Did you ever get anything back from your letter?

UD – No.

AK – Bank managers used to come round to your house and get you out of bed if you owed them money.

UD – I've had that happen to me. That happened when I was at college in the late '70s I think. (laughs)..... (discussion about banks and how they have changed)

AK – You were in *The Face* once wasn't you?

UD – Was I? Noooo...

AK – Yes, you were! Or was it the *Observer*?

SA – What were you in there for?

UD – Just Manchester fashion, or Manchester and Liverpool fashion.... I can't remember.....

AK – I wish I could remember because there were those Goth people [referring to the Goth, or Gothic movement that evolved from Punk in the early 1980s], that boy...

UD – With the really blonde hair... They were before Goth weren't they?

AK – You forget about people don't you?

UD – They were really interesting. They were just doing their own thing. They looked great. They had a place in Afflecks.

SA – Did you see them out?

AK – They were weirder than us (laughs)

SA – So who else were you selling?

UD – There was Baylis and Knight, there was Consalvo Pellecchia, there was Gail Porter, there was.... Lysistrata..... Holder and Pennigton, there was Who else? Oh, yeah, Heyday for a while.. ermm... Carole Ownsworth...She was.... Mid '80s.... Early '80s sorry... I can't think. And other bits I used to buy in like hats and accessories and things, like knitwear. And ermmm....

SA – Did you buy the hats and knitwear from....

UD – I didn't know anyone in Manchester who did those things so they were more Southern based.

SA – And where did you come across them?

UD – I think they approached me. Because I didn't go to any of the shows because I was only interested in selling the local people really.

SA – Was there any reason behind that?

UD – It just seemed more interesting and its quite easy as well.

SA – It wasn't a conscious decision that you made?

UD – Yeah, I think it was, yeah.

SA – Was there any other shops or labels selling in the Royal Exchange?

UD – Loads, there was loads... There was.

AK – What were Britain called before they were Britain?

UD – Well, Lisa was "Think of the Winter". And then I think she joined up with Alison and became Britain and then there was Breed. Oh they were very early (laughs). There was Bozo, they sold, sort of urbany menswear and then there was errr... Raymond Cuir which was a leather place and lots of little ones that came and went. And then upstairs there was Vicky Martin, and then there was Heyday, they opened a shop upstairs and ermm... Geesse, they sold sort of high end designer clothing, and then there was shops like ours downstairs like Heavy and ermm.... I can't remember...

SA – Who would you say your competitors were?

UD – Everyone.

SA – And did you see them as competitors?

UD – Yeah. Well, you're after the same pound aren't you? In the Royal Exchange I would say.

SA – Was it the same in Afflecks?

UD – Not the same because they're more diverse, the units. So I never really though like that in there...

AK – It was more second hand in there then, or more alternative.

SA – In terms of Wear it Out the label, did you see yourself as having competitors?

UD – I think I thought – I put more into the shop and everyone really...

SA – So your designs fitted into and complimented that?

UD – Mmmm, mmmm [agrees].

SA – Was the shop your priority?

UD – Yeah, I really enjoyed it. The retail side of it.

SA – Would you think about doing it again?

UD – No. Because you've got to put your all into it and its really hard. What I enjoy now is the process of the making and doing new things whereas then I enjoyed the shop, the buzz. Mind you, there's nothing more dreary than a dead shop... And also, dealing with the general public is also quite challenging.... (laughs).....

SA – Thank you.

End of interview.

1.6. AJ Wilkinson (with Terry Kane and Andy White)

Interview between SusanAtkin (SA), Terry Kane (TK), Andy White (AW) and AJ Wilkinson (AJW), 10th April 2012, 12.00pm. Mid Cheshire College, Northwich, Cheshire.

Susan Atkin (SA) – So, I'm looking at the period from 1986 to 1996...

AJ Wilkinson (AJW) – Yep

SA – Ermmmm..., Just focussing on the scene really

AJW – OK

SA – And it could be argued.... there's lots of theories when the Madchester scene started, and it could be argued that it was around that time and then '96, neatly because it is a decade but also that's when the bomb went off. So, erm... just to get it started, this interview, what did you do during that time period?

AJW – Erm... Well, at that point from '86 onwards, I studied. And then I was a freelance photographer. From '86 to about '89, late '89 I was a freelance photographer working for City Life Magazine [Manchester listings magazine]. Erm and then I was a freelance photographer working in the fashion industry for photography and then small bands. And then, erm... '89 to 93 I was out of Manchester then, but I was still working for friends and stuff, I was studying at Staffordshire University.

SA – And did you live in Staffordshire?

AJW – I lived in Staffordshire but came back to Manchester at weekends to work in Affleck's Palace [indoor market. Stalls sell alternative and second hand product] as a job just to tide things over, also just doing bits of photographs for bits of people, people who would constantly use me, labels and stuff like that. And then I came back to Manchester in '93, I actually started teaching in '93 at Salford University. Errm.... and then, whilst I was there, I started exhibiting in the Design Centre which is no more, which is on Canal Street, which is no more now and then I also showed in '95, I had an exhibition called English Dandies which was people affected by the punk movement of 1977.

SA – So..... Obviously you are now a lecturer, you still exhibit a bit don't you?

AJW – Yeah, yeah. Mainly I am an educator; I like to say, 'cos I don't just teach in a college environment, I do workshops as well through Redeye, who do talks and

exhibitions. As an artist I'm involved in collectives, since 1995, exhibiting at the City Art Gallery, abroad and I'm published. Teaching to me was always a way to fund my own work, although in this current climate it doesn't really fund anything...

(laughter)

SA – OK, so going back to the time period, where did you hang out? What did you do?

AJW – Erm, well I used to work for City Life, 'cos I used to cover quite a lot of club nights. I used to do all the club photography for City Life because I was the only fool who would go out and do it at 2 o'clock in the morning. So, I used to do a lot of stuff at The Roadhouse, I used to do a lot of stuff at The Hacienda. I used to do stuff for numerous places around Manchester really, any of the clubs that was going, small clubs that were being promoted, I was sent to photograph. And it was like anything that went in City Life tended to be in and then the knock on of that was 'cos you were seen as a photographer. And there were only a couple of other photographers, Ian Tilton and myself, err, Pete Walsh errrm were really, there was only a few photographers who were working in Manchester at that point. In that early period, and then after I left, Matt Squire took over from me doing that work for City Life. And he used to do the same stuff really. Apart from fashion, he didn't do fashion. But he did band promotion work and promotion work for clubs and so on and so on.

So I used to do work for.... I used to do a lot of work for Trevor Johnson, of Johnson Panas [graphic design company]. I did a lot of stuff with them. I did a lot of the work for some of the Hacienda birthday parties, the promotion work for that. So, yeah, just doing freelance, doing numerous stuff that came through the door. But I used to manage to do a lot of label stuff, Box Cassettes, I used to do stuff for them, I used to do stuff for little small independent labels. Ermmm... So, hanging out, you name it, I was there really. I used to go in The Green Room, I used to hang out there. The Cornerhouse wasn't such a cool place then as it is now, it was just a place to go to the cinema. Err and then err.. We used to go to the [, just at the top of Tib Street, [Polars Bar, 8 Swan Street, Manchester] which is where the Mondays [The Happy Mondays] used to knock about a lot there. Err... and we used to go to what's its name? You know, the other place owned by Factory...

SA – Dry?

AJW – Dry. We used to go in there quite a lot on a Saturday. After, 'cos I used to work in town on Saturdays 'cos all the people who worked in Affleck's, that's where they would basically go. And then, err... clubs was errr... I wasn't really a big errr... acid head [acid is a slang term for psychedelic drug Lysergic acid diethylamide

(LSD), acid head refers to a user of the drug] so, I was, you know, I was a bit more of a rocker so I didn't go to the same places as a lot of them. I used to photograph them but I didn't go to them because I wasn't into Acid House at the time.

SA – So you're putting yourself away from that and saying "I wasn't one of them", you wasn't "an acid head"

AJW – Well, no... probably, there was a whole scene that was erm, that was sort of The Stone roses' scene which sort of slightly was Acid House but was related to The Byrds [1960s American psychedelia band], and that re-emergence of hippies, sort of look, which... we all sort of got into. Because of that we all grew our hair and you know, started to wear bell bottomed pants, you know, all the baggy thing started to happen then... I didn't get into the long baggy tops stuff like that, you know...

SA – Do you think that came from referencing the '60s and that hippy revival?

AJW – Yeah, you know... a little bit, surfing thing. Definitely, because a lot of the surfing stuff started to come in as well. You know, I can't think of the names but Quiksilver probably, a lot of those little, surfer labels which are now quite big were there, or even Vans to a certain extent, you know, all that surfer, skater thing was a sort of subculture, was ermm.. sort of being introduced and coming to... I remember, because I used to work for, do some work for Big Banana [shop in Affleck's Palace] and he was one of the first people to start to bring in Carhaart [Established in 1889 in Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. producing workwear] when it was workwear. So workwear was a big thing and everybody used to wear dungarees, dungarees were a big thing. And I used to wear Carhaart. And of course there was no internet then so you used to have to wait for someone to go to the States and get it for you, you couldn't get it. So I used to have to wait for someone to come back with bales of workwear which I was quite into Red Wings [American work boots, designed for industries such as mining, logging and farming. Established in 1905] and all that sort of thing....

SA – So when you say dungarees and workwear, what was the shape of it? Was it fitted?

AJW – No. They were baggy. They weren't like 1970's dungarees, they were like – sort of – you looked like you were in The Walton's [American television series set in Virginia from 1933 – 1946] really. It was that sort of look, you know, check shirt thing and errr dungarees with er.... Not everyone did but a few people did, sort of, definitely that wider legged, and I remember I had a few pairs by Dickies [American workwear company. Established 1922, producing clothing for heavy duty work],

Carhaart, American, I was really into Americana, it was a big thing for me, at that point.

SA – Do you think that was because you were more into Rock? Or was it a not to....

AJW – I think for me it was different, I suppose – I remember 501's being a big thing, but original 501's with the red selve edge which were slightly wider on the leg than your standard 501's being quite important at that time. I remember seeing the Roses on one of those programmes which... can't remember who it was now, but it was on one of those late night programmes they were on and I remember Ian Tilton photographing them, which they used the photos for the cover of their album, and ermmm... and John Squire, I was knocking around with Matt Squire, his brother, we were all into looking for those jeans that were a slightly bit different than the very straight legged, horrible late '80s, where all the jeans seemed to be exported over to the Czech Republic, bleached, horrible, you know, that sort of look. Yeah, that look was looking for, sort of a nod to Americana, slightly '50s Americana coming through as well, which was quite interesting.

SA – This is something that you remember John Squire wearing?

AJW – Well I remember John Squire wearing those sort of original 501s, they were all looking for those original 501s shrink to fits... But, original shrink to fits, not the low cut that you could buy – you see you couldn't get – you had to really search for them, you had to get them from London, or wherever you could find them... Errrr..... So we all used to wear that sort of thing. I remember steel toe caps were in. People used to wear steel toe caps.... And then, the semi flare thing was in as well...

SA – Right. So what do you mean by semi flare?

AJW – Semi flared being slightly.... they were.... they were... I can't remember... 5-0.... 505s maybe or something like that... But the originals.. 1968 semi flare which was fitted on the thigh and then kicked out. It wasn't – it's not like a proper '70s flare where it's very bloomy if you know what I mean, it's really big, it wasn't like that because I remember that from then. It wasn't like that, it was more fitted and then fitted, it was like a boot cut, a proper boot cut, not like what you get now, it was a proper boot cut jean which was more fitted here (points to thigh) and then went from the knee out type of thing but not big. So there was a bit, a lot of that. You see, a lot of the lads at the time where it started, the Mondays and all them were still sort of wearing, you know, the football terrace look as well...

SA – What do you mean by that?

AJW – Well, sort of Berghaus [outdoor wear established in 1966 in Newcastle-upon-Tyne by mounteneers Peter Lockey and Gordon Davison] and all those sort of names – you see, I don't remember the names because I didn't used to wear it...

SA – Well, you don't need to say the names, what did it look like?

AJW – Ermmm... Parka-type coats, sort of anoraky-type coats, anything like that. Fred Perry's. But not Fred Perry's. Sort of like... errr.... other makes that were sort of like the polo neck look. And that was a big one, but then it started to get into patterned ones of those, loads of those around at the time.

SA – What? Like a polo shirt?

AJW – A polo shirt, but different, you know like really quite mad patterns and stuff.

SA – And what was the fit of that?

AJW – Some were fitted, not really fitted, some were really quite long as well and also some of them had a tail on the back of them as well, so they were slightly longer at the back. You know, so..... I don't know what they call it, sort of like chipped out at the back. There were loads of those, so everyone used to wear their shirt out. And then.... Beany hats, no not beany hats, yeah, beany hats were in. Sort of the Muslim sort of hats, because of bands like ACR [A Certain Ratio, Manchester based Post-Punk band 1977 – present day]. a lot of the lads were wearing those. And then also those hats, safari type hats.... Fisherman's hats. And then erm... what else.... Erm and then, well, I mean, Big Banana was selling, at the time, they were selling a lot of those really long tops, sort of long stripy ones and then a lot of them were like, re-workings of er "The Fairly Hip Kid", using the Fairy Liquid.. the logo, but changing what it said on it. So there were loads of those around, loads.... That was a big thing. People used to get those. And Big Banana was a massive seller of those. Identity was as well...

SA – T-shirts?

AJW – T-shirts... yeah yeah yeah. Lots of big t-shirts. Big t-shirts, you know, stupidly big. You could have called them skirts really, you know. Round necked but just big all over. But Ian Brown was known to wear a lot of that anyway, but it was a knock on effect of wearing that really.

SA – So what you're selling is that these bands, for example The Stone Roses had a direct impact?

AJW – I think so. But the Acid House thing was going on, all that. So anything that was loose, 'cos you were sweating a lot. Loose would have been the way to go forward really.

SA – Is that men and women?

AJW – Not... Yeah.... Some women.... Not a lot of the women, some women... a lot of the women were more sort of fly girly.

SA – What do you mean by that?

AJW – Tighter stuff definitely, and a lot of like flouncy sort of stuff... If I remember correctly, girls used to wear quite designer, sort of loose tops but then maybe a hot pant. That was big, definitely. And girls with big shoes on.

SA – What do you mean by big shoes?

AJW – Ermmm.... Doc Martins. Steel toe capped..... But I was a bit older, I'd done my bit before..... I just picked out the good bits and bad bits really....

SA – So you say good bits and bad bits?

AJW – Good bits were..... the more cooler stuff.... The American stuff that came in.... 501s – the good ones. T-shirts that weren't oversized but were proper cool ones, '60s ones. And I went for more originality rather than massed produced.

SA- So the mass produced thing was going on then?

AJW – Oh definitely, and I wasn't into that football terrace look. Because I wasn't into football so I didn't follow it really. I didn't get swooped up into that...

SA – When you say swooped up, do you think that people got swooped up into it?

AJW – Oh defiantly, there definitely was. If you look at the Hacienda at that time, everyone was very uniformed, you know. There was defiantly baggy. A lot of stupid baggy.... trousers and a lot of stupidly baggy tops.... That didn't apply to me, I just didn't think I was part of that. A lot of people that I hung around with were ex punks. People like Cressa, we were mates, and we all knew each other so I don't think we got swooped up in all that massive baggy stuff. Well, I didn't anyway..... I had long hair, but that was about it really.

SA – So you are from Altrincham?

AJW – Yes, that's how I knew Ian Brown and all them. They went to Altrincham Grammar. I went to Altrincham Secondary Boys School. But I then lived in Salford.

SA – So there were links there as well?

AJW – Well, no. Salford was later. I just knew people in Manchester. I knew people who lived in the Crescents. A lot of people I did work with all lived in the Crescents. I was probably there more.... you didn't go into Salford really. Not if you're a Mancunian.

SA – So you think there is a divide?

AJW – Oh, yeah. Not massive but there is a definite difference. You've got to think... being a punk, an ex punk, we avoided the Scallies which were in Salford, you know, Ardwick. But this was earlier... I'd never go into Ardwick because I'd just get the back of my knees slashed as they used to say.

SA – Do you think that this was the same as at this time period?

AJW – I don't know really..... I don't think so... 'cos there was all that loved up bit going on. With all the E generation that did change them. I used to know some rough people but it did change them and the way they sort of were with you. Definitely.

SA – So, they were friendlier?

AJW – Friendlier... And it was a bit surprising really. You know, you'd be in a club with a load of thugs and scallies.... just errr.... It was a bit of a shock really.

SA – In terms of the clubs you were going in photographing, would you say there was a certain type of person there?

AJW – A lot of scallies, yeah... Amalgamations started to happen where... A bit of a melting pot started to happen. Whereas with scallies, it was the drug culture, everybody was into the music, everyone was into warehouse parties, and so wherever there was a warehouse party, people would be there, off their heads. And no one really cared what sort of background you came from. It was very much, sort of utopian really, sort of approach to it. No one really cared if you were from Walkden or if you were from Altrincham. It didn't matter, it really didn't matter. So

there wasn't that divide. I'm sure there was an undercurrent... But town was a different place. I never felt threatened really. I know there was that Gunchester thing that was going on but I'd moved away by then so wasn't involved with all that.

SA – Where did you work in Affleck's?

AJW – Big Banana. I used to do the photography for them and then he gave me a job on a Saturday to keep me going really.....

SA – So we've talked about work wear, and semi flares.... And then...what about the big flares?

AJW – There was some of that but that was the back end of things. As with any subculture, you have those at the top, the cream who start things but aren't really caught up in any of that and then it filters down and further down it just gets to the silly point where trousers were just so completely baggy. For me that was just going backwards, not forwards. But I could see the point of the semi flared thing though because that was like a reaction to the extreme '80s, you know, really tight, bleached trouser. Which got a bit stupid really. And so it was a bit of a reaction to that. And so a few of us were doing that and i-D picked up on that. And they started doing that Baldrick thing. And a mate of mine and Cressa was photographed in those clothes. So we were all wearing sort of semi '60s stuff. It was all sort of found stuff.... Unless we were given it. But there was er... Gio Goi, they were making stuff and then what's his name, but that's a bit later..... ermmm... A Manchester label... There were a couple of Manchester labels that started to do stuff. Which are now quite big of course. It's gone now.... But they were finding that stuff, and then they began to make that stuff.

SA – So you think they responded to demand? To what was being worn?

AJW – Yeah. Of course.

SA – And you say it was found, do you mean in charity shops?

AJW – Yeah, for me it was. You couldn't get that '60s stuff. The place I used to go to was a place in Leigh. And it was a guy who imported it from all over the States. And he used to get it for the dockers at Liverpool. And he used to buy bales of Levi's and we all used to pile over there. So you could easily buy '60s polo shirts and '60s trousers, pea coats and stuff like that that was like fitted and cool and whatever but still had something about it. It wasn't just the mainstream. Probably that's a punk thing that I didn't want to follow fashions. You've got to remember that

I was 27, it was probably 18, 19 year olds who got swept up in it. And Terry (Terry Kane who has entered the room) was DJing to them all....

SA – Was Terry a DJ?

AJW – He was a DJ. He went over to Ibiza and all that.

SA – Where did you DJ Terry?

Terry Kane (TK) – Dry. [Record label Factory-owned bar. Tib Street, Manchester. Opened in 1989]

SA – When?

TK – Ermm... '99, 2000 there. And I used to DJ at Fridays.... Different places in the early '90s. No – erm – yes, '91.

SA – What type of music?

TK – ermmm.....

AJW – We're just doing an interview about the fashion of that period. That's all...

TK – Well, I was a bit before that. I started going to the Hacienda in '85... Because it was when I was working in Lewis' [Manchester department store]. And places like the International and all those sorts of places. I mean, I played all that sort of stuff, The Stone Roses, but I wasn't really into that...

SA – So what did you wear when you went to the Hacienda?

TK – I'm just trying to remember....polo necks a lot, jeans and baggy suits.... And then later on combats, ages before they came into fashion... Yeah, early '90s, I'd got into wearing combat pants and stuff like that..... A different life, that....

SA – Who do you think the key movers were? Who were the influencers?

AJW – It's difficult to say, to pin point a person.... It wasn't bloody Wilson [Anthony H Wilson, also known as Tony Wilson. Television broadcaster and co-owner of Factory], that's for sure... He was as square as anything... It's difficult to pinpoint....

SA – So when you’ve talking about certain bands, like the Stone Roses, do you think that they were influential or do you think.... in terms of dress, do you think they were the influencers, or do you think they were just doing it at the same time as the crowd?

AJW – I’d say they melted in really didn’t they? A lot of what was going on in fashion....

TK – I’d say only slightly ahead. Because I remember going to see the Redskins [Soul, pop, rock and rockabilly inspired band from York, UK, renowned for their left-wing politics. 1982 – 1986] during the miner’s strike [major industrial action in response to coal mine closures. 1985 – 1986] and the big thing – they were skinheads and were still wearing Doc Martins but not in the same way... It was just before 501’s... So if you see any Smiths videos and you see Johnny Marr, you see he’s got a polo neck tucked into his jeans. You know, bell bottoms but then with Doc Martins...

AJW – Yeah, yeah... But that was earlier, sort of ’85....

TK – The mid ’80s. One thing that I would say influenced later on was Twin Peaks [American serial drama, 1990 -1991]. Because that’s when the jeans went looser, the 501s, the checked shirts..... I remember buying a black leather biker jacket in ’89 after watching Twin Peaks actually.

AJW – Yeah, the influences were different. I think the influences came from.... for me, the same, from film, like all that dungarees thing, it came from film... Like with 501s, you’d find out information. Its different because there wasn’t the internet so you’d find out about a little something that someone had worn and think, “oh, I like that”, like Redwings. I remember them coming over and it’s only because of a certain film and someone wearing Redwings [American workboots], it could have been Deerhunter [1978]. A semi-cool Di Niro wearing Redwings. And you had to get someone to get them for you. So the influences were probably very subtle. I mean, the Stone Roses were very influenced by that late ’60s, sort of, hippy, but not San Francisco, even Angels-looking. You know, semi flare, that’s where the Angels thing comes in. You can look at Angels from that period and see that look. Slightly bearded, longer hair....

SA – Do you mean Hell’s Angels?

AJW – Yeah. If you look at Irving Penn’s pictures [photographs taken in 1968 for Look Magazine]... They’re cool looking dudes.

TK – At that time I preferred the look of James [Manchester band 1982 – 2001 and 2007 – present day], Tim Booth's [lead singer of James] style....

SA – So how do you think his style differed?

TK – He was more intellectual... Again it was about what he was influenced by. At the time I knew Jon Ronson [now a writer, Ronson was keyboard player for a few performances of The Frank Sidebottom Band and manager of 1980s band The Man from Delmonte], and The Man from Delmonte as well.

AJW – I used to photograph them. The Man from Delmonte was a big one. And then there was the Inspiral [The Inspiral Carpets]. Again that late '60s influence with the bowl haircuts. There was that reference to... and you could say a little bit Ramones-ish as well. It was just looking, always looking..... I think the thing is with subcultures is they're always reactionary to what was going on at that point. And as I said there was the snow wash tight jeans going on. And so we were looking for something that was reactionary to that. And 501's.... I remember, you know, before Bros started wearing ripped jeans and all that, that was a subculture. And wearing 8-piece hats with lots of badges on it. And I remember a mate of mine who was actually part of that whole Baldrick look, he was well into all of that and MA-1 jackets [MA-1 bomber jacket, also known as the MA-1 flight jacket were first issued in 1949-50 as a response to the need for a lighter, waterproof jacket for air fighter pilots to wear in the cockpit in the jet age] with badges down one sleeve. A Northern Soul sort of tip. That was a big thing, that was – that was about '87. Boy George had started wearing that cap with badges all over.

TK – At that time the bands around were bands like Curiosity Killed the Cat. The French sailor, fisherman's caps. And bands like Lloyd Cole, Prefab Sprout and all that.

AJW – But 501's and slightly bigger 501's belted up was big.

SA – Men and women?

AJW – Men and women, yeah. Sade was doing that wasn't she? Big 501's. That were too big but they used to just be belted up. But lads were doing that with the polo neck.

TK – And they were so much harder to get then because there wasn't all the different leg lengths and such that you can buy now. You could get different waist sizes but...

AJW – That’s right. Because a mate of mine used to work at the Hacienda. And he was a glass collector and that was probably about..... ’87..... about that.... and a few of them used to work there and he used to actually shave his head.... and another mate had a big quiff, but there was definitely a bowl head cut and defiantly a biker jacket thing going on. And big trousers and then Doc Martins.

TK – And I remember big suits that I used to go to the Hacienda in. And I remember a Matinique shirt, navy blue denim but big. I used to wear that. I’ve still got it in my wardrobe actually...

AJW – But influential, I think it’s a weird one... There was no one at the forefront of it really, ‘cos they all had slightly different.... ‘cos the ‘Mondays had that Scally look didn’t they, I mean, and then the ‘Roses had another look and, you know, there was no.....

TK – And it was so much slower then. If you want to see what someone is wearing now you can go in the internet but then you had to wait weeks to see a band. What, once, twice a year, you’d get to see a band play. So it would be pretty slow and then there’d be big jumps from one style to another. It seemed a lot slower..... You couldn’t even watch music videos on MTV. You didn’t have it.

AJW – Even the Hacienda didn’t have MTV. It just had homemade videos.

SA – What, that people had done themselves?

AJW – Well, they were just like independents.

TK – Something for me visually, I remember during the miner’s strike, a video on at the Hacienda and it was just cuts of music and the mounted police just going in and battering the miners. And it was mixed and like, kept going... erm... but far more crudely that you could do anything like today. And I was like “Oh wow, I’ve not seen anything like this before”, it was really amazing and you were really buzzing to see something like that.

SA – You’ve referenced the miners a couple of times, do you think the politics of that had an impact on what was going on?

TK – For me, I think I began to move away from certain friends and began to think of different political ideas, although not realising it at the time, that that’s what politics was but sort of gravitating.....

AJW – For me it was the same, coming from Altrincham there was a lot of affluent areas. And for me, I was a porter in a hospital in Sale so I was on the front line of a lot of stuff.....

TK – When?

AJW – about '85 to '87....

TK – you must know..... (Discussion of mutual friend / acquaintance) He was a chef there at that time and he left to go to university. And again it was at that time, he left to go to university. He got involved in the politics of things and he's now a social worker but became involved in the whole social movement... That whole anti-Thatcher thing.

AJW – Oh definitely, that had a big influence that.

SA – A big influence on you two and your friends but would you say a big influence generally? And what we're talking about here, the youth scene?

AJW – Yeah, yeah. Because you've got to, like, think... and I know lads that used to go to the clubs even, towards Harpurhey and there was a little club in Crumpsall. We never used to go there, but you used to go to the clubs there, E-ing off your heads, and you used to go to the clubs, go out of the club, change outside from dancing and then go up to the airport, people used to go up to the airport, or going, or finding on the motorway wasn't it, going down the motorways, going to the services. They used to meet on the services to find out where the party was. That was a big thing. All pile in a car and go somewhere. The next thing on after the club had shut. So you'd get changed outside in the car park. And then errr.... but then a lot of err... I think there was definitely a class thing. Differences weren't there, I feel. Because a majority of the videos being shown were all very anti-Thatcher, like he was saying, a lot of police riot stuff.

SA – So in terms of them being shown at the Hacienda, and you saying that there was a sense of unity going on, would you say that there was a unity of the working class?

AJW – Well, I think so...

SA – Would you say there was a pride in it?

TK – Prior to that, you fought against it. You didn't want to be working class, you didn't want to be from a council estate. But then with Thatcher in the early '80s and the miners' strike, yeah, it was us and them. You know, I can stand up and make something of my life. I don't have to work in a factory....

SA – Do you feel like there is a Manchester look?

TK – Yeah, definitely.

SA – What would you say it was?

AJW – Now. Now, it's definitely the Scally. If you go to town now.... well, now is different. It's a different look altogether now isn't it but... Oi Polloi [Manchester menswear store] has built upon that look, that terrace look.

TK – Yeah, one look is the very smart football thug.

AJW – Yeah, I've never been into that look, but it was... That's a look that's always been there, even from the early '80s. When I used to go to see bands in Ardwick, at The Apollo, they were there then, but they were Perry's then...

TK – Are you talking about the very sharp dressing?

AJW – Yeah, yeah.

TK – Because in Liverpool and Manchester, on the outskirts, they're there wearing tracksuits, black tracksuits. Like when I was working and got attacked outside Ryan Gigg's house. And all the lads, the gang that came against us there, they were all in black. And you know United fans call themselves the Men in Black. Black North Face, black whatever with their hoods up... errrrmm... or hoodies... all in black. Black trainers. And that's a definite look. From the scally look, gangsterism... But also... ninjas (laughs) thieving....

AJW – But then there is that sharper look, which is the Oi Polloi look, very expensive, high end.... Lacoste, whatever was in at the time...

TK – Quilted Barbour jackets...

AJW – That's definitely a very Manchester look.

TK – It's very different from Liverpool. Liverpool girls look very different from Manchester girls. Hair.... you may see it now, but a few years ago, you'd never see it in Manchester, girls in the daytime, in the city centre with rollers in their hair. Scouse girls do that, they take that long to prepare. They over prepare, in a pantomime sense in a way.

SA – Do you think there is some sort of pride in that? You know, "I'm out on a Saturday afternoon, going shopping for something to wear with my rollers in, because I'm going out tonight"?

AJW – Yeah, its escapism...

TK – Yeah, I've got the money to go out.... To be seen going into Cricket but with their rollers in.

AJW – Yeah, escapism, they've been working the whole week, well, maybe the whole week and then they've got Saturday and Saturday night. You know, peacocks really.

SA – And this is more so in Liverpool than Manchester? I don't think I've ever seen it in Manchester....

AJW – Oh no, not in Manchester. It's a completely different thing.

SA – What's the difference?

AJW – I don't know.

TK – It's the WAG [Wives And Girlfriends, a term attributed to the partners of football players by the media] look. In certain bars, in certain clubs. It's definitely a WAG look. Like if you go to Alderley Edge [village in Cheshire with an affluent image, 12 miles south of Manchester], places like that, yeah..... But yeah, I remember noticing a big change at the Hacienda. Like, I didn't go for a few months or so, I went in and it had changed so much... It was all the kids in the big t-shirts....

AJW – It had gone from that slight sophisticated look...

TK -..... It was the year that Gazza cried, could it have been.... '91?.... no, 1990 when England got out the.... 'Cos I remember because it had been on the TV and then we went and it was the first time I'd been in months.... May, June 1990 and going in and thinking, "Bloody hell! This is different!" [England footballer Paul Gascoigne (nickname Gazza) cried publically on the football pitch at the end of the

defeat of the England versus West Germany semi-final at the 1990 World Cup in Italy]

(Andy White enters the room, it has been raining and he is wet)

AJW – Here we go, this is the Manchester look. (laughs) He's got his Berghaus on. I think they call them Parrots don't they, in Salford, those coats? Because they are bright.

TK – I think money was a big thing as well...

AJW – Well, I didn't really have any...

TK – No, that's what I mean, we didn't really spend a lot on clothes.

AJW – That's what I said, I mean, I used to scout around Affleck's... That was the place to go and get stuff. That's another thing, Affleck's was massive. Yeah, Affleck's was big because they used to get stuff imported, they used to get jeans...

SA – So the Northern Quarter was quite an important area...

AJW – It wasn't known as the Northern Quarter then...

SA – Well, no...

AJW – Just Tib Street. And Oldham Street as we knew it.

TK – and the Army and Navy store.

AJW – Yeah, you'd do Affleck's and then go down Tib Street and go down to the Army and Navy store and buy stuff there.... But there wasn't a lot of shops. There was Affleck's, that was a big one but then earlier than that there was what's its name, Carl Br... the downstairs one – Carl Twiggs! Carl Twiggs...

TK – There was the Underground Market as well. If, say you were a skinhead and looking for a Harrington jacket, it would be the Underground Market to get it from. Piccadilly Records for band t-shirts as well. And something I've just thought of now, not cult fashion, but mainstream fashion was Stolen From Ivor.

AJW – Stolen From Ivor was a massive one.

SA – Are they a North-West company?

TK – They were. They were an Asian family

AJW – Joe Bloggs was the other wasn't it...

TK – Yeah, yeah. That came out of the early '90s when Joe Bloggs exploded

AJW – He was the one that did the big pants then

SA – And made them more readily available.

AJW – Yeah, he did.

TK – Stolen From Ivor's head office was just on Bury New Road, Strangeways.

SA – So near to where Joe Bloggs was.

TK – Yeah, all in that area. But I remember at that time when I was working at Lewis', before I had the staff discount, buying suits from Stolen From Ivor.

SA – So it wasn't just jeans?

AJW – Oh they did everything. They started in the early '80s because they used to do two tone suits.

TK – 'Cos I got a two tone suit from there in '89 – no – '79... A gold two tone suit, a black shirt ermmm....

SA – So you could buy flares from there, when they were big.... How soon could you buy them? What was the lead time from them selling them from when they were, sort of, sourced from the states and on the markets?

TK – probably a year or so... not a quick as it is now. You'd see cool people in clubs and think they were cool and then the following year.... Like the thing I said with the polo necks.....

Andy White (AW) – Yanks Records

AJW – Is that the one round the back, it was a great place, Yanks Records....

SA – And did it sell records?

AW – They imported records. My friend worked there as a manager and literally a truck would come in from the States and it would be a real mish mash of American music.

AJW – Do you remember the one down the bottom, at the back of the paper shop? In the middle of town, Saint Anne’s Square? You used to go down in the basement..... But the first bass player of The Stone Roses, Pete. He works now for HMV. He used to work there and he used to have really long hair and he used to sell all the imports there..... You used to have to go in through the paper shop and it was in the basement.

TK – When would it have been? 19.....90.... Because I used to work at the airport and I took on a part-time job with an Asian man from Bowden. And he used to have fashion wholesale places in Manchester, just at the back of Piccadilly Square, not Oldham Street but the road along there. Two days a week I used to drive down to London for him and I used to drive down to Tottenham to buy from all the sweat shops down there and he’d sell from here and then they’d sell on the markets. But I never used to go in, I used to just drive the van. Everything came from north London that they brought back up, but that was more like mainstream, high street fashion....

SA – Can you tell me about i-D, you know when you were talking before....? You mentioned the term Baldrick’s.... Was that a term they made up?

AJW - Yeah...

SA – And how did your mate who was in the photo shoot and the others who were dressing this way, how did they respond to that? Did they notice even?

AJW – Probably not. There was only a few people who were dressing like that at that point.

AW – What’s the name of the Barton brother?

AJW – Oh yeah, he had a big beard...

AW – That was Owen. The middle one, well he owned.... in Affleck’s he had about thirteen stalls and he used to import that stuff. He used to go over to Holland in a – they used to hire a van – well, he had a van, and then they used to just buy it by the weight, the second hand bits, the jeans.... He made a huge amount of money. He used to come in through customs and say such and such worth such and such

and they'd look at it and think this is a bag of shit, it can't be worth more than that. But then he'd sell it in Affleck's making a huge amount of profit. And then he just ended up with loads and loads of disposable cash.... Chris Barton is his name... and they added up at one point that they had £32,000 cash in his home.... Ridiculous amounts of money..... After that he started to have his own shops selling modern clothing.

Interview ended due to the end of lunchtime break during which the interview was taking place.

1.7. Ian Tilton

Interview between Susan Atkin (SA) and Ian Tilton (IT). 25th May 2012 at The Hacienda's 30th Anniversary exhibition, Photographer's Gallery, Tariff Street, Manchester.

Discussion began before recorder was started.

Ian Tilton (IT) - 'cos in the early.... early to mid '80s, what I was into and friends were into was the second hand Oxfam culture. Things like Fair Isle sweaters, things like waistcoats, it was really cool to buy vintage stuff, you know, so if you bought stuff from the '30s, it was really good quality fabrics, that some old guy had died in, you know, you'd have that and errr... you'd mix it with your Doc Martins erm... and what else would we wear?... So there was that for years and places those things would be sold would be Carl Twigg , a great second hand shop in Manchester.

Susan Atkin (SA) – Where was Carl Twigg?

IT – Carl Twigg... errr... was near Kendals. And then he moved a bit later on to.... more Quay Street I think it was. More towards Granada. But we used to go to Carl Twiggs and you know, buy silk scarves, old man-type fashions. And we might mix that with like a boot lace tie, which was really weird or nice shirts with... I had a really nice paisley shirt with.... the stitching in it was kind of shiny, even though it was just a white shirt so there were nice details like that. You would mix the classic with the – the new. And ermm.. people did that because they didn't have much money so we enjoyed mixing and matching. And also, big long donkey jackets, particularly in Hulme, there was a culture that came post punk, which was about ermm using kind of work wear, donkey jackets were really popular and it was – they were warm, they were practical, and it might be a long leather jacket, not a long leather jacket like the Emos would have later on but, you know, ones to up here (points to just above the knee) that you would wear every single day so its practical as well. And there was again, you'd buy that secondhand.

So, probably around '88, the early recession of the early '80s [1981 to 1982], so I don't know if you remember it, you might be a bit young, but it was about... ermmm... people reacting to being in economic shit basically and the miners strikes were on [March 1984 to March 1985] and ermmm... and that was kind of the height of the recession – '82 to '84, so after that things started to get a bit economically better and that's when this comes in, because people were beginning to buy new stuff and they were proud of that because they would be, "God, I've got some money, I've got some spare money and look at these brilliant new clothes out there with the acid colours, which kind of reflected the new psychedelia and people got into that because the music errr... heavily psychedelia influenced and you can hear

it in the music of The Happy Mondays and The Stone Roses, it was slightly mesmerising wasn't it. And the Mondays had kind of a funk influence and the Roses has a more rock and pop influence, but particularly a rock, Led Zeppelin type influence but there was still psychedelia built in there. It was all to do with the drug of the moment which was Ecstasy and that picture there, a really iconic and historical one because that is the corner that Ecstasy was brought into Manchester. So you've got Shaun [Shaun Ryder, lead singer in The Happy Mondays] and Bez [Mark Berry, commonly known as Bez, dancer in The Happy Mondays] there who "allegedly" – yes they did – they brought it over from Europe, I think it was Holland and they brought Ecstasy into Manchester.

SA – Themselves?

IT – Them two were responsible for it.

SA – what were they doing over there in the first place?

IT – Buying drugs and bringing them over.

SA – Just to buy the drugs?

IT – "Allegedly" (laughs) They were the first, they're famous for that.

SA – I never know if it's a bit of an urban myth really....

IT – Well, I think in that case it isn't. There are loads of urban myths that go around and the stories are more interesting than the reality. But they're based on a certain reality, a certain truth but they're not the whole truth, its embellishment and storytelling and that's why certain bands are well known because they can talk. But that's true and that was "E Corner" in the Hacienda, so that was where Ecstasy came into Manchester, that's where they sold it, that's where the Hacienda, they won't say it but they turned a blind eye to this because the owners would take it, they welcomed it. They were complacent about it at the same time and then when the gangs got into it and knew they could make millions of pounds out of it, then all the horribleness happened and they moved in just for the money, they wanted to control the drugs coming in and who sold them and where, and then it all kicked off because everyone was going on each other's territory and people were getting shot and the Hacienda was a big part of that, 'cos they used it as a focus to then hang out really and ermm.. because, "hey, I'm a big shot and I've got a big ego and you can all see me with my big entourage in here", but it was also a great place to hang out... ermmm.... but where's there gangs, there is violence. Particularly when

they are crossing over into each other's territory. They want to make it rich, don't they – or they already are rich and want to hold onto that.

SA – Why do you think the owners of the Hacienda, embrace – well, did they embrace it?

IT – Yeah, they embraced it.

SA – Why do you think that was?

IT – Because drugs are life changing, it's life changing stuff isn't it. It's about – it's always been integral to rock and roll, it's always been integral to music, without it it doesn't happen. People have taken drugs since time immemorial. People love them. Fact. And so, the owners love them. Not that they would ever say that and not that I should say that for them. But that's my opinion on it. And so it's all part of the rock and roll thing and the rock and roll myth and they keep it going, and they turned a blind eye and so it came out of control because it was the gangs that controlled it and not the police and not the owner, they couldn't do anything about it and so they ended up having to shut the place down, opened it up again, and then... closed it down again.

[Street name of Ecstasy coined in 1984 in California; available in the UK in 1985. The death of Leah Betts in 1995 changed the general public attitude to the drug. See: *Guardian*, 18 August 2006, "Truth about ecstasy's unlikely trip from lab to dance floor"]

So.... This one is interesting because you've got this BOY fashion, which was like a London label and that was still fairly big over there, but we were really aware of that, so a company called Gio Goi set up and there was another company called Massive that set up who was to do with – was owned by Leo Stanley. Now, Leo Stanley was Identity in Affleck's Palace who did the famous t-shirt, "On the Sixth Day, God Created Manchester". So, you know, traditionally, Manchester has got a massive rag trade hasn't it, but because it's Manchester and Manchester has got this can do and let's keep this separate from London, a rebellion against other places, in particular London, said, "right, we'll do it for ourselves". And I remember going to Gio Goi's first ever fashion show, not show, but erm where they sell their wares down in Earl's Court, which was a whole mis-matched [mish-mash] of stuff, some of it really good, some of it really bad but they were there all on rails and they had a presence. And then Gio Goi just went and made millions. And did really well for themselves because they carved out a name for themselves to do with Manchester. And they were genuine to themselves, you know, they gave of themselves, they gave who they were because they knew that was interesting.

[Gio Goi began in late 80s and closed in 1995 after a law suit with Armani. Later relaunched.]

SA – And they were part of this culture?

IT – Yeah, yeah they were because people in Manchester would go “great, they’re from Manchester, I’m buying that, it’s a little bit extra but I’d rather give it to, I know Chris and Anthony Donnelly, I’d rather them have my money for this great product than giving it to someone else”, and it’s Manchester, it’s kind of ours, it’s that gang mentality that runs through every good band in Manchester, so people buy into the clothes, just like with the Baldricks one, have you seen those?

SA – Yes

IT – So, that is a gang mentality. That is about a small number of people having fun, going, “Let’s go out tonight and wear flares, oh brilliant, look at them flares, do you know where to get them or do you know someone who can make some up for you? My Auntie or something like that”, I’m speculating here but I don’t know where the lads bought them, not the flares, but it’s all about people, it’s all about friends getting a better depth of relationship because of the clothing and expressing themselves through what they wear.

SA – So where did the flares come from though? You’ve just said they decided to wear them...

IT – Yeah, well, I think if you decided to wear something, some bell bottoms, you’d get them from somewhere wouldn’t you? I honestly don’t know, but I’ll ask Cressa [Steve Cressa] and find out where he got them if you want.

SA – And why did they decide to wear them?

IT – Because its a statement of.... errrr.... One, you like the clothes, it’s another statement that we’re different, it’s another one, it takes courage doesn’t it? When the whole world is wearing something else, and you’re going to wear something and people are going to go, “they look shit”, but then it takes ultra confidence to go, “no, they don’t and they look great because...”. and then you’re persuading people because they’re doubting their own sheepishness, their own sheep-like ness and going, “oh yeah, you’re right, they are good, I used to enjoy wearing them”, and then, “oh, yeah, get yourselves some flares”. And suddenly, they’re persuading you, so they’re pointing out that some people are sheep and some people are the leaders. And the fashion leaders in this case were the Baldricks. These regular Manchester lads. But that gang mentality has been in Manchester for centuries. The Scuttlers [Scuttling gangs, formed in working class areas of Manchester and Salford in the late 19th century] are test to that, the way they wear a big belt, a big

fuck off buckle, the way that you'd wear your hat differentiated you from, you know, your gang in Spinningfields, not Spinningfields, that's a new one, what's the name of the place just going up towards Prestwich, from say, the ones that are from Ancoats. It might be a similar hat but one of them wears it like that (tilts his own hat) and one of them wears it like that (tilts it the other way). Everybody wore it but it's just it's our gang as opposed to yours. But everybody visiting Manchester would just be like, "oh, they just wear flat caps", Nah, there's a difference, a big difference about unity with who you're associated with, just for them, they were like, "eh, this is us against the world. And better than that, I think people are going to wear our stuff". You know, and it's a great game as well, and it's fun.

SA – And there's a certain confidence that comes with that...

IT – Massive confidence.

SA – Would you say that it was Cressa that initiated it?

IT – Yeah. Absolutely it was. Yeah. So there was Cressa, Little Martin who was one of the DJs at the Hacienda, who's now living in America; Al Smith, who was a well known roadie, a very quiet, modest man and Lee Daly as well, and Lee went into different bands as well. So they were all associated with youth culture and they were different characters and some of them are very modest men. But they have this rock of confidence inside them and they're leaders.

SA – Did the Baldricks name come from them or was that something from i-D?

IT – Yeah, yeah – it was a joke. It's a joke because they were just having fun with it. i-D magazine got wind that some lads in the Hacienda were wearing horrible flares so i-D being, like, innovative, and wanting a story on it said, "oh, well, is this true?" They phoned up Howard Jones who used to be the original manager of the Hacienda and the first manager of the Stone Roses, and Howard said, "yeah, yeah, it's true, they've been wearing them for months. You need to catch up with this." And Howard being a great publicist said, "Lads, we need a name because we need to make it easy for i-D and the press, we need to give it a name, just make it really simple for them like all great press". So, they just called themselves the Baldricks, which was an absolute joke because they're naming themselves after the scummiest, goofiest, most incompetent member of the popular comedy at the time. [Blackadder, June 1983- November 1989] So it was just completely a joke. And it was like, well, i-D are buying into it, even if they don't believe it, it's a great story and so it's gone down in myth but really it was a complete joke. They were a tribe, but they weren't a tribe because there was a really dry sense of humour to it all. It was brilliant, they were just having fun. And then after that ermm.. you know,

how many people around the world started wearing flares? But we mustn't forget about Phil Saxe as well because the Baggies weren't to do with the Baldricks, the baggy trousers were to do with Phil Saxe. Who was the original Happy Mondays manager. And Phil used to sell a market stall selling clothes, selling jeans on the Arndale market, Underground market. And he tried to sell me a pair of these baggy jeans, and they were really wide and heavy and they were thick denim that I didn't like and it just felt really uncomfortable and I didn't like it. and they were the first things that he came out with and he said you can have these for something like ten quid but people will be buying these for twice, three times as much in a bit. And it's that arrogance - "how the hell can you say that Phil?", "No, they will, believe me". And in his self belief, he made others believe. So he then sold these hundreds, of this stock, hundreds of rejects, and he made them popular. So with the hipsters, and the flares and the baggies that Phil started off dictated the way the world wore their clothes at the time and straight legs went out.

SA – Why do you think it happened in Manchester?

IT – Ermmm.... Because, so much came together at once. The recession over [ended in 1982, but employment levels didn't improve until a couple years later], a bit of money in people's pockets, even more money came in because then the record companies wanted to find the next thing so that put more money into the bands, the bands got more confident. You see, the bands in Manchester will get together whether there is money or not. But there is also an inner rock of confidence in a lot of people here so it's about the people and the camaraderie and the comradeship which will never go away and the good thing about Manchester people is, they will pull each other up. If one makes it, they will pull their friends up. They don't stick two fingers up and say, "wow, I've made it, so I'm gonna buy my big house and get lost you." It's like, "I've got a dollar, you can have a bit of that. I'm really pleased for that". And people go together, they uphold each other, so that's another reason why, it is the genuine unity of it. I'm not going to paint an idealistic picture and say that everybody does that, because they don't, but that's my experience about Manchester people and that's why I love it here. And that's why I love Manchester people and a lot of Lancashire people.

So, those are a few reasons and another is that we have got major talent here, a history of major talent, to ermmm... to the jazz era of the '20s. I know we're kind of known for '60s bands, The Hollies, and The Hollies went on to be err, you know, Graham Nash went over to America and formed Crosby, Stills, Nash, Young who were just as enormous, if not bigger over there than the Hollies were over here. 10CC. [A band 1972-1983, three of whose founding members grew up in Manchester.] We've got all this history of bands so that's another reason, that's another great foundation, focus and people are rebellious as well and I think that's an attractive thing. People are attracted to confidence aren't they? And rebellion

can be part of that. We don't seek your opinion, we seek your disapproval actually, that's equally as fun. And people do that in everyday life, if you meet Manchester people, where are you from?

SA – Manchester

IT – Right, so you know this, if you meet someone in the pub, you might test them out a bit, you do it naturally, you go, "Oh, alright mate, how you doing? Look at your shoes, you obviously got them off your Grandad". But, actually, what you're saying is that it's cool, but it's on two levels isn't it? What you're really doing is testing that person out. What their reaction in will make you go, "oh, they're alright", or, "they're not alright". So they can take it as a dis or they can take it as "oh, fuck you, you're just trying to get me aren't you, come and have a chat". Can you see what I mean? But anywhere else, people will take offence and go, "oh, what a weird thing to say to a stranger". You've got the mettle of them straight away, see what I mean? And people do that naturally.

SA – Why do you think that is?

IT – It's just tradition isn't it? It just quickly sorts out who is in your army and who isn't. Gang mentality. How far can you go with this person? And do they get your sense of humour? Which can be a little bit cutting and a little bit cruel. It's earthy innit? It's earth. It's earthy. And it kind of says whose with us and whose against us really. Who do we want to co-operate with? How far can you take it? Really, right from the beginning/. Yeah, it's about gang mentality. But not gang – lovers – you can have a gang of lovers, can't you? We're not talking about, okay, there might be a history of lots of violence, but we're not talking about a gang of violence here, we're talking about a gang of people here, a gang of creative people, creative with their clothing, just as they're creative with their music, or their photography. It's tribal. And tribal is a good way of doing it, isn't it?

SA – I'm interested in the way that there was a mix of, you know how you were saying that people actually wore suits (before the recorder was started). Was this at a different time, or was there a cross over?

IT – I've got some shots that you need to see from about 1983... '84 that was of a queue outside the Hacienda. So that was obviously before all this, but I reckon about 20% of the people made the effort to dress up. So it's a myth that has been perpetuated by the Factory Records industry, the Factory Records movers and shakers, that everyone was hip that went there. That went to the Hacienda. They weren't, they were scruffy sods, some of them. And the door policy was that everyone can come in. Because they were desperate for people to come in.

SA – Was it that they were desperate?

IT – Yeah, they were desperate. They were losing loads of money. Well, it's both isn't it? If you were a club owner, which one would you want people to remember? Your high faluting philosophy or the truth that on a Monday and Tuesday we only have six people come into the Hacienda. And we lost hundreds of pounds every night. Which would you want to perpetuate? So, the truth is, on many nights, it was about getting people in. And so, the few people that were queuing, they would stall them outside to make it look like it was busy, which is just a common trick isn't it? With all clubs. So these people, I've got a picture of this fantastic queue, some people look really scruffy, they haven't made an effort, some people were wearing suits that went out of fashion four years before and there's the fact. So, that can blow the myth, you know.

I wish I had this other shot to show you actually, I'll have to email it to you. And what it's about is...ermmm.... I took it at the time when it was a mis match of styles and erm.. it was an interesting shot. But now it's become really really.... a real focus for what was happening at the time, a real crossover into that culture from the Smiths culture, okay? Because the Smiths finished in '87 and this shot, I think was taken in 1990 but some people were still kind of into the Smiths and what it is, it was taken in Paris when a load of us went to Paris to see the band James, it was a Hacienda organised trip at La Locomotive club, near the Moulin Rouge actually. And the shot is, everyone has come off the coach, they've got an afternoon in Paris, before the big gig, they all go their separate ways and you've got on the left hand side, people dressed with Smiths t-shirts, Doc Martins, jeans with turn ups, straight legs, all Mancunians, and then you've got a woman in the middle, Smiths crossing over into psychedelia. She's got the older style from 1985-type clothes, but she's got John Lennon psychedelic, the John Lennon Granny glasses in erm.. shades, okay? And then you have the next guy who's got Kickers on. He's got baggies, he's got a top that's new and he's turning away, he's turning his back. On the old. And he's turning towards his mate, and there's one coming at me and he's probably about seventeen years old and he's fresh faced, a beautiful looking guy. He's got the full psychedelic, colourful t-shirt on, he's got the baggies on, and he's looking straight at me and that's when the moment stops. So that's the past, moving, rebelling, turning away, turning his back on the old to his mate, to the new. That's where we are in time. Of course, that wasn't deliberate, you might think I'm pontificating on that, but it is a lovely story of how fashion is always transient. And that just summed it up. And I didn't realise this at the time, it's only looking back, I didn't take them for this reason, I didn't take them to particularly document the fashions at the time, but that's what's happened, I did do it. As an aside really. I was into the music, I would go dancing, but I wasn't – I did enjoy clothes – but, I

didn't wear these clothes, I wore different stuff. I had ermmm.... My favourite, I had a like leather beret, quite gay really, and I had a shirt from Geese , you know about Geese? It was kind of like an upmarket place, so I had two shirts, beautiful shiny, silver shirts and I had another that was just stars all over, but the sleeves were just black. And I just really loved my fabrics. But that was different to this Joe Bloggs thing but I never wore the Joe Bloggs stuff.

SA – How did it feel for you? This happening? Did it feel like something was happening?

IT – Absolutely it did! And I recognised it because I'd already been through Punk so I recognised that this fantastic happening with Punk, and I knew how short lived it was. And I knew how short lived proper hippies were as well because I'd lived through that, I was very young but, you know, when you read about it and look at it and analyse it you realise that once the corporate move into anything that is a youth culture movement they ruin it. Punk lasted, the pure Punk lasted a really short amount of time. Probably about nine or ten months before it got bastardised and changed and became a corporate, money making thing. Just as this as well. It was kind of a money making thing. So, I knew it was happening in 1988, '89 and I went out to as many things as I possibly could and I enjoyed it. Some things I photographed. Most things I photographed and some things I didn't because I just didn't want to carry my cameras about because I wanted to experience it rather than being a voyeur. I didn't [want] to carry my cameras about or get them nicked or lost. So I just went to as much as I possibly could, knowing that it would change and I didn't know how big it could be, I didn't know that we would still be listening to the Stone Roses and the Happy Mondays today. I didn't know that they would come back and reform. But even if they didn't reform, the kids were still listening to the Stone Roses a year ago. So it's not like, "oh, here we are and we're has-beens", it's like, "well, we never really went away, around here anyway". People still love them and the music is still really fresh. And hasn't been topped. For a lot of people, the music still hasn't been topped. There's been different stuff and interesting stuff and there's loads of exciting music and new stuff, but people still love that because it still resonates. The tunes are great, the music's great and the attitude's great.

SA – So they'll be writing new music...

IT – I think they'll play all their old songs brilliantly, but yeah, they've got a two and a half year plan. And..... ermmm..... I don't know..... The important thing is will it resonate with me? I don't know, I'll tell you when I hear it. I imagine it will be really creative. I hope there's some major surprises in there. I'd really be disappointed if it was something similar to what they've done before.... I'd love it to be something

like Reggae that just sort of like, blows my mind and people go, "This is shit." But actually, it's just really different. I'd love it to be something different, something unexpected..... They are creative and they've got an attitude and I love that. Some of their attitude stinks to be honest, which is why the dichotomy is really interesting, the fact that you can love something about somebody, but also, they can be bastards too. You know, they can be violent bastards. Which I don't like.

SA – So they were violent?

IT – Yeah, they were violent. There was always a feeling of menace about them and they went and they trashed their former record company's offices. And they poured paint all over it. That's violence. I'm against it. So they're there and they're preaching One Love, and then they're violent and they've never said sorry. So it's still in them isn't it? So that's dichotomy is interesting and that dichotomy is always in rock and roll. It's contradictions and contradictions are in human nature, so it's very human.

SA – You were a professional photographer at the time?

IT – All the time. I did mostly rock and roll stuff. So I wasn't just doing the Stone Roses, I was travelling all over the world. I was one of the first to do Guns N Roses, I was one of the first to do Nirvana, back in Manchester, I was one of the first to do The Charlatans, I did The Happy Mondays quite early on, when I was travelling, I did Aztec Camera, I went on tour with Pop Will Eat Itself, who were from the Midlands, I did loads of heavy metal bands; Dogs D'amour, Kiss, all music that I loved as I grew up, I was into heavy rock, but I wasn't closed off from what I would listen too, I was open to new things, well, I was at first but then as I got older, I listened to more different stuff. So I did The Stone Roses, I did them the most of all the photographers, I photographed them fourteen times.... I did their album cover, I did the first monkey face shot, I did the definitive shot of Ian Brown holding globe... ermmm... at Spike Island, and I did the shot of him with an orange in his mouth as well – just a funny, documentary moment in time. You know, that just summed up the whole looseness and happiness and silliness of where they were..... I was just travelling all over the world, so then I'd come flying into Manchester and saw just how tunnel visioned everyone was, but how good that was because it was a tribe mentality, I could see it all.

SA – In terms of the bagginess of what they were wearing, do you think it was because they needed loose clothes to dance, or is that a myth as well?

IT – Part of it..... it's got to be partly true, and again it was a reaction to what came before: straight legs and turn ups. A rebellion, "we want your disapproval".

SA – Would you say the women were wearing the same clothes that the men were?

IT – Baggies? Yeah, but they kind of wore it in a different way, big thick belts, pleated at the top, and again in another picture, I think she's got Docs on. And that's interesting there, Shaun's got Converse on. Now, Converse to me, they were unpopular until the Grunge thing brought them in so how strange is that? So again, a leader, you know, just through confidence of doing his own thing. You go out, you see something you like, you know no one else is wearing it, but you like it, you wear it. And then other people go, Shaun's wearing that, it looked really cool on Shaun, I want to look cool so I'll wear them. It's just the way, some people are leaders, some people, most people, you know, 99% of people are the ones who just go, "I love it, I'm in", but they wouldn't have the confidence to go out today and wear a kilt, even if they love kilts. They'd just go, "I love kilts, but I couldn't wear one". You know what I mean? It takes a certain type of person to do that and these are the people who lead it.....

Stripes. Stripes as well played a big part in it, either hoops or stripes going vertically. The Stone Roses wore a lot of stripes. I've got really early shots of them wearing stripes.

SA – What do you think that was all about?

IT – It was to do with Mod. It's to do with The Who. The Who, you know, you see Keith Moon and Rodger Daltrey wearing stripes in 1966. And they loved their music, they loved The Who. As simple as that; "we love them, so we're going to wear what they wear". Take the influences and give it out.

SA – And where do you think the day-glo bright colours came from?

IT – Psychedelia. But it's the modern psychedelia. '60s psychedelia, was it '67? Was that the height of it? It's to do with LSD innit? 'Cos when you take LSD, you see all these fantastic beads of colours and they are bright acid colours. So the second summer of love, when the Stone Roses played Spike Island, people were wearing bright colours and it's to do with the drugs they were taking, and the light. It's about the joy; colourful clothing and it ties in with the psychedelic drug taking.

SA – Do you think there was an optimism in Manchester at the time?

IT – Yeah, “the world’s looking at us, because we’re right and always have been right and now the world is noticing. So let’s milk it and enjoy it because we know it will end. That’s it”.

End of interview.

On the way out, we stopped at an image of several shots taken at La Locomotive, Paris. We discussed the various clothes and looks being worn by the various people. Ian Tilton states that everyone “wearing baggies and beany hats like Reni” was a myth:

- Smiths look
- Charity shop / second hand
- Dungarees (unsexy, androgynous, asexual. Women and men. Feminism still going on as a militant movement.)
- Rockabilly
- Bright colours

1.8. Lee Daly

Interview between Susan Atkin (SA) and Lee Daly (LD), 7th May 2012, 8.00pm. The Bar, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester.

Lee Daly (LD) - ...touch on the Manchester music scene, fashion in late 60's that informed so much, that was the driving force behind it all. Even though it became baggy and what was considered to be like kind of dance orientated. I think that's what's got confused over the years. The stuff that ended up being the Madchester scene as such, well were you about at the time?

Susan Atkin (SA) - I was a little bit young for it, but yes, I observed it as a 12-13 year old.

LD - Would have been kids. I started coming up to Manchester at the end of 1983 or 1982 and I had come up a couple of times before for football. Then I started coming up to the Hacienda and then I met a girl at a club in London, who had just started university at Manchester, I was working in London at the time. This is the background to my involvement in it. I was coming up to Manchester for about a year and half for every weekend. I would get paid on a Friday in the days before salaries and I would just leave from work straight away and get on the train to Manchester. In that year and half just going out to the clubs and gigs through my girlfriend at the time, she had a place in Chorlton [South Manchester suburb Chorlton-cum-Hardy]. The friends I made and other friends through the love of drugs and music just ended up being the main people in that Manchester scene. So at the start I came from the club scene but before that I had been in the sixties psychedelic music and that had come about because a lot of people would say the same thing. There had been an article in the Melody Maker with Julian Cope [Liverpoolian rock musician] and Julian Cope started discussing all of these bands that had influenced him. It was about the same time that The Pebbles album had been released – are you familiar with The Pebbles?

SA - No.

LD - Pebbles albums are like compilations that these guys had put together of really obscure garage psychedelia and nobody had heard of it. You know it was like oh you knew about psychedelia because of the Beatles and stuff like this, but this was the music made by the people, just teenagers who were the first users of acid [slang for psychedelic drug Lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD)] when LSD was freely available. Garage punk went on to form the whole of the American psychedelic scene. That had been my background. Then coming up to Manchester, but this time I was dressed in cycle shorts and mod clothes looking like a club dick from London, people around me were wearing flares. There was a

weird crossover, because before I was a mod skinhead, then after skinhead I was a scooter boy and on one run in particular to the Isle of Wight in 1981, might have been 1980, I had a pink Lambretta and went down to the Isle of Wight and when we got to the ferry they wouldn't let us on. There was this other lad who came along and he had a pink scooter as well and I was needled at the time, his might have been a Vespa, not sure. He had last resort on his. I recognised this bloke's face, he looked like someone, he looked like someone worth knowing, and it came full circle when I came to Manchester I get friends with Steve Cressa. Me and Steve start hanging about together all the time and he said you've got to hear my mate's band Stone Roses. He's the lead singer of The Stone Roses, I said to Steve I know this guy and Steve said I was on the back of his scooter that day. Really was a small world. The sixties music when I got in with Steve, that was a common ground. But then me and him start talking and it was a mixture of fashions, there's him with his flared trousers on and there's me in my cycling shorts and my Jean Paul Gaultier, or whatever it was I was wearing at the time. But we just got on, got on really well and we discovered this mutual love of sixties psychedelia and acid, and this is what brought me into the Stone Roses at the time. Andy Cousins was playing guitar [1983 – 1986] and Pete Gardner was on bass [1984 – 1987], so it was before Mani [Gary Mountfield, bass player for the band 1987 – 1996 and 2012 to present day] came in. That was at the time I was coming up every weekend. But then I got offered redundancy, I was working for GDS Stores and they were asking people for voluntary redundancies and there was nothing left for me there. Everyone had got into smack [slang for the opiate drug Heroin] and it was a standing joke, but we only realised through correspondence when I moved away that out of 24 that I used to go to football with, there was only 8 of us left alive, because all the others had become smackheads [derogatory slang for a heroin addict]. So I thought my girlfriend's in Manchester, she has another year and half to do of studies and I have a group of friends up there where there is no violence involved, because where I come from everything was violent. So it was a no brainer and I got a grand and half which was decent money in 1986 and I moved up to Manchester and there was a ready group of friends. We'd go round each other's houses, bedsits, flats and all you would talk about would be clothes, music and drugs. That's my involvement.

SA - So everyone was wearing flares?

LD - That's a good question. When I started coming up for football. I'm a Tottenham [North London football team Tottenham Hotspurs] fan. We were more skinheads, but we noticed that some of these lads were wearing flared trousers, to us in London, that's what Northerners did anyway. Look at those Northerners still wearing sheepskins and flared trousers! Then I started realising that they were kind of like Scallies, what we call the Perry boy, Punk call it Casuals and I realised they

were doing it on purpose. I have always been a fashion gad fly, I've always been in fashion and when I see something I kind of match myself in straightaway. When Punk came in I got my Nan to take in a pair of trousers of mine and went to school one day and everyone said look at Daly wearing drainpipes. I felt 10 feet tall. By the time that had come around and seeing those guys in flares, I thought that's a statement, a guy wearing flares in 1981 and 1982 was daring. I remembered seeing them at football. I've heard since a lot of Scousers [slang term for Liverpoolians] claiming to have done it. Now I have been to Liverpool but I don't remember seeing it. You've seen on the programmes since where they do at the end of century North-western culture, but apparently there is some agreement that Liverpool fans in hindsight also did what Manchester fans did. So when I bumped into Steve and he was wearing his flares, it was kind of like especially when I had seen him with the guy on the scooter and he was the only one wearing them. At the time we were at the Hacienda in 1986, Steve Cressa was the only man that wore flares in the whole of Manchester. Geoff Vollier dressed like a pirate. He was in the Punk and kind of traditional stuff and worked with Jonny Marr [guitarist in the band The Smiths]. There was these kind of individuals but with a common love for garage psychedelic punk and that's what Geoff and Steve was into. When I first mentioned it to Steve I said it was a cult statement and he said you are the first one to get it. I was full on he was a year older than me, he was my hero and that guy was so cool and I wanted to be like him. I went to a couple of jumble sales and charity shops and got every pair of flared trousers, went home on the sewing machine, they were crude but I couldn't get them anywhere else and so by that scurrilous move that's how I got into the Manchester club scene and the Manchester music scene and everything else that went with it.

SA - So you were basically making a statement that you wanted to be different or was it referenced to the sixties psychedelia?

LD - With Steve it was. Phil Saxe sold the flares that the Scallywags used to wear out of the shop. He had a shop at the bottom of the old Arndale. Carl Twigg was near Quay Street. Steve first got his trousers from there. When I first spoke to Steve about it, everything was Hendrix [1960s musician Jimmy Hendrix]. He was a massive Jimmy fan and I guess it was a culture reference as he was a mixed race lad. He was mad for Jimmy and that was kind of like seen as mainstream. We were all into the garage psychedelic stuff, but Steve was true to his belief and he would ape Jimmy, not in his regency dandy clothes, but in his mannerism. The Manchester scene, fashions, musicians at the time, it was all studied, it wasn't an innate upsurge or natural momentum, it was something that came from looking at pictures of The Byrds [1960s American psychedelia band], bear in mind this was before the time of internet and before we had access to this kind of media. We had to go to library to find a picture of Byrds. You had to track down the book in the

library.

The thing that informed that The Roses, and again its come full circle because it came from Primal Scream [Scottish alternative rock group who originally formed in 1982] for they were playing that jangly stuff. All of the production in the early Stone Roses stuff is text book copied from the Three O'Clock [1980s American alternative rock group] who were basically an underground band and from Primal Scream. But the leather trousers didn't quite fit the bill, but they also went for the striped t-shirt, striped shirt thing and that was from the Beach Boys [American rock band formed in 1961, associated with the U.S. west coast surf and psychedelic movement] because Ealing had a big love for Beach Boys albums *Surfs Up* [1971], and *Amsterdam* [Daly means *Holland*, 1973], but that's nothing you hear about as it would not have been cool to have liked the Beach Boys, but everybody did.

SA - Do you think there is a difference between the flares and baggy things – is there a distinction?

LD - Absolutely yes.

SA - What do you think that distinction is?

LD - For me personally it was like I did flares and I didn't do baggy. By the time people became baggy and that was all the Eighth Day Manchester [reference to the Manchester T-shirt label Identity's T-shirts printed with "*And on the Sixth Day God Created MANchester*"] kind of period it had sold out as far as I was concerned and as far as a lot of people were concerned and it had become generic and every student who came to Manchester was baggy, everywhere you went it was the same tunes that you heard all the time. It felt like the thing had been poached, which is kind of rich coming from me as I came into it, I bought into it and I kind of forced myself into it really. I was this cockney lad hanging about with the Roses [The Stone Roses] and the Mondays [The Happy Mondays], level it out as it was going on at the time. I knew I weren't there on substance, I could hold my own. There was a lot of onus on being funny and being clever funny, you know not just piss taking and stuff like that. That's another thing that levelled it, I don't know if it's lazy or maybe it's just easy to do it. I suppose when you think about the Mondays you automatically think they come across as Scallies or they're thick - that's what I always took from the media and also from members of band, not all of them. Shaun [Shaun Ryder, lead singer of The Happy Mondays] is one of the funniest men in the world, or was, I haven't spoken to him in years, but at the time.

SA - But it comes across in the lyrics.

LD - Yes, absolutely. I don't think he's lost it, he was a good player.

SA - I thought he was quite funny on I'm a Celebrity [ITV broadcast celebrity reality television programme, *I'm a Celebrity, Get Me Out of Here.*]

LD - Yes I forgot about that and Bez [dancer with The Happy Mondays] with the Big Brother [Channel 4 broadcast celebrity reality television programme, *Celebrity Big Brother*].

SA - Yes, I thought he was quite funny.

LD - Yes he was. He secured the commonality didn't he by championing the cause of the underdog. He was getting bullied.

SA - So for you the baggy thing, that's when it sold out?

LD - That's when it went kind of global and people started coming into Manchester, not just students. I was living in a bedsit a few streets down here and every year or so the occupants in the other rooms would shift and new ones would come in. There was a couple of girls who came up from Coventry way and they were just like all over Chorlton trying to track them down, I didn't realise at the time, I thought they were just some people moving house and that they would get some items and so on, but they were all round Chorlton, chalking all this stuff, like baggydelia and all this stuff. I didn't know it was them doing it, it just came out of nowhere. I went to Matt, John Squires' [guitarist in The Stone Roses] brother's flat one day and they were camped out on his doorstep and I was like what are you doing here. They said "do you know Matt" and I said "yes I do". It became so touristy and I was very precious about it at the time but now I'm kind of philosophical about it and I can see why it happened and I had no right to lay claim to it, but you're in your late twenties I suppose it was my life, it was my identity. Even though I had borrowed it and taken on different things, I had surpassed myself in it and been accepted, it seemed to me it was probably quite small minded of me at the time, thinking about it now it probably was. It was like well I'm here now, the door shuts behind me and you can't come into this and here I am sneering from the inside the way that people do. I've not really thought about it like that, it doesn't put me in a good stead.

SA - It was your pride and your identity.

LD - Well no-one likes to have their identity stolen do they?

SA - No.

LD - Or imposed upon.

SA - Yes. When you say you borrowed it is that being a Mancunian or the sixties references?

LD - No that's the thing, where you came from didn't really matter. It mattered when you went out to clubs as you would meet other people and that would be the first common denominator, but amongst the Roses and the Mondays there might be where it's gone backwards and forwards, but I never felt like the black guy at the Klan rally [reference to the American far right organisation, the Ku Klux Klan], nothing like that, I was made to feel welcome because of how I was and what I thought and the things I had to say.

SA - So for you the baggy thing was different and it came later. Were you still wearing flares at that point?

LD - I was, yes.

SA - But they were flares not baggies?

LD - Yes flares not baggies.

SA - Where did this baggy thing come from?

LD - I thought it came from, what's that Joe Bloggs company. I know the Mondays got sponsored from Joe Bloggs, that's exactly what happened, Joe Bloggs sponsored the Mondays. I went down with AJ [photographer AJ Wilkinson] and AJ did a photo shoot for Joe Bloggs and they wanted us to model for them, and we went and did the fashion shoot but they wouldn't let us keep any of the clothes which seemed quite good at the time. After that Joe Bloggs seemed to go boom in Manchester. I wasn't wanting to go back to London, I had made my home up here, I was happy to be here, you know. I'd put all London behind me, as far as I was concerned, in the way that you can sometimes be as a young, arrogant, kind of bloke like me, well that's me gone, wind that up, this is year zero. But when I went back to London on the occasional visit everyone down there was kind of this curtain-haired and baggy. Alan Smith was the first guy, he had that hair when I first met him and his was a nod to the hairstyles of the Byrds and things like that. But what it became was that familiar kind of flimsy things that went with short sleeves, hooded tops, baggy trousers and kickers. Yes there was an absolute distinction between the two for me. Have you spoke to anybody else from that time.

SA - I've spoken with Ian Tilton, spoke with Phil Saxe and also spoke to people

that worked at Baylis and Knight which is men's and women's wear based in Northern Quarter and Alison, one of the owners

LD - Yes I know Alison, she was with Tom [Tom Hingley, lead singer of The Inspiral Carpets, 1989 – 1995 and 1995 - 2011] wasn't she. There's another connection because my first band I joined up here was going to be The Inspiral Carpets and Tom went to The Inspiral Carpets. Yes I forgot all about them, forgot that's what they were called as well.

SA - So I spoke with Alison Knight and I am hoping to speak with Leo Stanley as he can be a bit elusive. I spoke to AJ about it.

LD - Alan [AJ Wilkinson] was not influenced by what was going on, which I quite admired. He had his own things he was interested in and own kind of fashion style. The music he was into, which would influence fashion styles, he never seemed influenced by it. Alan was the driver when we went to Spike Island, he drove me and Sid there. That was a mad day, he will tell you about it.

SA - In terms of like the Baldrick thing and i-D. How did that come about?

LD - I don't know. I don't know what the machinations behind it were. It's kind of when I said to you I had gone out and reinvented myself and reinvented my wardrobe. I even started dying my hair, which is why I look like the freakiest person on the planet. Photos of Martin, because Martin was the smartest. I don't know how it came about, I wouldn't be surprised if it wasn't something to do with Howard Jones. Ian might know how it came about. I was in one night and there was a knock on the door and it was Steve, Alan and Martin and they said come on we need to take some photos for i-D. I had spent half my teenage life trying to get in i-D magazine in London through different ways and means. I felt like I was copying those people I'd felt I'd left behind. The liberating thing about the whole Manchester thing was that desperation, like if you didn't go out on a Friday night you would miss out and never get it back again. Like bunking off school, anxiety. I don't know if I thought it was really going to happen, that was it, but I remember the photo shoot clearly, we thought we were the coolest thing in the world. We were kind of mean spirited and I felt that at the time. I felt like I was playing along and that was what I was supposed to be. Ian was just sweetness and loveliness itself and even when I walked out of there I remember feeling like we had just acted like dicks round this bloke's house, what's going on there. But when the photo was in the i-D magazine I bought a load of them and sent them to people I knew, who then probably thought that I'd come good. When I first got the incline that this could be big and I could be part of something. Then the night the Roses did Tony Wilson's show and Steve said yes they are going to be on telly, I thought really on the telly,

because they couldn't get a show anywhere and then they nearly burnt their bridges because they did a graffiti campaign and spray painted war memorials. Radio hated them and because they couldn't get listened to, people thought they were still a Goth band because they had had that slight image thing when they first started. It was like they were big and Steve coming round telling me they were on the telly. So I watched it and I thought these guys are going to be stars, not just mates that I go to watch rehearse, something is going to happen here and I want to be part of it, exactly how it ended up being.

SA - Did you go out to the Hacienda?

LD - Yes when I first came to Manchester every weekend, the Hacienda was the main focus of everything. It weren't considered to be the coolest venue in Manchester, there were smaller clubs that played house music. There was no house music played at all, whatever was deemed to be the stuff for the day.

SA - Why did you go to the Hacienda then?

LD - I went to Hacienda before I moved to Manchester before I met my girlfriend. It was supposed to be the club place in the North. They played all Sheffield-y type of stuff, it was alright but I didn't really feel the bite, I was into rare groove and stuff like that and going out dancing in London. In the North there was this more kind of funk, it was funk but very white funk. I just didn't get it but I would come anyway, because it would be somewhere to go, and we would go all over the place, we would go down to Brighton for a weekend or out to Bournemouth or Leeds was always a good one. But no other clubbers in London would. I suppose because we knew how to get there from football, that's all it was.

SA - Just an extension of going and watching Spurs [slang term for Tottenham Hotspurs Football Club] play?

LD - No it was definitely clubbing, about clubbing and about fashion and sharing your provincials, but again I would come up to Manchester and take that back to London, I'm not claiming to have started the scene or anything like that. It was about going up to these places and seeing how it was - just showing off, that's what it was. Once I got into the Manchester fashion, you were too cool to promenade even though that's exactly what you were doing, by the way you walked, the way you moved. It was all studied and practiced even though it was an unspoken thing. It weren't the organic cool that people want to believe. The Roses aren't all naturally cool geezers they were just being performers.

SA - I don't know anything about cool really.

LD - I don't now, I'm embarrassed to think about the person I was then, how I used to act and what I was saying before about going round to Ian's and being really chatty to him. I really felt the wrongness of it at the time, but I didn't have the wherewithal at the time, I wasn't developed enough as a person. There was too much for me to be part of and to not be part of that. It was always go with the crowd.

SA - When you say go with the crowd, was that to be part of a gang?

LD - Yes, definitely but that's something for me personally in my life I've always found my identity through the gang. Growing up in the areas of East London, it wasn't like L.A. [Los Angeles, United States] or something like that, I went to school two miles from where I lived and you had to go through different areas and you always knew you were out of place, kind of thing. Then with football, started going to football when I was 13 or 14 and started getting into the violent side of football when I was about 16, but that dovetailed with the two tone movement. I think the two tone movement started about 1978, reached it's kind of peak about 1979. Then about 1980 the skinhead side of that had spread everywhere. So what would have been the casual generation had become the casual skinheads for about nine or ten months. So that gang thing was like a theme, it wasn't something that I felt I needed to be part of a gang, but it was something that I gravitated to, not the safety in numbers kind of thing, but that safety in numbers, you know when you are tenfold, twentyfold whatever, it always feels good. So the fashion thing, when you are the only ones dressed in a certain way you have that camaraderie thing going on and other people were recognising you in that way. That's another thing when I did start dressing up, I don't mean I went out one day and started doing it. I kept away from the clubs and kept myself at home learned a bit of guitar and stuff like that. So when I re-emerged it was late. To feel you were part of something and other people to start acting differently towards you kind of reinforced it and confirmed it, it was like people who had known me in a certain way, maybe it was because I was acting differently, and maybe because I had these new phrases or ways, gestures, I don't know what. I had gone from being a clubbing, kind of gregarious, talk to everyone kind of thing, and I had kind of become a bit more introverted, I was a tattooed skin headed guy, and for me to be suddenly back in casual clothes, and hanging about with Salford lads, it did make people look at me in a different way. People who had known me and I think I started acting differently towards them as well, I probably felt a bit superior if I'm honest because of this thing that empowered me and because I was vainglorious and the way you can be as a young man, full of spit, spunk and anger and whatever it is. I quite enjoyed the power that it gave me. But when I look back I don't look powerful at all, I look like I need a really good meal.

SA - You talk about the power and everything. Did you see it at the time as like a positive thing? I mean obviously it is quite interesting that you have come from London because I'm hearing all about this stuff about a positive Northern identity and working class-ness.

LD - You've touched on a really good point there, that was something that was never kind of...the north wasn't valued in anyway by the south, it was always seen as being backward and catching up. Coming from such a fashion kind of background that was a big dip. Something I'd not got, but I was getting something. You've touched on something there, a Southerner was supposed to be the most fashionable and the most cosmopolitan and whatever, I saw something with much more depth and prudence in what was going on up here at that time. I was impressed by it. You are absolutely right that's what came about with the way the music were forced to accept they were not the centre anymore and that's what the Roses... in my personal opinion I think it was the Roses that changed the music press were no longer able to control the music, took it out of their hands. At first they didn't like it and tried to resist it and the Roses didn't get any decent reviews, but that changed when it got caught on. That's why everyone else bought into it as well because there was an authenticity, there was something authentic about, not because it came from people up North, it was real, there was artifice in the way I described, but only in the way that you get when people hanging about with each other and have a common interest. Yes there was an authenticity that has been lacking in any London movement, and I feel confident to say that. You can't say that, but I can say that. There was nothing like that in London. Maybe since the Mods, but I don't know, I'm not a Mod. Maybe London was going for Mods, but there wasn't anything as authentic. It was a very Northern thing.

SA - Why do you think it was authentic then?

LD - I suppose it was because there was a realness to the way that people interacted with each other. Maybe because I had come from the club thing, and I had kind of cut my teeth there and where I had grown up that had been real, and there was nothing more real than violence. All I had known was a lot of violence. Then I had come to the club thing which got me away from the violence. Then coming to the Manchester thing - I can't say Madchester it makes me feel really uncomfortable - there was a kind of realness, it was like these are the people I would be hanging about with if I had not got into the club scene and stayed in London, except these aren't dickheads they don't want to go out and fight everybody.

SA - Is that because of drugs do you think?

LD - I don't think so, I think the personalities involved in certain types of people turn towards to drugs. Drugs tend not to make people cool in my experience. Makes people acts like dickheads, smug etc.

SA - It depends on the drugs doesn't it?

LD - The whole draw [slang for the drug Cannabis] culture, all over Britain in the early 80's. It was great at the start but became really boring - not a smack epidemic, but not the cool drug that a lot of people go into it thinking that it is. Starts off making music sound really good, and then makes you paranoid. Drugs are definitely a big part of it, but I'd say LSD is part of the glue that held it all together.

SA - Rather than Ecstasy?

LD - Ecstasy came later. Ecstasy's the baggy drug.

SA - Do you think that that's shifting choice or were you just not interested in Ecstasy?

LD - Oh yes I was, I loved it when it first came in and speed, that was my thing to take speed and acid. When Ecstasy came in, it's going to cost, you're paying £15 - £20 for one pill when it first came in. You could buy a load of whizz, you could buy a bit of weed for the price of one Ecstasy pill. I got my first Ecstasy of Shaun in a little club just off Deansgate and it was like well everyone's been going on about it and saying how good it was. So when I got it, it was like well what's it going to be like, when I had it, it was like this is a new thing, but can't afford to take it every week. By the time the whole acid house thing came in, all the rave thing that happened in Blackburn and stuff like that, I just wasn't interested in it all. I went to a couple of them, which I think would have been a Bingo Hall before on Oldham Road. It was big place in a real shit part of North Manchester, rough violent place. First time I heard E's and Whizz by Pulp it was just like this is description about the hollowness of that experience. That was how it felt for me. You come out of the Hacienda and everyone was let's go there, Pleasuredome, whatever it was. You go out there it was empty, horrible, and grotty. Yes I am loved up, but I'd rather be loved up in my own bedroom than be here. This isn't music, not that's there's anything wrong with the latest music, everyone was dancing in the same way as other people, boxes, I just couldn't get it, it was like a herd mentality, dancing sheep. Again out came the arrogance, where I said I'm not part of this, I was above this. By the time the Roses had been forced into their enforced sabbatical because of legal proceedings. So they went into social silence for about 5 years and social

isolation, they weren't hanging about with each other. Ian bought a place somewhere, John bought somewhere else. Not that I expected them to be coming round to my bedsit every night, to be fair, on occasion they did. It was nice to see them. They had drifted away, all that was there for me was Chorlton, Manchester, the music scene that I weren't into. House music never has done and will never touch me. It got lost, for me it got lost and I felt lost and kind of left floating. Like at Spike Island [Widnes, Cheshire. Site of The Stone Roses' outdoor concert on 27th May 1990], it really was. It was my band reaching their Zen, but for me it was personal power of union. I went there, it was a struggle for money, picking up drugs I wanted, got there, couldn't get backstage because we got there late. The band was on and booze had gone. Felt like everybody else and it was horrid.

Just talking about the old flat which has been years and years since I lived there. To think there is about 300 yards between where I was and how I was living at the time. Now I talk about it in kind of retrospective way, feels the expanse of time, it suddenly dawns on me. It felt like it went on for ages, it felt like the first bit went on for ages and then the baggy thing went on for ages and then I got into music and it feels like a real extended childhood. I feel like I've gone into an autopsy which I wasn't expecting to do. I'm talking about memories that I've not thought about it for ages. It's an odd experience. I've not had interviews since I was in bands, I'm not a kind of self conscious interviewee, but I'd forgotten how introspective it can make you. So I hope this isn't too personal and about me, as opposed to the subject matter.

SA - But that's what it is about your thoughts on it, which is what you are giving me.

LD - So it's not about me, me, me, me.

SA - Well that's what it's supposed to be about.

LD - No it's supposed to be about subject matter.

SA - It must be quite weird for you, because that was a certain lifestyle you had. You only lived over there, but now you have kids now.

LD - Yes and three mortgages down the line. At the time I was just a lad who took redundancy, relocated to Manchester and stayed on the dole for years and years. I walked out of all education I ever had and the Roses to certain extent were guilty of this. I was supposed to start my English degree after access course in 1987 and then the Roses went off on tour and said are you coming and I said "alright then". Walked away from my English degree. I ended up going back to Uni in 2000 when I got my degree in 2003. At that time, all I had was my girlfriend, drugs and the

friends that I had made. Take any one of those out of the equations and I was kind of like a lad with nothing. I had not really thought about it before, so thanks for that.

SA - So the girlfriend then, your partner now?

LD - I was living with my girlfriend for 5 years, who I met in London and was studying in Manchester. I met Ange in 1990 in Hacienda. She tapped me on the shoulder and said "you've been looking at me in Chorlton". Again 22 years down the line.

SA - What do you do now, do you work?

LD - I work for AQA the exam board. I worked in the History and Archaeology Department, but I got bored and knew that was going and what they were trying to make us do and got segwayed into IT and deal with all the Government Board shit.

SA - I used to work for AQA.

LD - As a student?

SA - No, on a switchboard. I had a clothing label and for one reason and another, stopped doing it for a little bit. I needed some cash to pay the rent. I got it through an agency. It was great. I then got a day a week teaching and they let me work four days.

LD - When was that?

SA - About seven years ago.

LD - John Milner was the Head guy then. Since then they decided to bring in these fellows of industries and all these people know is business, so they turned it into a business. Before then it felt like you were working for this kind of hippyish and that's why I went there. I temped over the summer whilst I was doing my uni course. I thought this place is nice, it had a good feeling, this is about people's future, there's a good cause going on. In the past three or four years it been different, so you don't want to go back, believe you me.

SA - I thought it was ridiculous that they let me do four days.

LD - Yes, they were generous.

SA - Then I got more teaching and so I left. But there was an amazing woman.

LD - Was it Brenda Wilson? She deals with the telephony and the services, she's still there.

SA - She said we've got this agency staff and she only wants to do four days a week and I think she should.

LD - Most people wouldn't do that sort of stuff for you.

SA - No.

LD - What do you teach?

SA - Fashion. I teach at two places, at Mid Cheshire [Mid Cheshire College] and just got a job, fixed term at MMU [Manchester Metropolitan University].

LD - At the All Saints building?

SA - Doing my MA part time..... (Short discussion on work)

LD - Referring back to what I was talking about before. Noone danced before the baggy scene, because it was like you were too cool. As you get older, and that's what I've enjoyed about growing older not feeling the need to being cool. Seeing the absurd and contradictions in yourself and how you were a dick. Kids are great levellers, they knock any pretence you have about yourself. When I was younger I was scared of growing old. I am 47 now, I wish could be 47 then....

SA - So going back to this photo shoot. Where did that Baldrick come from?

LD - That was something that none of us liked. My understanding it was an imposition for your ID, being a London based you have to have some kind of handle on it. Because Alan had a pageboy cut and I had long shaggy mess of a hippy kind of hair, it was Baldrick [character played by Tony Robinson] from Blackadder [BBC produced British period sitcom, running for four series from 1983 – 1989] that was all we knew.

SA - Did that come from you guys?

LD - No we were really pissed off about it. Who had this come from. I'm sure that Howard Jones had something to do with it and I wouldn't be surprised because he was a cheap skate. To sell something you would come up with?

SA - Did he manage the Hacienda?

LD - Yes he managed the Hacienda originally and he had the Roses for a short time and then he managed my band and signing us to Silvertone on lies and pretence. Then he went back to Stoke where he belongs.

SA - It is quite an interesting name really?

LD - No I think the fact that it was comedic it's like it was the antithesis and the cool that we perceived ourselves as. I never heard it challenged, even when we were together. I don't ever remember it being subject material, someone having photo taken and saying "What's all this Baldrick thing about". I don't remember every discussing that with anyone, but I know I felt a personal insult, he's a joke character on Blackadder. We all liked Blackadder because Rowan Atkinson [co-creator and star of Blackadder] was funny then, Blackadder was funny then, but as a theme to be associated with well who was going to challenge it.

SA - Did you talk to each other about it?

LD - No I don't ever remember it being discussed, I don't remember anybody voicing any concerns about it. Thinking about it now, I'm wondering if it was to stop it being in papers, because that was the first time that we had been acknowledged culturally. I do remember at the time feeling as I said to before really kind of proud because "look London you can leave London and look where I am now". It was a first up here, its one thing to be giving the smooch to them in London, but also up here you have got to understand this as well, even though it was a cool scene you still had to be seen in the places that were available like the Hacienda. The Hacienda at the time was not seen to be a cool place by the time around about 1986 Tony Wilson was assumed to be a dick, anything associated with Tony Wilson was extended dick. So you went to the Hacienda in sufferance once you bought into this thing that I bought into. There was no other place to go, even though it was great, there were some fantastic nights, but you were too cool for the Hacienda. The Boardwalk open a music venue and that was acceptable and you went there as decent bands played there, only some acts played at the Hacienda. But then again one of the best gigs of the Stone Roses was at the Hacienda. One I enjoyed the most was at the Hacienda. The Hacienda was central to everything, you couldn't really associate yourself with it and to be a Baldrick at the Hacienda

SA - Why did you go then?

LD - Because I enjoyed it and because there were many drugs available. You could always pick up something at the Hacienda. Everyone smoked weed, well it

wasn't weed it was black ash. You could always pick up the thinnest wafer thin £5 deal off the Moss Side [inner city area in South Manchester] guys up in the balcony near the DJ's. If you hadn't picked anything up in the week, you went there, honestly like spearmint gum but you took it with gratitude. You could always pick speed up there. Hacienda was like the default place, with there being nowhere else where everybody got together. It was a good focus on a Saturday night and then when Dave [Haslam] did Tuesday nights, you knew everyone else was going to be there, you could go and you knew you would bump into people. You could pull with this accent.

SA - So where else did you hang out, other people's flats?

LD - It was a real kind of bedsit, kind of culture. Even John who liked to go over to Chorlton Water Park or out to the airport, they were never right around you. No-one ever questioned. Turn up there it was always fine. There was a little network of regular stop offs, mine here, Alan lived with John from The Rainkings up on Barlow Moor Road opposite where the McDonalds is now (in Chorlton-cum-Hardy). Steve lived with Sue, when I first met him he lived over the back here with Sue and Ian lived in Didsbury. You had to go out of your way to visit Ian and that would cost money. We were always at one another places, it was all about music and all about smoking, smoking draw, about going off in the tunes. We were self aware, that much was true, we knew that what we wore, how we put ourselves across, there was an unspoken code, we wouldn't wear something that you felt someone else wouldn't approve of. For me that was the first time I felt comfortable and mystique, because all the club clothes were kind around an affectation. Flares were an affectation, it was a hard strike to take, it was a punk rock statement. It was in your face than anything else, flares were out there at that time. Fashion was discussed, but not discussed but there was all these, there was an unspoken culture and you knew what not to say and what not to do. You didn't want to risk it in front of others, and it was a very lad based thing, you left the girlfriends at home and it was very much a lad's thing. Girlfriends weren't expected to conform, because my girlfriend was kind of punk-y. Sue was quite more fashion aligned to us. John's missus Ellen at the time wasn't. They were normal kind of girls. It was very lad-y, but the girls were always kind of there, but not as part of ...

SA - Did they hang out with you?

LD - No not when we hung out together.

SA - What when you went out?

LD - Yes, if we went to see Roses. Steve would go with his missus, until Steve

started getting on stage with the Roses. The first time Steve got on stage with the Roses was on that Tony Wilson programme, Other Side of Midnight [Granada Television produced weekly regional culture programme during 1989]. Girlfriends weren't really involved as such, it wasn't like you stay at home, I was a doley hanging about the bands, she would be doing something else, and I would just go off to see a mate and come back stoned.

SA - So you don't think it was a conscious thing.

LD - Because I had come from the club scene, come from a kind of political, it is kind of crude to say it, feminism in the early to mid 1980's became a very easy tool in the hands of lecherous dealers because all you had to do was espouse certain feminist views and you would get in the trousers of the Indie girls and it was used in that kind of light. I remember going round to Steve's house and there something in the way he spoke to Sue that I didn't like and I said something to him afterwards and he took the piss out of me for being kind of soft about it. I'm more kind of comfortable now and I thought I have got to adopt this and I did become a little bit, no I'll be honest here I did try to become more of Alpha in my relationship, but my missus was like 'what you doing you dick'. I remember watching a programme about lions, it was like women bringing up the cubs and the man came in and I made some comment saying yes that's how it should be and my missus said 'fuck off' and I said 'alright then'. It was never to the point of women hating, and it was more Steve than other lads. I remember having a chat with Steve about, this is before he was with the Roses and the Mondays were playing a gig, which was empty. There was me, Lisa (my girlfriend at time) and Steve and rockhard lads from Salford and I was there with my long hair and flares. It was empty and while the Mondays were on, one of these lads whacked me in the back and walked back to his mates laughing and I thought are these the kind of dicks that are going to around this band. I said to Steve afterwards, what are you doing with these people, because Shaun can be a smart guy but the people that they bring with them are townies, you should go with the Roses. He was saying no they are really good lads, but I said no the Mondays are good lads, but the people they bring are not. Then when Steve stopped roadying for the Mondays and started with the Roses, I was happy because I saw the Roses as being more politically aware, there were two different camps and I was always happier in one camp which was the Roses camp, they were more equal and less harsh, I suppose that's the term I was looking for.

SA - To women? Not in general?

LD - No because the fans of the Mondays were all kind of innocent in their own way, even though they were all kind of mixed and knobhead the keyboard player,

he was kind of a bit put upon and he was like any lad that you would find on a council estate. The older guy was alright, you could always talk to him. Shaun was one of the funniest people I ever knew through humour and knowledge. I didn't like what came with them. What came with them didn't suit me, whereas what came with the Roses did suit me. It was not like a Stones Beatle theme at all because musically I still like them both, well up to a certain point. There was an undercurrent of alpha masculinity going on and wanted to be perceived in a certain way and I think a lot of us really realised that we could only do that....

SA - What sort of things were you wearing with the flares, what did you wear on top?

LD - It was a kind of overlap with work wear and Phil Saxe was kind of responsible for that. I remember I went and picked up this knitted thick cardigan jacket thing which I would never have worn in a million years, but seeing it in his shop in concept with all the flares it seemed like the best thing in the world. I think I've got it on in that picture that Ian took. But I also had, because of being into psychedelia, the shirt I have got on in that picture is a kind of handmade one made by a girl who was on a fashion course at the time and she had made that for me, because she knew I was into that kind of thing. If you couldn't afford to go to Carl Twigg, that was the kind of reduced version of what TK Maxx is now, where you could pick up designer stuff, seconds and things like that.

SA - Was it a second hand shop then?

LD - Carl Twigg wasn't, it was all about seconds and all designers stuff. Upstairs was where they sold all the first hand stuff, but downstairs was clear out. If you had the money you would buy stuff there. There was jumble sales and stuff. You felt quite comfortable wearing Lacrosse polo shirts. Sue who was with Steve at the time worked for a company called Hand who were based out in Macclesfield, Stockport and they started producing really early baggy stuff, it was like jersey material, long short sleeves, they were cut very generously around the hood, before anyone wore hoods, this was before anyone wore hoodies. What came out of Hand, Sue would bring stuff home and we'd be round there there, trying to see what we could get. We swapped clothes as well, no-one realises that. It was like, because we were all complementary and also critical of each other's clothing and if you expressed a liking of someone else's thing like a coat, you would get a loan of it for the week. More so the stuff you had laid money out for, not like stuff from charity shop and go on sewing machine. Didn't care about comments, cared about what it looked like. There was a kind of clothes loan culture which noone knows about, except for you now.

SA - It's kind of interesting what you did with clothes, is that because you have a bit of a talent for it.

LD - No I didn't have any talent at all, it was more make this thing look like the thing you want it to look like. Steve didn't have to worry about that because Sue was a clothes maker.

SA - Where was it she worked, Hand?

LD - Yes Hand, it was a company based in Macclesfield or maybe Stockport. Their stock trade was t-shirt printed material that wasn't part of the Manchester thing, it was a precursor, it was sold in shops in central Manchester on or around Oldham Street. She designed a lot of their stuff. She did a lot of stuff that we were into. What I wore. It was a needs must thing, I would go to charity shops and buy some grannies nylon M&S thing that had this fantastic pattern that nobody else would wear and get something else so I could make it cloak. At the time you couldn't go anywhere to get something that looked like sixties representation, Mexican wedding shirt like Jim Morrison wore, things like that. I would try and knock up clothes that would emulate the clothes in the pictures, black and white pictures that would be of the The Byrds, trying to copy that bit in the modern concept that it was then.

SA - Where did your sewing machine come from?

LD - That was my girlfriend's. She used to like knocking up bits and pieces for herself, punk-y underskirt and things like that. It was there so I used it, I learnt to do things inside out.

SA - You say you referred to magazines and books. In terms of media and magazines, how influential was it?

LD - Not on the Manchester scene at all, it was completely self-fulfilling and self generated and self sustained.

SA - Did you read things like Melody Maker and NME?

LD - Not everybody did. But the music that preceded the Roses and Mondays was all kind of Indie and it was kind of rockish. Whereas the Roses and the Mondays were not rockish. After the Roses, all had gelled haircuts, the haircuts became softer that was all part of that look, softer fringes, that's why I referred back to Primal Scream. That was more having curtains, John started having his hair cut in a low fringe mushroom, I don't think I ever heard the name of that haircut.

SA - Where would you get that hair cut?

LD - You would have to go to a barber's and really explain to them exactly what you wanted. By the time my band in Manchester took off there were barbers in town.

SA - So you weren't influenced by magazines?

LD - No I don't think I was influenced by magazines at all, I think in the way as a musical phenomenon and fashion phenomenon it kind of bucked the trend. It wasn't a successive thing, I'm sure maybe it was in Manchester and that was just a natural succession and I can see as an observer it might have been the case. At no time was there a pandering or a sluggish response to something that had gone before in fashion. It did kind of ferment out of itself and even though it draws lots of different fashions and musical periods, it was self contained and it did come of itself, it was of itself. The magazines were much like the music press. In fact the magazines weren't even in the equation, except for me having been previously into the likes of i-D as I previously mentioned.

SA - They're obviously very London-centric magazines, they always will be.

LD - There were fanzines. M32 or something like that. A girl called Deb Reeves, she was younger than us, but she was a star, I loved her, I'd love to know where she is now. She moved back to London and last I heard of her. She was a young girl and she was there all the way through. Last I knew she was living in Longsight but had now moved back to London. I've searched for her on Facebook, she was part of that fanzine. She wrote loads of gig reviews. She was a good worker, I'm sure it was called M32. Ask Ian, Ian will know. It wasn't a magazine that informed or suggested how you should dress, it was more a documentary about what was going on at the time and more about bands and the fashion.

SA - When i-D did a couple of issues, did people notice up here?

LD - I didn't know they had. I stopped my i-D magazine before the Baldrick thing.

SA - What issue was that? Have you not even got a copy.

LD - Not sure if I have, it might be in the attic. It wasn't 1986 it was 88. I had stopped buying it before that issue came out.

SA - That's all I have got to ask really.

LD - I hope you got something from it.

SA - Oh definitely, I've got your perspective as a kind of outsider.

LD - I guess I was, but I was never made to feel like an outsider. The Manchester then to the Manchester now, it might as well have been a different country. Everything was different, everything was completely different, a different place, but I've loved growing in Manchester. I've loved starting a family here. It's home, you know when you've been away somewhere and you driving back and see sight of your own city, and it is my own city. My accent might say something different, but this is the place for me.

SA - Do you consider yourself to be a Mancunian?

LD - The people where I come from do, but the people up here don't.

SA - What do you consider yourself as?

LD - I'm not a Mancunian because I'm not born here, but this is home and that's as much as I can say. To put some kind of context to it. Where I grew up in East London, the docklands area, it's all rearranged in my absence. To the extent that one point I went back with my band and I went down to take my half sister out for the day and I got lost. I got lost in my own area. That really brought it home to me, you know where you are in Manchester..... (Short discussion of mutual friend)

LD - He was a worker, he had a Vespa at the time. When we first met we had a mutual friend. He has got a real heart on him. Going back to those times when you had to be cool, he was the top dog. Not met anyone who knows him, who has had a bad word to say about him.

LD - I did my degree at MMU. I met my wife when I was 25, she was 18. She is a teacher at Chorlton High, been there for ten years. She comes home and stresses about her day and I feel like I have a teaching role, without having to be a teacher. I did my school no favours and they did me no favours. I liked school dinners and I liked English, Maths and Art, I just didn't like the institution. For my generation, before punk happens there was a punk ethos. When punk came in and it happened in the way that it did, especially in London, I know Manchester was very active at the time, but I only know that in a historical context. To be there when it happened and have The Clash come and have their record cover shot on our dockland, it happened in our lap. Sex Pistols filmed in our area. For some reason it was the Punk place and we felt so involved as kids. It changed my life. I was only

twelve, from then on. I feel everything that went into the formation of me I think came from that absolutely.

SA - Do you think that was the same for the people you were hanging around with up here, in a different way?

LD - I do think so. I know it did, that's the common denominator. Punk and even skinhead was the common denominator. Ian Brown was a skinhead, he was quite involved with Michael Kaiser, who is a right wing kind of guy, but didn't get into the political thing. I have heard when he was younger he was quite right wing. I was quite right wing when I was younger, but that was because of the area. Even though we had black people in our family, they weren't considered to be the problem, it was always Asian people that were considered to be the problem. Because of the area that I had grown up, as everyone else had come and integrated whereas the Asian's kept their own identity. In my teens I was in the socialist worker movement. I wasn't a popular skinhead amongst my skinhead mates at all. I got out of London at the right time as that was when skinheads in London became a representation of political and my sister got caught up in that. It took four years of brow beating and one year of explaining to her that we had found out that the reason why on my Nan's side everyone was so dark because our great great great grandfather was Jamaican. She hated herself at first. That was the other thing about the whole Manchester thing was that it was very egalitarian and very one nation. Steve was called peanut when he used to hang about with Kaiser. Kaiser was an unfortunately right wing and impressive powerful kind of guy. Kaiser joined up to the army and became an impressive murdering kind of guy.....

Something we were talking about the sixties bands as by way of influence before where I explained that Hendrix was seen as mainstream and the Byrds was seen as the more kind of cooler thing and the garage punk thing. That was really important, it was like the whole idea, we were aware of the culture as historical documented, but the counter culture, it was like the extension of the cool. There were certain sixties bands that weren't cool, but then the first Cosby, Stills and Nash album, Buffalo Springfield, the first two Love albums. It was a very American focused thing and I think there was a kind of pastoral thing that we had here, that we tried to, by playing the records and by taking the drugs. We perceived them as their coolness and we bought into it. Again I have to reiterate, this was before the internet. So everything was something you had read. Timeless Flight was a fantastic book, can't remember who wrote it, [Timeless Flight: A Definitive Biography of The Byrds by Johnny Rogan, 1980, Scorpion Publications] but it was about the Byrds and their entirety, it has been reissued a few times. That was kind of like the bible as there were lot of documentation in there with regards to clothes and personalities. The American West Coast experience and its relevance to the

Manchester Scene, I don't know how well that's been documented, but I thought that relevant.

SA - Did it have an impact on the clothes?

LD - Not really, it was always about emulation and what you could get here that looked like someone on a record cover or in a book. I remember there were lots of pictures of them wearing neatly styled jumbo cord jackets, but at the time in the late '80s the only jackets you could get were bat wing, so the only thing I could do was turn them inside out and sew it. In the interim there was no shops except Affleck's Palace [indoor market. Stalls sell alternative and second hand product]. Affleck's wasn't just a kids place, it was a place where you would find a bona fide suit. We knew this separated us from everyone else as they would buy a denim jacket that was bat winged, but we would buy a denim jacket that was fitted. Those details really mattered.

SA - AJ mentioned that he was into the Americana look, that's what he talked about when I interviewed him.

LD - In London we had Flip, they imported from huge warehouses where stuff had been bailed since the sixties, but mostly that served the rockabilly's 50's type of people and they would overlook this stuff. Flip happened in 1978 in London and they were a flagship store in Covent Garden, another one in Old Street near where we lived and we would make a pilgrimage to Flip. It was more for flight jackets and things like that. There was never a Flip in Manchester, which was always a bug bear to me. That bail and whatever you find is yours kind of thing was wonderful. Not sure it still exists, last time I knew it exists was when I worked in Affleck's in 2000 and I was working for Americano and the guy used to buy in bails, but tended to be 501, but every now and again there would be baseball shirts which would be as new as the day it was made. But I don't recall anything of that type for us of what we wore to the end of the 1980s..... AJ stayed true to himself in his own fashion, he didn't get caught up. I think at the time I thought of him as a kind of anachronism, what's wrong with you, but now I see it as a kind of strength..... I've been getting my tattoos removed, which is very painful. I had one on my hand and ear that has gone. I do quite like tattoos, but I don't want to set an example for my kids, thinking it would be okay. As a parent, you just want your kids to be perfect.

SA - I have never wanted tattoos.

LD - There's a whole different mentality now about having tattoos. When I got mine done, it was about being hard, or piss people off which was the punk thing again. Then I would have stuff put on to cover the writing to pacify people. I love the

tattoos that you see now, like the anchors and the naked ladies, they are artistry. When I got mine done, it was he's got that, so I want that, there was no art involved in. It was a messy cultural at one time and now you can choose, you can go out to work for six months and save up your money to have a piece of art put on you.

SA - It's not about rebellion anymore, who you rebelling against? There's mum and dad.

LD - They're the last people you can rebel against aren't they. I bumped into someone the other day and this person, I had not seen her in passing end of 1980's, I pulled up at the lights and I saw this woman berating this young girl about the way she was dressed. I then realised it was Annie who I had known in the late 1980's, telling her daughter off for the way she was dressed. I was thinking is she going to see the way that you dressed.

SA - My mum never berated me for anything I wore. She encouraged me to wear what I wanted. She would make it for me.

LD - That's superb. I know Manchester like a cabbie. I could do the knowledge.

SA - Manchester North, East, South and even West?

LD - It's not the most picturesque place.

SA - Where my mum and dad live is quite pretty, near the Moravian Settlement in Droylsden.

LD - I went there when I was doing my degree. Fantastic beautiful place, couldn't believe you were allowed in there. I felt like I had stepped into dreamland. I'm all about magic, that's why I went into drugs. I don't mean magic like David Copperfield, the other sixties. When you walked through that gate and the cobbled road - it was mind blowing. I thought they were more like the pilgrim fathers. What is the background?

SA - They are from Moravia [historical region in Central Europe, now part of the Czech Republic]. John Wesley [founder of the Methodist church] was inspired by the Moravians... (Short discussion about the Moravians and Moravian Settlement in Droylsden).

LD - Where I grew up in East London there was a lot of philanthropists and they put money in, to make sure that when they did the clearance of streets into council estates that there were communal areas that the community shared. Bethnal

Green in the centre of the estate they built things in the middle of the estates, like a paddling pool to serve any of the buildings on the estate in the early 1960's or 1970's and there were pictures of hundreds of children. For a short time that utopianism was achieved. I spent some summer days in that paddling pool, whole days. In the middle of my paternal grandmother's estate was like a concrete tree, which snaked around a pole which went down to the paddling pool. Now it's just an unkempt concrete thing. When I took my wife there, she said "My god why didn't they keep this, it would have helped to keep the community together". But successive Councils have been forced to spend their money elsewhere. I will give you a prime example, Hulme. When they built Hulme it was utopia, absolutely fantastic and I grew up in the late 60's and 70's on estates and it was brilliant. We all got on with each other, played on each other's balconies, it was fantastic. But as soon as the economic climate changed so did utopia. That's exactly what happened and they became concrete jungles. Utopia became dystopia.

SA - They weren't built right.

LD - That's right. I did my end of access course on Salford Crescent. I kind of got to know Manchester in an historical way. It was a shame not just locally but nationally. When they put them out to tender, people were lining their pockets. Romans invented concrete, it's still there, it's the stuff they put in between, the asbestos. Did you ever spend time on the Crescents?

SA - Right at the end.

LD - I think I started going there six or seven years before it was all pulled down. For a brief window it was fantastic. If you can, track down Geoff Hollier - he is a bit like AJ he kept to his own fashion and his own belief. He would be a very interesting guy to talk to, I don't know if he is still in Manchester. AJ knows him. I always find it weird to be asked to be a spokesperson for Manchester, and as I get older I feel a little uncomfortable about it.

SA - I didn't know you were from London. AJ didn't tell me.

LD - I thought Alan would have said something about that. Geoff is a really interesting guy.

SA - I will ask AJ and try and track him down. I find it weird when you call AJ Alan.

LD - He was always Alan Wilkinson to me.

SA - He's even had his email changed at work so that it is AJ.

LD - When I was younger I'd be saying no way, but as you get older you can do what you want. The trouble with being young and empowered is that you are not informed and all the actions and instincts and urges. As you get older, you got all of those things on time rings. I know it is corny, but there are loads of clichés when you are younger that you realise are truisms as you get older, I guess that's what I am trying to say. I am 47 this year, I am sure AJ is a year older than me. I remember saying to him once, when you are young everything that happens is happening just to you and so you are the future. Then there becomes a time when one of your friends drops out or you decide not to be part of the band and then things are overtaken. Then there are levels of overtaking and I think there is a panic moment when you watch things overtaking you and you try to keep up and then there is a release moment, which must be like death. First of all you are like grateful of who you are and full of life and then that moment when somebody is told they are going to die and time becomes very short and everything you do is about the time you have left. You carry on dressing like I am because whatever time in life, you are who you are and what you present to people. Without being egotistical I used to wonder why people were interested in me and then I realised, you don't believe people do you, I am too honest, I show too much of myself. I always thought that that was a thing you did when you meet people, you showed the real you and you got the real them. People have got too much to lose. The thing that got me when I got older was my wife, my kids who are wonderful, I don't know what will happen in the future but I really do like honesty in people. I like hearing people search their souls in the conversation, to really look for the answer.

When we are younger we have the personalities that present us, and that again takes me back to what we were talking about earlier, about the role that was offered to me about the thing up here. I don't know how we can write about that, but it just felt in the course of our conversation it seemed natural to say that.

SA - I wonder what people thought of you at the time....

LD - I think I came across as a dickhead because I didn't care so much about other people's feelings. I had done, but I kind of re-learnt myself to not care because that's what I thought I was supposed to be. If I look back on that time now, for me it was a time of pretence, out of character to satisfy what I thought was a need for me then. I could have been myself then, but that was down to other people as it was easier for me to be what they wanted me to be.

SA - Do you think it was a swagger thing?

LD - Yes, I do. At 21 or 22 you are in admiration of someone else and their way of

being and being themselves, project on people you do half the work for them, which is what I probably did, but it bought me entrance into a really special time in a really special world and that still doesn't end there. I mean look at Manchester now in anticipation of the Roses gig. I was happy but I probably wouldn't get on the guest list again. I really hope they produce something musically that matters now, because if they did I would be so happy.

Manchester holds this thing, that you have a culture that you are entitled to it at any given time. It started with the Roses, then Oasis, not sure what happened in the middle. There's this whole thing about being Mancunian that you can take around the world, I don't think that's true. I think that a lot of Mancunians and van drivers feel they are Oasis, whatever Oasis meant with their limited artistry that it represents them. That's not what it was ever about for me.

End of interview

1.9. Andy Spinoza (with Lynn Cunningham)

Interview between Susan Atkin (SA), Andy Spinoza (AS) and Lynn Cunningham (LC) on 3rd May 2014, 10.30am, Spinoza/Cunningham home, Heaton Moor, Stockport

Conversation started between Susan Atkin and Andy Spinoza loosely around the subject. Interview begins when Lynn Cunningham enters the room

Andy Spinoza (AS) – We were just saying, weren't we about the baggy look... being err...

Lynn Cunningham (LC) – I was trying to recall what I wore during that time, and do you know what, I can't remember.

Susan Atkin (SA) – Really?

LC – I just can't think that I had a uniform, you know, when you've got special items of clothing from your past, you know when you remember what you did and what you were wearing... Its all just a blur really (laughs).

AS – I found some photos

LC – I remember wearing big t-shirts and baggy jeans and it was just, I was saying to Andy, it was just kind of really great because it was like anti-fashion, it was, you know, really comfortable and not sexualised in any way...

AS – I thing the drugs...

LC – The drugs, yeah..

AS – People didn't want tight clothing...

LC – They wanted comfortable...

SA – Do you think it related to the attitude of men and women at the time as well? That the clothes of the time reflected that, or was it to do with the drugs and the dancing?

LC – I think it was more the drugs and the dancing

AS – mmmm. I mean, I've got a piece I wrote which I've actually got upstairs for The Hacienda 10th Anniversary book, which you can't get anymore.. ermmm... I've

got a copy upstairs... and it was actually – Wilson [Anthony H. Wilson, owner of independent record label Factory which part owned The Hacienda with the Manchester band New Order] commissioned it and then he spiked it - what I was saying, it was a bit of a kick against the whole lads' club feel of The Hacienda. A lot of the girls there were stoned out of their minds weren't they? The girls were very – they were very – there weren't a lot of strong women on that scene – it was very...

LC – Well it was very male, more lads...

AS – Yeah, well the working class from council estates and it was very gang-y, gangster-ish and it was intimidating.. So anyway, I wrote a piece about that City Life ran and I touched on when the clothes got baggier, yeah people... yeah, that was the drugs but then there wasn't really a parallel expansion of consciousness about the sexual politics, it was basically still a reconstructed scene. I mean, you know, its hard to be too err.. its hard to be too critical – but that's what I was in that article. Do you remember when Wilson said, "that's not going in"? And instead they ran a piece that I wrote that was in The Face [London based lifestyle magazine] that was about gangs and drugs and police and all that kind of thing. So... I don't know... It was all a long time ago. But, basically, you didn't get strong women emerging from that scene. You didn't get the environment that was very... errr.... That I didn't think was very liberating in that kind of way. It was liberating in a sort of hallucinogenic kind of way

LC – It was escapism wasn't it, really.

AS – yeah.

LC – That's how it felt. People just getting off their trolleys and going for it.

AS – Hedonism

LC – It was, it was hedonism.

AS – Yeah. But I think, for me, one of the big, obvious things, fashion-wise, was... there was a move in a couple of years, a very simple thing for men, that men, even, you'd go to weddings and stuff would be wearing their shirts outside of their belts.

SA – Right.

AS – Before Madchester, yeah?

SA – Yeah... Everything was tucked in?

AS – Everything was tucked in.

LC – Yeah

AS – Now if you're a man. If you're a woman, but more for a man, 'cos we haven't got hips, you know, your trousers start to fall down. You've got to – you're going one size down, or your trousers are one size too big. And you know, for years and years, you'd go to even quite straight dos, you know, men would be wearing their shirts outside of their trousers. Maybe they did in hippy days, I don't know, but that was all inspired by the Shaggy, the Shaggy cartoon [Shaggy is a fictional character in the American animated television series *Scooby Doo*], sort of Happy Mondays kind of look. I remember, I think you might have been with me (to LC), there were little clubs in Manchester where we used to go. There was one down the side of Boots where - more or less where *Pret a Manger* is now [Cross Street, city centre] and it was where the proto (inaudible word) would be and it was the first place where I saw all these goatee beards, err... baggy jeans, t-shirts with sandals, you know, talking about Ibiza. I'm sure it was '80.. '88. What was that club called? Its on a little cul de sac, off Cross Street?

LC – Pierrot's?

AS – Brilliant. Pierrot's. Yeah.

LC – It was really town-y.

AS – It was just a town-y wine bar

LC – It was a dingy old place but it was a bit town-y. And people used to go on to The Hacienda from there. But that was way before Madchester, that was about '85 when I used to go to Pierrot's.

AS – So, when you're doing the kind of dissertation you're doing, sorry, what word it is? Thesis. So how many words is that?

SA – 80,000.

AS – Wow. I mean, do you ever read, it must be quite instrumental to... errr... reference images there... So are you literally just copying stuff out of magazines?

SA – I've got some original images from a shoot that Bayliss and Knight did.... (further information given on images).... But mainly its from photographers and magazines. Its amazing how little people have kept.

AS – But the thing is, not everyone had cameras did they? In those days. What I can do is put you in touch with Peter Walsh. Peter Walsh at the time was... There were three Hacienda photographers: Kevin Cummins who didn't live up here. Ian Tilton who is quite well known. He did all that publicity around Sarah Champion's book. Have you seen that book?... And Pete Walsh is the third one, he's a lovely guy, he lives in London now, and I don't know the state of his archive... You should definitely contact him. So who else have you spoken to?

SA – So I've spoken to Ian Tilton. AJ Wilkinson...

AS – Oh yeah, I know AJ

SA – Alison from Bayliss and Knight, Ursula..

LC – I was just going to say have you spoken to Ursula

AS – Is she still doing fashion?

SA – yeah, her and Alison actually work together now as Bayliss and Knight (information given on Knight and Darrigan)... Phil Saxe.

AS – Oh yeah, the man who invented flares (laughs) He was happy to let the legend.... I mean I wrote that up in the Evening News [Manchester Evening News] many times.

LC – The Joe Bloggs people? What was he called Andy?

AS – Shami Ahmed. I mean, they were commercial really. John McCready. He's a friend of ours. He lives in Chorlton. I can give you his details. He's written a piece, I mean you're too young but do you remember the bananas at Man City? [Manchester City Football Club]

SA – I do remember the bananas.

AS – Are you a City fan? Oh good on you.

LC – He was a DJ too wasn't he.

AS – He was. You know, its interesting, it's a terrible thing to say but when you see photos of the lads running across the pitch at Hillsborough [reference to the Hillsborough football stadium disaster on 15th April 1989] you know, you've got the – that was the Liverpool look. They're still wearing the one eye haircuts, but all the clothes were really baggy. The jeans were really baggy. Just have a look online for those photos. '89.

SA – I can't find many photos of the football terraces (discussion of the issue and limited access to archives at Manchester City and Manchester United Football Clubs).

AS – I've got boxes of The Face. How do you want to do this. They're scattered everywhere. I mean, the thing is, The Face was very London based.

LC – You've got all the City Lifes haven't you?

AS – Well I've got all the City Lifes, but thing is... I've pulled a few things out, they're upstairs, But they're all in the Library and to do a proper job I would suggest you go to Central Library [Manchester]. The thing about City Life is you're just as likely to come across a little passage in the side, you know. Its not anything that you're going to see on the front cover.

SA – A little advert or something.

AS – Exactly. A little shop advert. Right let me write a few things down - people that I've said I'll errr... (AS writes and the interview is moved to the upstairs office where his archive is kept) But you're post Madchester as well aren't you? You're up to '96. But what happened, you know, '92, '93? Was it the same kind of fashion as '96?

SA – Erm... It kind of, in a way it was similar but it kind of bubbled along...

SA – Yeah, to me it was the same but it kind of became a bit more tailored, a bit more aspirational. Some of the shirts still were baggy.

LC – Football?

AS - I mean you're right football was big, I mean, the World Cup..

SA – When was the world Cup? '90?

AS – Italia '90. New Order, World in Motion [Official England football team's 1990 FIFA World Cup song written and performed by New Order].

LC – Do you remember the t-shirts? That Trevor [Trevor Johnson, graphic designer] did?

AS – I've still got it, still got one. The Beautiful Game

LC – The Beautiful Game.

AS – Trevor Johnson of Johnson Panas. They were a graphic design company that did all The Hacienda and Factory stuff. That when Peter Saville [original graphic designer for Factory Records] went to London, Peter Saville gave them his blessing and Wilson used them. So Trevor and his brother Craig did a lot of football related t-shirts.

LC – What about Rebecca? Rebecca Goodwin?

AS – Yeah. Rebecca Goodwin used to work on the door at The Hacienda. She's a teacher now at Loretto [Loretto Sixth Form College, Hulme, Manchester] She might be of use to you. I can find you her details.

SA – Did you see, do you see The Hacienda as being the focal point of the scene, of the night club scene?

AS – Ermm. Yes. I think that Dry [Dry 201, Factory owned bar. Oldham Street, city centre]. 'Cos obviously, it was very dark, people were off their heads. But at Dry you could actually see what people were wearing. Dry opened on my birthday didn't it? July 24th... I think it was....

LC – I think it was '89...

AS – '88.

LC – No. '89, I think.

AS – It will be a matter of record. It shouldn't be that hard to find that out. [Dry 201 opened in 1989]. So I think Dry was important. We didn't go to the edgier places, we didn't go to Thunderdrome did we? There was a whole scene there that was a lot more Scally.

LC – A lot of my friends went to it. A lot of the time it was mid-week and I was working. We were a bit older, you see.

AS – John Robb will talk to you, John Robb will talk to anyone. [laughter] Have you got his details?

SA – No

LC – John Robb has had the same fashion look for years [laughter]

AS – I tell you, John Robb. Me, John Robb and Harry Stafford were in The Hacienda one Wednesday night. It was about 19...80... April '89.

LC – It was the wet night. [Referring to *Hot* the Ibiza themed club night that ran from July to December 1988. There was an inflatable swimming pool in the middle of the dancefloor]

AS – No it wasn't the pool night, we just looked at each other and went "what the fuck is going on here. It was just mental. You know, there were about 1200 teenagers, you know, literally, people about 10 years younger than us and you could just tell you were in the middle of something mental. Revolutionary. And we were like, "this is great!", and we were just looking at each other and thinking this is mental because none of us were off our heads. And the place was just exploding and it was just a normal Wednesday night. Harry Stafford worked for BBC Radio. John. John was John, doing what he did. I think I was a freelance journalist. It was just incredible. And errr... And the clothes were a big part of it obviously.

SA – So when would you have said that was?

AS – I'm pretty sure it was April or May 1989. Because I don't think things had taken off in '88. I don't think things had bubbled up in '88.

LC – I do remember going to Raves though.

AS – When you're saying Raves do you mean though...

LC – Piccadilly Station and Piccadilly Arches [Piccadilly train station and the arches underneath it and the train lines out of central Manchester]. There were places. I remember going to something there.

AS – Yeah, yeah. That was probably '88.

LC – I remember going to illegal ones in Whalley Range [Suburb in south Manchester] in the old houses.

SA – Really?

LC – Yeah, I do. I remember getting marched out by the police at one when I was with Paul Mclachlan.

AS – That's not the one at Sanky's Soap [night club on Jersey Street, Ancoats, Manchester. Opened in June 1994]. That was later wasn't it? When Paul Cons got thrown in the back of a police van. Paul Cons. I spoke to him yesterday. You know who Paul Cons was? He was the manager of The Hacienda.

LC – He'd be good for the gay nights at The Hacienda, although they were later weren't they?

AS – Yeah.

LC – Flesh nights. They were massive. It was '92. I remember because I was pregnant. I remember being heavily pregnant at a Flesh night. With all these gay guys wanted to touch my bump!

AS – Sorry, you were saying?

SA – I just wondered what you thought of the gay scene and whether it had an influence on the scene as a whole in Manchester?

AS – I think Paul's probably the best person to ask there. I think the answer has got to be yes but we couldn't really fill in the details. I mean Manto [bar on Canal Street, central Manchester] was important wasn't it?

LC – Yes, as a pre-Hacienda thing

SA – Right

LC – When did Manto open?

SA – I think it might have been '91. It was before Paradise opened. [Manto opened in 1991, Paradise Factory opened in May 1993 in the former offices of Factory Records]

AS – Yeah, Manto opened up first. It was only a couple of years. I mean, poor Carol Ainscough died. Peter Dalton, her partner who opened Manto, with her. Speak to him, he might be good to talk to. He’s just sold The Horse and Jockey in Chorlton [Chorlton-cum-Hardy, suburb in South Manchester] [details on the sale 22.04 to 22.50]. Have you heard of Central station Design? [graphic design team who designed covers for City Life magazine, record sleeve artwork for the Happy Mondays and produced their own artwork. Central Station Design consisted of brothers Matt and Pat Carroll and Pat’s partner, Karen Jackson]

SA – Yes.

AS – I think they were really central. They didn’t use a lot of photography at all, a lot of photography of people of the time, but the way they looked, it was like the look of the time. And I’ve got photos of... I’ve got a big piece that I did of them in the Manchester Evening News.... And they just look great.

LC – But they were filmed weren’t they? Was it The Other Side of Midnight?

AS – It was a one-hour Granada TV [Granada Television, the regional channel for the North West of England on ITV] documentary, have you ever seen it? Do you know about that?

SA – No. On them?

AS – On the Manchester scene. They had a big chunk of it. Steve Locke made it didn’t he?

LC – Yes he did. (discussion of Steve Locke, a friend and where the documentary could be found. A subsequent search online found it available on You Tube
Manchester: The Sound of the North
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q_vWq5KWn_s)

LC - ... They were quite chaotic weren’t they?

AS – Oh, just a bit

LC – (laughs)

AS – Peter Saville [Factory Records in-house graphic designer] said to me, “how they work....”

LC – Yeah, well one of them is an art lecturer now, isn’t he? At Stockport college?

AS – Yeah, the elder one, Pat.

LC – I always remember one of them, he had a really cool looking girlfriend. Ursula. Not Ursula Darrigan.

AS – Yeah..

LC – Long hair, very thin, kind of..

AS – More hippy-ish really.

LC – More hippy-ish, yeah.. More kind of, well Kate Moss, that kind of Kate Moss wasted kind of way.

AS – Wasted. That was the word. Most of the girls were.

LC – She was very young. I mean, I only think she was about 17, 18. What do you reckon Andy?... I don't know. In my memory she was certainly a lot younger than us.

AS – [AS is looking online at this point] That's interesting. On Pinterest. There's some images pinned up. Oh yeah. The Central Station Design were brothers, were related to the Donnelly brothers [owners of Salford-based clothing label Gio Goi]. All those labels. Gio Goi. They're still around aren't they. I saw their name in the paper.

LC – what about Bench? The guy that owned the shop Bench, your friend? (directed to AS).

AS – What, Bobby Langley?

LC – Not Bobby Langley. The other guy. Patterson. Mick. What's he called? The guy who owned the shops? (discussion of who this person was, identified as Mick Anderson, the owner of Arc. SA gave update of Mick Anderson and the business. AS found *Manchester: The Sound of the North* at this point and some of it was watched, including footage of the band James with fans wearing band t-shirts.)

SA – Do you think the Manchester bands, watching them then, do you think when we saw them wearing band t-shirts, do you think they were the ones that launched it? Or was it already happening?

AS – The Inspiral Carpets were early. The Inspiral Carpets were actually the first band to play GMEX [exhibition and conference centre in central Manchester]. Now I remember I was going to GMEX. Do you remember that gig? (question directed at LC). And it was full of 17 – it was full of kids – we were like 26, 27, 28 and it was like full of 16 year olds having a great time. I remember going to the GMEX gig and thinking they were smart, that they had got in there, and they had, you know, that kind of like pop-y (pop music) side of it, because fashion works in different ways doesn't it? You've got the trendsetters, there's the Northern Quarter [area of central Manchester with cafes, bars and boutiques] mob, and there's the people at The Hacienda, not many people went to The Hacienda, of course at that time. And then there's the whole teen thing. You know, bright, colourful, baggy t-shirts and fun, you know, there was a kind of fun fashion element to it. And The Inspirals [The Inspiral Carpets] were a bit like The Monkees [Anglo-American pop rock band 1966 to 1970. The band were formed to star in a eponymously titled American situation comedy television series (1966 to 1968)], (laughter). You know, you've got the Clint Boon [keyboard player and backing vocals of The Inspiral Carpets. Boon had poker straight hair cut into a bowl cut]. They're almost like cartoon characters.

LC – They weren't taken too seriously, were they?

AS – No. But they helped popularise it.

LC – They did help popularise it. And then there's James...

AS – And then there's James who famously sold more t-shirts than records. Whether that was true or not, it just became a funny, you know, a funny joke.

(interview moves upstairs where the archive is kept. From here, the interview is taking place while we are all looking through publications)

AS – Now, my article on The Hacienda is here [hand typed article]. I keep this one separate. And this, the famous issue of The Face that insinuated that Jason Donovan was gay and he sued the magazine for libel, a famous court case and it was quite a big – I mean, the thing with The Face is that some of the adverts might be of interest... And there's the article...

LC – Was that about the closure?

AS – I don't know if that's relevant to you because its just about drugs and gangs.

SA – But in a way that might be relevant because it all informs... It's actually quite interesting, what you've been saying because all the people I've been interviewing

have said there was a big amalgamation. But what you've been saying is, "actually no. It was quite intimidating" – with the gangs, or whatever you want to call them.

AS – I suppose it depends what you're comfortable with, doesn't it. Let me show you this article. Now that's *The Hacienda Must be Built*, which I'm really loath to part with, because you can't get it, because it's so rare. I could photocopy pages from it, I've got a photocopier here. That's the article from *City Life* that was banned from that [*The Hacienda Must be Built*] book I also put on an exhibition at the Cornerhouse [cinema, gallery, café and bar in central Manchester] which was called *Sublime*.

SA – I went to see the exhibition, I've got the catalogue, I think.

AS – I've got a copy. I used to have seven copies but when you lend things out they don't always come back... (discussion of this issue)... That's the article in the *Hacienda* previewing... There's a piece there the week the Mondays [Happy Mondays] and Roses [The Stone Roses] were on Top of the Pops. I wrote the Programme notes for this, which was the *Cities in the Park* festival [Heaton Park, Manchester August 1991]. I'm not sure what year that is, I think about 1990...

LC - Has it not got a date on it? A publishing date?

AS – No, terrible isn't it? Look at those photos though. That's Peter Walsh [photographer]. So, I suppose what we could do, Susan, is we could make a list of all the stuff I would be prepared to let leave the house and then at least I know what you've got....

LC – Look at Hooky's [Peter Hook, bass player of New Order] hair! Of course, he went through that look, that... Rock God thing didn't he?

AS – Yes

LC – So during that time of all the baggies, he's got that long hair.

AS – *Bop City*. That was Sarah Champion's fanzine... [flicking through magazine, looking for date]... Why didn't you put the bloody year? You see, no one thinks of the year at the time, but you kind of have to... That's an interesting Indie label photoshoot [...]

SA – hmmm... "The Age of Flarious" [reading an article title out, which references "The Age of Aquarius" a term in popular culture that refers to the New Age movement of the 1960s and 1970s]

AS – [laughs] [pause while looking through magazine] Dave Haslam will talk to you.

SA – He won't

AS – He won't!

SA – No. He said to send him some questions which I did and he never got back to me.

AS – Oh dear. I mean, I know he's in the middle of writing a book and you do go kind of insane....

SA – Oh I know that everyone is busy and I'm grateful who will speak to me... He must get loads of requests...

LC – [flicking through publication] 1991, Cities in the Park. Is says here, August 1991.

AS – Right at the centre of your timeframe [laughs]

SA & LC – [laughs]

AS - [while all parties look through magazines] I'm very good at just putting things in boxes and forgetting about them.

LC – At least you hold onto them.

SA – There's a photoshoot here [referring to photoshoot *Bar None* in MNE (Manchester North of England) fanzine, Issue 5.] where the model is wearing menswear, the Levi 501 look and oversized shirts. Was that a look?

AS – Yes. Yes. That was massive

LC – That's the look that I would have worn.

AS – That was pre.... That was just pre-Madchester though. Don't you remember? [directed at LC] It was almost like a transitional phase from Morrissey [lead singer of the Manchester band The Smiths], Smiths kind of clobber.. and the quiffs...

LC – The vintage and raincoats kind of stuff.

AS – And so it didn't get entirely phased out, there was that transitional period where people were still wearing a bit of that with baggy t-shirts and stuff.

SA – there seems to be a bit of an Americana influence...

LC – There was actually, yes.

AS – That was the whole Smiths look wasn't it?

LC – Yeah....

(looking through magazines)

AS - You see I've got loads of this; *Gangsters Joining Acid Party*, The Sunday Telegraph... Manchester Evening News....

LC – Do you remember that bunch of old guys that used to sit in the corner at The Hacienda? [question directed at AS] Quality Street? [Salford gang]

AS – They were like the Donnelly's brothers, I mean their Dads weren't they?

LC – They just, kind of, looked so out of place. Yet you knew they were... scary people. You just, kind of, gave them a wide berth.

SA – So they just sat there?

LC – Yeah, they just sat in a corner

SA – It wasn't...

LC – It was downstairs, as you went in to the left there was a whole group of them wasn't there Andy?

AS – Well, it was called "E Corner" wasn't it?

LC – Yeah... There were guys in trackies [slang for tracksuit, or jogging bottoms]

SA – There's a photo by Ian Tilton of "E Corner" and its got Shaun Ryder and Bez [members of the band the Happy Mondays] in it and every one is just dancing.

AS – well, the dancing went on at the front but it was all behind...

LC – Mmmm. Mmmm.

AS – This was a great piece. 1990. You see... you can go into..... the whole gang thing... Do you remember him? [directed to LC]... that sort of... slightly eccentric...

LC – Yeah..

AS – And then there was this kind of classic clubber, aspirational model girl look wasn't there?

LC – Yeah..

SA – Wearing jersey garments, more fitted?

AS – Yeah.

SA – Where do you think that came from? That influence?

AS – That kind of Mediterranean, up market club

SA – Right

AS – You've got to remember it wasn't all council estates scallies

LC – No

AS – It would be lawyers and professional people who would be in their mid twenties and earning a lot of money, there was a crew of good looking, slightly up market people, and we were the tourist – friends of..

LC – But they had always frequented The Hacienda and then just stuck by it ,, kind of just moved with the times because during the mid '80s The Hacienda did go through quite a conventional, it was quite glamorous, a town-y kind of crowd, weren't they Andy?

AS – Yeah

LC – Hairdresser, we used to call them The Hairdressers Crew, you know, all the shop workers who worked in fashion, who looked really, you know, glamorous....

AS – They were sort of townies

LC – Townies

SA – Yeah, I know what you mean, more mainstream I guess

LC – More mainstream, yeah, more mainstream...

AS – But they didn't want to go...

LC – But they didn't want to go to....

AS – Crappy....

LC – Crappy.... Other.... Well, what were the other clubs?.. I don't know.

AS – Well there was The Ritz [Whitworth Street] Placemaker [Placemate], if that's still going.. Where you wouldn't be allowed in your trainers and you wouldn't be...

LC - Or Richfield's or places like that..

AS – Yeah, yeah

LC -On Deansgate that were kind of more smooth, soul clubs I guess.

SA – Did you notice the shift from that more sort of fashion... Fashionable, glamorous scene to it being more Madchester for want of a better word?

AS – Well what I noticed was different characters. Different looks if you like. Different crowds and different nights. Saturday night at The Hacienda, there was the gelled hair and the groomed men.

LC – Friday night was...

AS – Towny night.... Thursday, Friday..... And then during the week you had gig nights.. This is pre-Madchester. Gig nights which were much more student, much more scruffy... And honestly, no one from a council estate went in The Hacienda before the Happy Mondays, you know...

LC – No, they didn't.

AS – They started playing a few gigs there and people started taking Ecstasy and they started flooding the place with their mates, it was like a playground for them.

And their big brothers would have gone to The Ritz, up the road and had a punch up afterwards, you know what I mean? That was the cultural... And that... That...

LC – Friday nights with Mike Pickering [disc jockey] were always quite heavier weren't they Andy? The music...

AS – It was more Black.

LC – It was more Black.

AS – More... Errr...

LC – Edgier

AS - ... More... It was more Moss Side [residential area of inner city Manchester]. It was edgierrrr....

LC – Edgierrrr, I would say...

AS – Its not so much the people, we were used to going to Black clubs. It was that...

LC – The music was edgier...

AS - ...It was the music. It was harder.

LC – Yes it was.

AS – And listening back to it now, you think, “well, that wasn't actually that hard”, but...

LC – At the time...

AS - ... At the time it was.

LC – But then that infiltrated Saturday nights as well then, didn't it?

AS – A more melodic edge to it.

LC – It started out all very nice and very separate but then they merged a little more...

AS – The boundaries...

LC – The Wednesday night...

SA – Is that true?

LC – It s true.... The Wednesday night.... They stopped those because... someone was injured.... Am I imagining that? Or was someone injured because of all that water? [laughs] [LC is referring to Hot. A weekly night hosted by DJs Mike Pickering and Jon Da Silva that ran from July 1988. Referencing Ibiza, the Spanish Island where a similar style of eclectic mixing of music, House music and associated club culture was happening, there was a swimming pool in the middle of the dancefloor, filled with water each week] You would imagine that they would because with all that water... from a Health and Safety point of view it was ridiculous. There was water everywhere... [laughs]

AS – But if you do speak to Dave Haslam, he will tell you that he was the first person in the world who would play Indie [genre of diverse range of guitar-based rock/pop/folk music. Initially referred to the Independent Record labels many of the acts were on] and Dance music, he possibly was...

LC – What were his nights?

AS – The Temperance Club [The Hacienda 1986 – 1990]

LC – That was more student-y wasn't it. So yeah, you had these separate nights. And it was probably at the time that the club was the busiest because I remember it when it first opened and it was empty, just a huge, big space with no one in it.

SA – It's a huge space

LC – It was a huge space

(looking through magazines, AS looking for particular articles and unrelated discussion)

AS – I'm particularly proud of this piece [Referring to *Strokes of Genius in the City* article written by Spinoza in the Manchester Evening News 12/5/1990. P16 – 17] because Tony [Anthony] Wilson ran.... Errr.... Matt and Pat [Carroll, Central Station Design] said, [puts on husky broad Mancunian accent] "write an article Spinz [abbreviation of Spinoza], its never been fucking written". 1990. Ermm..

(discussion of copying material and the manner in which it will be done and the members of Central Station Design)

SA – Where did you work at the time Lynn?

LC – I worked at Manchester City Council. I worked in Homeless Families at the time. It was quite a mad scene because I was going out clubbing. It was actually quite a mad time at the council at the time, well actually, it was earlier with the Union... I always joke that I joined the council... What time did I join the council? Was it 1986? [directed at AS] I joined the council and was out on strike in a matter of a fortnight... I was on the picket line because I think one of the housing agents couldn't have a desk, so we all went out on strike. A great bunch of people... a lot of people in Manchester would go out clubbing...

SA – You would go out with them?

LC – Not... Not as... I would see them out, there were a few I'd see out.

(Looking through magazines, discussion of how the couple met and further discussion of how the material will be copied)

SA – [looking through the Hacienda 10th Anniversary book, p52 and 53] Do you remember this look? A 1950s look for girls?

AS – Yes. Totally.

SA – This girl here [indicating subject in photograph]

AS – Yes. But it was Rockabilly. I mean, it was Affleck's Palace [Indoor market with stalls selling vintage clothing, products, music and independent designers]. If you look at the City Lives, the first one, well it was '83... '84, '85, '86... Ermmm... Rockabilly... The pony tails...

SA – The quiffs...

AS – But that was pre-Morrissey [lead singer of Manchester band The Smiths] Likes. That was a hangover from earlier days, it just hung around didn't it, that look?

AS – Yeah, it did.

LC – It's a lovely look. It's a look though that I think still...

SA – maybe more so at the moment because of the vintage thing...

LC – Yeah. I don't think its ever gone away...

AS – No.

SA – Because she's got a little cropped cardigan on...

LC – Yep.

SA - ... And a shirt dress...

LC – Mmmm. I mean, my wedding outfit had that kind of neck... Vintage-y

SA – It's a very feminine look actually...

LC – It is...

SA – And when you say about the baggy....

LC – Well, I do remember wearing baggy tops and baggy jeans.

SA – And then all the dancing was waving hands in the air? Like if you see in that photo [Hacienda 10th Anniversary book, p52 and 53]?

AS – Yeah. I think that was about '86. Definitely pre-Rave... There were the Jazz Defectors [dance group that performed at the Hacienda]. They were snazzyly dressed.

SA – They were much smarter weren't they?

AS – Much smarter... But that kind of street dance thing...

LC – But I remember... That was '86... When they used to play jazzy stuff as well on a Saturday night, you know, "*Baby don't care for me*" [sings] Nina Simone [Possibly referring to Nina Simone's *My Baby Just Cares For Me* that was re-released in October 1987]

AS – That was in the early days

LC – Yeah. That would have been about '85, '86 would it?

AS – Earlier.

LC – No. Well.... '85 to '86 about that time..

SA – Do you remember that look? [pointing to image in publication] Cycling shorts?

LC – I do remember people on the dancefloor wearing that

AS – committed clubbers.... Committed Clubbers.... Committed Club dance wear.
[laughs]

LC – It's not a look I would have.... Yeah with the baby dummies around the neck.

SA – So that was part of the scene later on as well then?

LC – I do remember that... Andy, do you remember that?

AS – [looking through archive] What's that? That look? I do remember...

LC – Am I imagining that or was it...

AS – No, there was... you know what, there was...

LC – Cycling shorts and bare chest...

AS – It was also a craze for.... Rubbing your chest with Vicks [Vicks Vaporub, used to enhance the effects of Ecstasy] but apparently, that came out of, a slightly.... Less sophisticated area of Stoke. [Stoke-on-Trent] That big club, that big club in Stoke [possibly Shelley's Laserdome, Stoke-on-Trent]...

Further looking through publications and general discussion)

AS – Now, they were classic... pre-Madchester look... The Railway Children [Manchester band] Colin Sinclair who owned The Boardwalk [night club, live music venue and rehearsal space in central Manchester] ermm... managed them. They had a record deal didn't they... They were just too bland... He was very good looking and it was that Lloyd Cole [singer-songwriter, lead singer in Lloyd Cole and the commotions from 1984 to 1989]....

LC – Yeah, definitely.

AS - ... Harrington jackets... American...

LC – Crombie coats...

AS – Now, I've got loads of Debris [fanzine ran by writer and DJ Dave Haslam] in the 1980s... but they were mainly just writing... (discussion of archive, the reproduction of the Hacienda for the film *Twenty Four Hour Party People* and general discussion)

AS – I wrote a piece on that bananas thing. [referring to earlier conversation about Manchester City Football Club fans bring inflatable bananas to the games] Bananas were before Madchester. Bananas were about '87...

LC – What was that all about, the bananas...

AS – Drugs presumably. Someone must have dropped a tab of acid [slang for hallucinogenic drug Lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD)] one day...

SA – I mean, one person must have brought one one day – my little brother had one, my Dad and brothers have season tickets.

LC – Its weird how these things happen. It's hard to pinpoint where it came from and why it happened.

AS – No, it was – 'cos I'm the journalist and I know a little about this – It was thought to be because we had a player called Imre Varardi [English player of Hungarian origin played for Manchester City from 1986 to 1988], vaguely sounds like [in broad Mancunian accent] “banana”

LC – Very vaguely

AS – You know, foreign names and all that, a challenge for certain football fans. So someone brought a banana, and others brought bananas.

LC – And before you know it, you've got a bunch of bananas there [laughs]

SA – There were other inflatables and they were banned and people began to smuggle them in.

LC – Maybe its about standing out and wanting to see yourself on the telly [television] but then if everyone's got a banana [laughs]

(Further discussion of archive and hand over of publications. Interview concludes with handing over of publications and thanks.)

End of interview.

1.10. Leo Stanley

Interview with Susan Atkin (SA) and Leo Stanley (LS) on 17th July 2014, 11.00am, Identity Offices, Unit 8.4, Tameside Business Park, Windmill Lane, Denton, Manchester.

Recording comes in as Susan Atkin is offering background into the research and the reasoning behind the time frame being studied.

Susan Atkin (SA) – In '96 the bomb went off. So. Errrr... I thought that was, like – in terms of a time frame...

Leo Stanley (LS) - Yes. I think that's brilliant. I'd throw in the mix '87. I think that's when Madchester started. The build up was '87 and the crescendo was '88, 89, you know – 'cos the rest of it, it's like everything else in history, in't it, you know, the time frame, it's like the hippie thing, with it around '69 and all that. It only lasted twelve months tops, if that, you know. And Woodstock [seminal music festival in New York State, U.S.A, 1969] seemed to finish it, you know. And its like people ask, "why do you enjoy talking to people about the Hacienda?", and it's, like, I say in the '60s when they say, "if you remember the '60s you weren't there". And I say "if you remember the Hacienda you weren't there!" There's that drug relation to it. But I always talk to people, "do you remember the Hacienda before it was a rave club?" When you could go in on a Tuesday night and New Order would be on stage practicing and stuff like that and the glam rock edge to it. That always seems to get glossed over – for obvious reasons – does it make good press? I don't know. Probably those in this generation are more interested in the rave scene and this is what it's known for. Which is a shame really because it had so much more going for it as an indie club. So, where do you want to start then? Have you seen the website? Have you had access to that? The Nostalgia one? The black and yellow one? [<http://www.identity-manchester.co.uk/>]

SA – Yes.

LS – Do you know, I've given so much permission for that to be used on TV, and radio, and articles around the world. Very rarely in the UK. I've just given permission to a company in LA [United States of America]. To be honest, when we did that – what you're doing – we were a bit more factual about stuff because there were all these stories going around about the flares and Joe Bloggs [mainstream Mancunian jeans label who specialised in flares to meet the demands created by the Madchester scene] and all that, and I... because of my involvement with Chirs and Anthony Donnelly, you know, Gio Goi [Salford based clothing label] and Mike Pickering [disc jockey], and all that, we were having a drink one night and we said, you know, that someone should do a definitive one and exactly what it was about

and Mike Pickering said, “yes, it should be someone who was on the front line there doing it”. So I was sat there and everyone was looking at me and went, “It’s you, you idiot”. (laughs) Because I was correcting everyone about the flares and all this type of stuff, you know. And that’s how that came about, but I get so many nice emails from people saying, “thanks for the nostalgia trip”, and everything, you know.

SA – Well. It’s a great website...

LS – It is.

SA – You’ve collected so much [referring to the photographs and clippings on the website]

LS – And it’s all there [pointing to book shelf]. It’s still there after all these years, you know. Which you are quite welcome to come back and have a look at.

SA – That would be great.

LS – Ok, so how do you want to structure this?

SA – Well, really, just for you to talk about your insight into it. Did you start off as a DJ [disc jockey]?

LS – Yes. And I still am today. (laughs) 32 years later. With Bop Local [monthly night at The Irish Centre, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester]. Yeah, my... I’ll just give you a brief thing on that, it’s probably on the website. My family history is.. we were army navy stores [selling surplus army and navy garments and accessories] in Manchester, back in the ‘60s and ‘70s. and the big one we had is now where the Malmaison is on Piccadilly [Malmaison boutique hotel, 1-3 Piccadilly, Manchester]. And that was our family business and that’s where I started and I started getting older and we had a fall out with the family and Affleck’s Palace [Indoor market with stalls selling vintage clothing, products, music and independent designers] appeared and I wanted to do something other than army surplus and that’s when I got a stall and had a go at doing fashion. What you can briefly call fashion. I changed my mind about six times in a year and ended up going back to army surplus because the Goth [Gothic sub culture] thing had come in and everyone wanted army stuff dyeing black, so I was just getting bales of army jackets and dyeing them black, you know what I mean, to service the Goth thing. And I just moved with whatever music was happening at the time. And... so we had stuff in there, we had the army surplus and we had stuff for all the Psychobillies [a fusion of punk rock and rockabilly music and style], you know, it was all a mis-match of

stuff there because I'm an old market trader and just ranked it up and got it in there and it serviced a lot of people but then, sort of like when – like everything else I've said over the years – fashion is related to music and that's why fashion is boring at the moment because for about 25 years its been House music [electronic dance music genre] and nothing new has come along or nothing broke [into the mainstream]. If you think about it, the Teddy Boys with the drainpipes, the Mods with the Parkas, and then you've got the Goths, the Psychobillies, Glam Rock, Punk. And it all evolved around music and fashion. So you've got the House music coming on, you've got the Baggies [referring to the loose silhouette of trousers], the hoodies [hooded tops], stuff like that and that's still here today but it lasted so long and a generation have gone by thinking, well, what's new? Because there was no new music so... And I put it down to the music sources because rather than being clothes related, it's drug related. I'm not judging it...

SA – In terms of now or when it was....

LS – Now. It's... you see, when it was.... From '92... or.... I'll go from '92, from the beginning... it became – to me it became stale, I had to get out of it then because there was no creativity coming about and there was no new music because if you think about it, you know, Punk, mod, you know, Northern Soul which is still underground and still massive today but you think about when Glam Rock lasted about two years. Punk lasted about eighteen months. You've got House music, what are we in now? The thirtieth year? And so... it's not exciting anymore as far as I'm concerned but I'm nearly sixty so what do I know? My daughters could turn around and say, "well, what do you know Dad?" But I've been in the game a long time and I still keep my eyes open on stuff and there's nothing that's made me go, "Wow. I need to get onto that. I need to get that happening." You know what I mean? Erm... And I think it's because there's no.... you see, there's no... Affleck's Palace is not cheap anymore, and it's typecast itself now as this sort of Goth-y which is great, sorry to use that term but the Emos [rock based music with melodies and expressive lyrics. The genre became popular in the 2000s, Emo became a derogatory term as it became more mainstream] and all that stuff. It's probably evolved like that, but there wasn't that dramatic change, 'cos there was no dramatic change in music. And it could be something as simple as Top of the Pops going [weekly BBC television musical chart programme. The show was cancelled on 20th June 2006] as well. Because it's about having access to it. I mean, it was raw then and I think when the Roses [Stone Roses] reformed [18th October 2011] we obviously started selling more of the Sixth Day t-shirts [Stanley under his brand name of Identity created printed t-shirts in red and navy blue with "And on the Sixth Day God Created MANchester" on the front, a witty take on the Bible's interpretation of creation (Genesis 1.26 – 1.31). The font is reminiscent of bible passages with a decorated initial, as if extracted from the bible. On the back

is a line drawing of a cherub with “Manchester; Created in Heaven around it]. Worldwide. Everyone thought they were going to sell millions of t-shirts and what I pointed out to everybody was.. We do our stuff with Ian Tilton [photographer] and they said, “I bet you’ll make a load out of the Stone Roses”, but we didn’t make anything out of the Stone Roses but with Ian Tilton’s stuff it sold the odd one or two. There was no great “Awww. We’re going to make a fortune out of it”. Because those who used to wear the t-shirts are now in their late forties. And fifties. And they’ve got a beer belly. And they don’t wear t-shirts anymore. So... that generational thing has gone and you’re trying to, you know, sell Stone roses t-shirts to a handful of people that the kids are into, so you know, that t-shirt thing has gone. The biggest sellers of t-shirts at that time were Iron Maiden [English heavy metal band], you know, they were selling, like 10,000 a week. They’re lucky if they do 10,000 in 10 years now. Because that’s gone and it’s not appealing to that generation anymore.

SA – So what do you think it was at the time that made t-shirts appealing?

LS – Affleck’s Palace. And I’m going to say Identity [Stanley’s shop in Affleck’s Palace]. We had a shop window on the front that looked out to the world there. So what we put in there, said it all. You know, the Sixth Day t-shirt summed it all up but then you had your Smiley [image consisting of a perfect circle, filled in yellow, outlined in black with ovals for eyes and a semi circle for an upturned mouth representing a simple representation of a smiling face. The image was used in 1960s mainstream culture and was then initially used in the Acid House movement to promote club nights at Shoom, London, on flyers. It became the emblem of the movement, featuring on record sleeves, t-shirts and badges] and I used to reference a lot of my stuff from the ‘60s, ‘cos, like, that’s what the drugs were about, and I wondered what they used to do in the ‘60s and there was the Smiley face. But the best one I ever did, which was Tony Wilson’s [Anthony H. Wilson, television presenter and owner of Factory Records] favourite, which I gave him one, and it was just like the Woodstock logo, the dove with the guitar and it just said “Woodstock ’69, Manchester ’89”. You know what I mean? And at that time nobody really bothered about copyright and copying (laughs). All that’s changed! I’ll just nick [slang for steal] the Woodstock label – yeah, yeah – that’ll be alright! Copyright, what’s that bollocks? (laughs). So, I was making all them comparisons, then like the flares, and the baggy thing, you know and as it says on the website, Joe Moss and Phil Wildbourne Joe Moss was the original Smiths manager, he had jeans manufacturing in Stockport [large town in Greater Manchester, 7 miles south east of Manchester city centre] and Manchester. And he was managing The Smiths at the time and he’d been in fashion since... way back in the day on Brown Street in Manchester [Manchester city centre], which was the equivalent to Carnaby Street... So... there were all these sort of heads getting together and in all

fairness, I do give credit to the Scousers [slang for Liverpoolians] for the flares because they never went away from it. But, like, with Phil Saxe [owner of a market stall selling jeans in the Arndale Centre market, Manchester and manager of The Happy Mondays] and The Happy Mondays, for me, the guy who really put flares on the market was Ian Brown [lead singer of the Stone Roses] because he was wearing the Wrangler flares at the time when they were, when they started to happen. And they were – you couldn't get Wrangler flares at the time and we copied them and then it just went ballistic. 'Cos he gave us a mention after the Leeds gig [The Warehouse, Leeds. 6th June 1986] where he got the flares from and it was just like – bang – we was off up and running, you know, it was mental. And then it was just, like, absolute fucking mayhem. I mean, it was an obscene amount of money we were earning, we were coming up with designs that were just crazy, you know, it was just, just mental, you know. So.. there was no civility to it and that's why it just collapsed, but I think it would have just collapsed anyway because, well, when the club closed, I suppose, that was the big one [Stanley is referring to the Hacienda which closed on 28th June 1997]. You know, but I do feel on the fashion side it must be really difficult for the young... you know, because I'm fortunate now in a business where... you know, if I had a pound for every email I get saying, "hello, I'm starting a t-shirt business", I'd be a millionaire. (Discussion of young designers who request advice from him, the current state of the high street and UK garment manufacture.) When I had Affleck's, you had [local manufacturers] Alison [Knight of Bayliss and Knight], she was a local manufacturer, you had Cheetham Hill [inner city suburb of Manchester], you had all the little Asian knitwear companies, these places are now apartments. There was that infrastructure. From Affleck's, I could have got a pair of jeans made, a jumper, sweatshirts, anything like that within a five mile radius of Affleck's Palace. There was a little sewing machinist up there, doing that, and I know it's probably old fashioned and things move on but it was available there. You know, I could get, there was a dye house, there's two dye houses left in the UK now, I used to get all the army surplus, dye it black and I'd take it to a lady and say, "sew this sergeant stripe on here like John Lennon" [referring to The Beatles costumes circa 1967 upon the release of the album Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band], and she'd say, "oh yeah, give me 10p per badge. Next thing it would be in the shop on a rail and it was something creative and new and off we'd go.

SA – Yeah, and you were able to do it quite quickly?

LS – Absolutely.

SA – And it was all local?

LS – Absolutely. All local. I wouldn't even know where to start these days. (Further discussion of the current state of UK manufacturing and the lack of politics of shoppers today.)

SA – Do you think that people were more political then?

LS – No. We didn't care about the politics then. It was all drugs and music. And have a go at Thatcher [Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher]. Really.

SA – Just have a go at Thatcher?

LS – Yeah. And I think there was a political element there... In every society or generation you have your activists, but nobody gave a shit. All we wanted was an E [Ecstasy], some coke [cocaine], get off your head and I'll buy a pair of flares. Get on it.

SA – so why flares then? You say that Ian Brown broke it but...

LS – Well, because he wore them and like any celebrity endorsement, you know, you get a celebrity endorsement these days and it's off up and running, you know. However, a lot of celebrities these days are doing their own labels now (laughs) so that's gone, you know. But then. It wasn't and he single handedly... There was always that subculture in Manchester. And Liverpool where, fair play to them, they stuck to the flares on the terraces [football terraces] all the way through, but like, with the Mondays [The Happy Mondays] and Phil Saxe who had his market stall, he just stored Farrah slacks [slang for trousers] or Farrah flares, or whatever it was, you know, it sold there. But for the million people who followed the Stone Roses, they had no idea who Phil Saxe was, or Liverpool football hooligans, or The Happy Mondays were at the time, so Ian Brown comes out, wears them and bang that's it, you up off and running.

SA – Why was he wearing them, do you think?

LS – That was his thing. You know what I mean? He's unique in what he does, but he just said to me, "do you think you can get any Wrangler flares?", because I think he'd bought some from a thrift shop, a second hand shop or whatever. You know, a charity shop. But that was his thing. Like everything they do, that was, like different. Especially the clothes he wore... but he... singlehandedly just turned the world upside down, even with the TV. We're trying to... I've got quite a few links that MTV, BBC, Channel Four and all that, came to the shop and filmed and all that. But, I was thinking about adding them to the site but then you've got all this copyright problem... But there's quite a few videos around. What's interesting

though is that they all used to come in and video us wearing the flares, you know, and the drugs and the smiley face and all that sort of thing. That started later. But it was the flares thing that.... And because they [television production team] were going, "oh, I used to wear them back in the '60s", that's what it was...

SA – So it was nostalgia for them?

LS – It was nostalgia for them but then it was like, the kids were wearing something different. And that whole baggy thing, you know what I mean? I don't quite know where this baggy thing originated. Because I used to have this thing about the baggiest dungarees. I used to sell the "Baggiest Dungarees Ever", you know what I mean. And I think it was because of location and that we were at the forefront and we were getting all the press and everything. We could have, like, put that [points to an office lamp] in the window on a t-shirt and it would have sold, you know, we had great power at that time, you know what I mean, because if its in there, it must be happening. Which you do as a kid really. People used to say to me, "What are you designing next?" and in all fairness, all I used to do is design t-shirts. The Manchester designers used to do the rest. They used to bring things to me and yeah, let's try it, get it on the rails and see if it sells. You know more than anyone. And then you had Mick and Darren [owners of Arc, also in Affleck's Palace at the time] , pure to the Addidas thing, and all the Crombies [Crombie coats] and all that stuff, you know. I was dead commercial me, you know. I didn't understand that lot, you know. T-shirts with Manchester on – yeah that'll do!

SA – But the t-shirts were designed.

LS – Well, its funny you should say that because when people say that, I don't think I design. All I do is think of a passage to put on a t-shirt. And when they say, "that's called design" I go, "oh, okay then, I'll have that", you know what I mean (laughs). I guess I sort of sell myself under, you know. And it's funny, because when the Roses reformed, there was an upsurge in demand for the Sixth Day. But, erm. Still today, I still sell loads into America. Los Angeles and Perth, Australia.

SA – Right.

LS – Yeah. There was over 400 that went over to Los Angeles last year, when the Roses reformed [The stone Roses announced they were reforming on 18th October 2011, playing gigs in 2012]. There's that many ex Mancs [Mancunians] out there, it's just incredible. So it still sells to this day, which is great, 27 years on.

SA – So where did... I've read all this stuff about you were coming out of a club and you were enlightened...

LS – Yeah... well, you could say.... That I was going down a religious route and I'm not. I always say to people, "where did they get that from?". All it was, all I was likening it was... it was probably misinterpreted. Okay, yeah I'm a Catholic so what, what's wrong with that? And I just said, the comparison I said to a journalist one day was, its like when Anderton [James Anderton, Greater Manchester Police chief constable from 1976 to 1991] started closing the clubs down and people were having a go at people for wearing flares and all that, and all I said was, "it's like Christ here, being persecuted all the time" and suddenly I went off on this religious thing. But what happened, where the irony of it is me and Tina, who worked for me, we were at Hot night [*Hot*, the Ibiza themed club night at The Hacienda that ran from July to December 1988] maybe, or one of the first rave nights that they had on, I'd done the Acid [slang for hallucinogenic drug Lysergic Acid Diethylamide (LSD)], I come out, and I was sat on this curb outside, across the road from The Hacienda like that, and we were both sat there, tripping like fucking mad and at the time I was buzzing [slang for feeling happy] because I'd just done a deal with Jazzy B to do all his Soul II Soul [London based British soul group. Also had their own clothing line] stuff up here, and it was like, let's have it. But everything had London on it. And Tina said, "you know what, we should do something for the north or Manchester", and I went, "you know what, you're right about that". And it wasn't like, you know what, we're going to have a go at everybody else, it was just about being proud of our city. Not like, where're you from, where're you at. It was just like, "I heart Manchester". So, I was tripping and I was, I don't know why but I got this bible and I started flicking through it and was like, that'll do. And that's how it all came about. And I'd just seen the Sixth Day thing and it was all like, I just twisted it slightly. And as they say, the rest of it is history. And I've had a couple of problems with the religious right and I used to say to people, "oh that's blasphemy, well it is in your eyes, but you know what? My God has a sense of humour, I don't know about yours". Because I would never do anything like that, you know, regardless of the Catholic upbringing, I've got morals. I wouldn't put anything to do with politics on it because I don't want to get involved. Nothing to do with me and it's like, you know... Ermm.. So that's how the Sixth Day came about, it was a joke about it really. So it's good and to be honest with you, I give a lot of what I make from that to charities, my own way of paying back really. I though I can't really take credit for it, it's a funny story behind that. When I got involved in all this copyright stuff and stuff like that, I tried to trademark that. I mean you can't, you couldn't go and use it now because I've got continuous use because I've stopped Man City [Manchester City Football Club] using it. They didn't do it intentionally; someone went in claiming to be me and sold it to them, the rights to it. I mean, they had it everywhere, 50,000 t-shirts, and I went to them one day, saying, "what do you think you're doing? Sort me out a few quid", and they went, "what on earth are you on

about?” and I went, “well it’s mine that,” and they went, “no it’s not, we’ve got permission off the owner” and this guy had gone in and blagged it (laughs).

SA – There’s a big banner there [at Manchester City Football Club’s stadium. It hangs off the front of the upper terraces facing the pitch]

LS – That’s right, yeah. (laughs) And there were people sending me pictures going... At the time I was dead chuffed [slang for pleased] and then my mate went, “mate, you need to look at this” and there was a table in the supporter’s shop stacked with these t-shirts (laughs), so I’m going, “you know what, I’m going to have a word with them about this”. It took two years to settle and everything but, in all fairness, they didn’t really do anything naughty and they gave me quite a handsome settlement but, someone had gone in and blagged it, saying it was me (laughs). I mean, you’ve got to give it to them haven’t you? Anyway, with all that going on I tried to trademark – it’s an interesting story this – And on the Sixth Day God Created MANchester – as I did it, you see. And I was doing an interview over the phone with the trademark people, this is how tricky they are, and I didn’t know any different, they said, “err. Mr. Stanley, this saying, obviously it’s a biblical saying and it’s public domain so you can’t really trademark it, although you have put the ‘chester’ on it, which is quite interesting. Can I just ask you where you got the idea from?”, and I just, in all innocence said, “King James’ bible”. And he said, “I can’t give it you, the Queen owns copyright on that”. So you’d have to write to the Palace [Buckingham Palace] and ask to use it.

SA – Wow.

LS – How about that for a story. And if I had just said, when we had finished, I asked, “what should I have said?” and he said, “if you had said you though it up, we’d have given it you”. Not that it... and it is bootlegged [bootlegged] to buggery and it costs – I’ve shut a couple of people down who’ve been doing it and when they’ve asked what settlement I’ve wanted, I’ve just said for them to make a donation to charity, I’m not really bothered. But there’s that many people doing it, it costs a fortune in legals to sort it out. However, they’re really clever. They don’t put my name on it. If they put my name on it I could sue them. So I just send one letter saying, “look, come on be fair, it’s not yours and if you’re going to keep on doing it let’s make a deal and give some money to charity or something”. But it’s funny, people still want to find the original one. (discussion of people reminiscing about the t-shirt over the website). But it was a fantastic – it’s like anything, you can see the goods and the bads in it, I mean, for me, I think the deterioration of The Hacienda and the gangs and all the horribleness and all the trouble we had in the shops with the stealing... Oh, you know, it was just horrible towards the end, but we’ve all got selective memories haven’t we? Just remember the good times, you

know. And why not? We don't want to sit and remember the bad times. Anyway, what questions have you got, I feel like I'm dominating this conversation.

SA – No, that's good, what you're saying is really useful. So.... Just on the same subject of the t-shirts, the Sixth Day t-shirts, you had a back print on them. Was there a reason for that?

LS – Yeah, I had so much to say really. And I was going to do another t-shirt where it was the cherub and it said Manchester, Created in Heaven", you know, and we said, "well, let's do it as a back print", 'cos then, when we were doing them, it was pennies to have another print put on the back so that's how it came about. Where it moved on from that when we had all that trouble with Anderton [Grater Manchester Police constable James Anderton led a campaign to close bars and nightclubs in Manchester]. The police cop, God's Cop [known as "God's Copper" because of his vocalness about his Christian faith. The Happy Mondays recorded a song about Anderton called *God's Cop* (1990) Factory. Manchester, England], shutting the clubs down and everything, that's when I did the Seventh Day one, 'cos when I went back to sort of thinking about it, I thought "oh, the seventh day.. on the seventh day, God rested", and that's when I put *And on the Seventh Day the Clubs Closed and God Stayed Cool*. And that was having a go at Anderton. You know, because at that time it was difficult to get Sunday opening for a club. So that's how that came about and on the back of that I just put, *Manchester: Party Heaven*. So the religious thing was always just a bit tongue in cheek. And humour to go with it, which seemed to work well with people and I did seem to get one or two people who kicked off [slang for causing an argument or fight] and I just let them get on with it.

SA – There seemed to be an undertone of humour in a lot of the t-shirts.

LS – Yes. Yes there was wasn't there. Some clever designs started to come out. It was like us all using the Smiley face. That's only just been registered by the granddaughter of the guy who drew it. You can't just go and use Smiley faces anymore, whereas then, nobody cared. A Smiley face, whatever. But, who'd have thought you'd have a copyright on that, at the time (discussion of smiley faces and their use as emotions in mobile phone and social media communications. Also copyrighting.) One of the other t-shirts I've been asked to bring back, I don't know if you remember it? The Born, Return, Exist and Die?

SA – In The North? [The t-shirt is printed with *MANchester. Born in the north. Exist in the north. Return to the north. Die in the north. England*]

LS – Yes, well there’s an interesting story behind that one, now that one is the one time where I became political with it. And it was because I’d heard comments on the news about... Die in the north was about the life expectancy in the north compared to the south because the standard of living was far less. And the return to the north was when I had Affleck’s, the amount of students I knew that came to uni from Devon and would go, "I’ve passed my third year, all the best, I’ll see you in September", and the next year they would come back. A lot of them returned. So that was the story behind the "return" and "die", and the "exist" was the financial divide, born in the north, well that’s pretty obvious. So that was the story behind that one. And then one of the best ones I’d ever done was just the *Manchester, England*. But they like everything else sort of faded, you know.

SA – yeah. But it was definitely about being proud of Manchester.

LS – I wasn’t, it wasn’t... Someone had a go at me once about that and I said to... it was in an interview... and they were saying, "you obviously don’t like Liverpool", or something like that and I said, "where’ve you heard that from mate? Because if you go to Liverpool and they are the most fiercely proud people in the world. All I’m doing is I heart Manchester, I love Manchester. I’m proud to be from here, I’m not saying I don’t like anywhere else. And that’s your interpretation of it". That’s all it was. You know, so I’ve had to get over that barrier. You know, it’s not where you’re from, it’s where you’re at. And I’m at Manchester. And that’s all it was. Because we used to get a right kicking, especially at the time of Thatcher and everything else. That’s, that’s when that came about.

SA – Mmmm. And what else did you sell in Identity?

LS – I did t-shirts and flares, and dungarees.. Big baggy jeans, when we went away from flares and went onto parallels. There was a lot of stuff from Bayliss and Knight... Erm... At that time, because there wasn’t the infrastructure so if someone came in and said that they’re doing this range of tops, I’d buy them, and probably they’d be poor quality, but I’d think that I’d give them a go, you know, give them a chance and sell them, you know, local designers but even from Birmingham, they’d come up. They’d do a jersey top with a hood and a Smiley face or a pyramid or something, or whatever was happening and I’d be "yeah, I need to sell it at this, this is what I can give you, can you make money out of it?" I always though I was fair there. There was a lot of other bits of stuff but the denim and the t-shirts. Which is your regulation outfit really isn’t it?

SA – Yeah.

LS – You know.

SA – Yeah. And you don't know where the baggy thing came from really?

LS – No, it just developed. I think credit to Joe Moss and Phil Wildbourne, the jean people, they probably, sort of developed it from that really, because I think what it was really, was we just put them in the shop and tried them, and it just happened. I think it was a modern take on the '60s flares, which is our interpretation of being rebellious really. So it was just something that developed. The parallels. I'll tell you where I think it came from. Parallel pants that the Northern Soul lads used to wear. I think that's where it came from. You know, that's amazing that, to think that, where it's come from. 'Cos that high waistband, you know, we were all talking one day, because the Northern Soul never really went away. That's where it came from. They had parallel pants and we did parallel jeans. (Discussion of contemporary Northern Soul and Stanley's current disc jockeying.)

SA – I've read somewhere recently that the reason that House music and the Rave scene was able to take off so easily in Manchester was because of the Northern Soul scene. That white men were more ready to dance because of this, rather than just propping the bar up...

LS - Wow. Yeah. That's brilliant. I'll give you that.

SA – Do you think this was the case? Or did it have more to do with the drugs being taken?

LS – Don't forget there was drugs on the Northern Soul scene. Like all music.

SA – Were they different drugs? The same drugs?

LS – I think the priority [for Northern Soul] was dancing followed by the drugs. But I think in the '80s, it was the drugs followed by the dancing. Without a doubt. Because if you'd do the drugs you'd dance.

SA – So when you were DJing, did you play different types of music?

LS – I was very fortunate that where I used to play, I was just down the road from the Hacienda in The Venue [Whitworth Street] and when The Hacienda thing started, I asked, "what road do you want to go down?" and they were like, "well, we don't want to compete with them", and the funny thing about it, someone told me this the other day and I never realised that my policy on a Friday night was Indie. But I used to play a bit of Northern Soul, a bit of – you see, I love everything and it was a great venue, a great eclectic crowd. But we became the place that you'd go

to if you couldn't get in The Hacienda, you'd go there 'cos it was just 10 yards away and you could get in. and the story is within.... 'cos not everyone was into the Rave, and within six weeks we had our own queue. And it worked well for about two years. They did what they did and even The Hacienda heads used to come down after time to listen to me because I used to finish with Dub Reggae 'cos all the doormen were black but the manager just used to say, "just do anything you want". You'd go in there one night and you could listen to everything from Public Enemy [American hip hop group] to Motorhead [British heavy metal band]. And because I'd had experience as a mobile DJ I knew how to handle a crowd. Because if you talk about white men dancing, most lads are knackered after three or four dances (laughs). And I could play the music to knacker them out and when they were flagging I'd change genres and it wouldn't be a sudden change, I'd go from something like The Smiths to Elvis [Presley] and then Aztec Camera [Scottish post punk/New Wave band] and then New Order and Joy Division, probably one or two rave and then I'd drop down to Public Enemy and stuff like that. And I was a control freak and I'd set my stall out for four hours. I never used to go to the loo or anything, it used to kill me by the end of the night. And that's why... There were some proper Rastas [Rastafarians] in the corner, Kevin and Roy, and at the end of the night when the door men were in I used to play Dub Reggae and I used to specialise in doing cover versions, reggae cover versions of famous songs, and I remember looking out of the booth once and there were these Psychobillies once, these Psychobillies, there were these Disco Dollies [women who would dress up to go out, normally go to a mainstream night club], who'd just come in by mistake and these Rastas. And the place was just rocking. You know what I mean. (Discussion of current DJ employment.)

SA – So you said earlier that you were out and out with a colleague, did you tend to hang out with who you worked with?

LS – Yes, basically.

SA – It was very much a scene?

LS – Yes, it was. The Affleck's crew, because that was the buzzing place at the time, so yes.

SA – Would you definitely say that Affleck's was at the centre of the scene?

LS – Absolutely. You should have a blue plaque on the wall there to the people who owned that. I know the council never liked them but you've got to be honest, if you hadn't have had Affleck's, you'd never have had Oldham Street would you?

SA - No.

LS – And okay, whatever gets said about James and Elaine, that they were rip offs, whatever they did, they were a big part of creating the Manchester thing. And they get very little recognition.

SA - Who are they?

LS – The original owners are Elaine Walsh and James.... Him and his brother used to have James and Peter the hairdressers, which is still there today on John Dalton Street [city centre Manchester]. James and Elaine they were called [Elaine Williams and James Walsh], they had the antique place on Butter Lane, if you remember that, at the side of Kendals [department store, Deansgate, central Manchester]. They were like throwbacks from the '60s. They were proper right on, lets everyone have a go and have a good time and the council hated them for it because they hadn't though of it and they had to battle tooth and nail to keep that place open. And without them – yeah, sure you'd have your music scene but you wouldn't have your Dry Bars [Factory records owned bar on Oldham Street], they brought, they were the magnet to that area. Can you imagine what it would look like, the Northern Quarter now? [fashionable area of city centre Manchester that Affleck's Palace is in]. so as far as I'm concerned, no Affleck's Palace, no Manchester music scene, definitely no Northern Quarter and I don't think the Madchester scene may have been as big as it is. Where would people have gone? I mean, I get emails from people saying, "do you remember, I used to come and hang around the shop on a Saturday". People used to hang around Affleck's all day. They'd get on the train from Stoke-on-Trent and come up.

SA – Do you think – I mean, the problem was there wasn't that many other places to buy the stuff.

LS – No, absolutely not. And that's another thing, where could you go with a creative outlet? Where could you go to sell it? That's why I used to take on a lot of the local designers. Have a go, you know. So definitely, credit needs to be done to them.

SA – So you wore what you sold as well?

LS – Absolutely. And very proud of it. (laughs)

SA - You still are doing (laughs) [referring to the t-shirt Stanley is wearing of his new t-shirt label, Ape Shit]. What did you observe others wearing?

LS - Err... It was all a bit of a blur at the time. What was other people wearing?... You had your hip hop crew, that was coming through, with them Troop [heavily branded training shoes and clothing, popular in the late '80s] tracksuits and Run DMC [hip hop group] issue without any laces in, and little things like that were coming through. Because the sort of Hip hop thing had always been there but I think that as the Rave scene started to think, "its getting a bit young now", your mature people started to get into your Rap and your Hip Hop. But they'd always been cool, its like the skateboarders, the people into Hip hop were cool. And its still cool today, underground, you know the skate kids are the ones who are really cool.

SA - What about at The Venue, when you said you looked out one night and there was the Rastas, and those girls...

LS - The Disco Dollies, yeah. The Psychobillies and everything.

SA - Was that a common thing?

LS – For The Venue it was. Its what we created there because the door policy was like, you're not going to cause trouble are you? No? Well, come in then. Do you like all types of music? Yeah? Well come in then. And there was no... "Awww you're playing too much Reggae", for example, because I used to master it but it was crazy. It was just one of those unique clubs that will go down the annals of history where it was just bonkers. And at the bar you'd have the boozers, who'd like to listen to The Smiths and they might have a bit of a shoe shuffle when The Smiths came on, you know what I mean, and it was all there. It was all happening and it was great. And it lasted for a few years and then the club shut and the Economy went shit and everything went shit and it was horrible.

SA - Yeah... Would you say... you used the term "mis-matched" before...

LS – Yeah

SA – Would you say that was common across the whole scene? Or was it something that was particular to The Venue?

LS – I think it was just to The Venue because where your Psychobillies would wear the German army vests, you know, with the Docs [Dr. Martin's boots] on, you know, tattooed, they were doing ink before anyone else thought about it, and your Rastas were pretty uniformed with the tracksuit and red, gold and green [representing colours of Ethiopian Flag], and you'd have the flares, and then you'd have the skinnies, black drainpipe and the Morrissey thing. I wish I could have got some photos of that lot. I'm sure there must be some out there. I'm sure it was

going on elsewhere, but you'd have somewhere like Corbierres [half Moon Street, city centre Manchester] who would have all your Indie kids, but I think The Venue just brought a lot of people together. Well, it did. Because of the door policy and the music policy.

SA – And were people taking drugs there?

LS – Ermmm... I think later in the day they were. I don't think it was quite as prominent there because it was quite a boozers night club, you know, but I'm sure as time went on but if you wanted to do the drugs you went to The Hacienda. Because if you were doing drugs and you wanted hard music that's where you needed to be. Needing it hard (laughs). Bang bang bang, really. Imagine playing *There is a Light That Never Goes Out* [The Smiths, 1992] when you've just done an E, you know (laughs). Not good.

SA – So you maybe had a bit more of an Indie vibe...

LS – Yes. Without a doubt. Because that's how I started off. We'd go with The Smiths and whatever else was happening at the time. Dave Haslam [Disc Jockey and journalist] was doing his thing at The Boardwalk, you know. But that tended to be a bit more cultured. I was always more commercial wherever I went. Commercial with my music, commercial with my clothing, you know what I mean. Because I never really understood these cliques and trendy and all that, "I'm only going to get six of those because I don't want everyone wearing them", I say, "let's get 100 in and make a load of money", you know, I'm quite proud of that it's a market trader mentality, you know, Mick and Darren were very specialised about it and what they did. I used to say to them, "do you make any money you two?" (laughs) when they'd be "oh we've just got these trainers in from New York, we've only got seven pairs". And I'd be, "yeah, great" (laughs). I've never really got that. (Discussion about Mick Anderson, seeing people from the past and DJing in current times.)

SA – Obviously, the '60s played a big part in the Madchester scene.

LS – Yeah. Its where I got a lot of my influences from. You know, because of this movement of people and rebelling. The drug culture. It was so reminiscent of that time. That's why I did that t-shirt and Wilson clocked it and asked what was behind it and I said, "well, when you think about it, its no different that what you saw in the '60s, the movement of people, the drug creation, the dancing". And do you know what, he was having it [he agreed]. But it was the modern take on it. The house music was the Psychedelica, or whatever it was at the time, you know. (Interview is halted while Stanley takes a phone call.)

SA – What did you observe other people wearing, you talk about the baggy thing and t-shirts. Was there anything else?

LS – To be honest with you, no. It was all t-shirt based. The Soul II Soul thing, and then the football thing came through. Barcelona and Brazil. That was quite... that fitted in with it. And something a bit different, but there was no one wearing structured garments or anything like that. It was all just loose, casual and free. Which the baggy thing was.

SA – When did that happen? When do you think that started?

LS – Within about six months. Because the euphoria started and the right heads [people] stated to think, “Oh, I want to do something a bit different”. The football thing came through, I remember the Brazil shirt used to sell well. Hundreds of them.

SA – Why do you think that was?

LS – Erm. I’ve no idea really. I just think that people were so open minded about things. I think it broke down a lot of moulds of fashion, you know, because people would have a go at anything really, you know. Because ermmm... because I think that baggy thing and that casual thing just broke a lot of moulds really. So it went onto the football thing, onto the baggy thing, onto The Happy Mondays, onto whatever. Stuff like that. So yeah, there was a couple of football shirts that we used to sell a lot of. The Barcelona shirt and the Brazil shirt. Ermmm.... Then there was the batik thing, there was a kid who came up from London who was importing stuff from Tibet and it was all those smock tops and is it called batik? When the fabric has those designs, because that was crazy. It was going crazy. It was like, “oh that’s mad. Fucking hell. Let’s try that, that’ll sell well”, you know, so we did really well with that.

SA - So people weren’t afraid of colour then.

LS – No they weren’t. They weren’t afraid of having a go.

SA – Because Brazil is yellow and green and then Barcelona is red and blue...

LS – Yes. Errr... The batik thing was loud, you know. Ermmm... And then I think what happened was, when Acid House sort of kicked in as well, it was, I don’t know if London started it or whatever, but there was that kind of luminous thing. You know, like the day-glo sticks. But then there was the day-glo t-shirts and people

wearing safety vests and all that. It just started to evolve and there was no structure to it. You know, if someone came in to the club with a safety vest with Rave written on the back, we would be like “right that’s it, we’re all going to do them!”. It was great. People were just so creative, it was brilliant.

SA – And you said that people started to become more casual, when would you say? About '87-ish?

LS – Yeah. I would say by '89 they were totally casual. I would say they started to break the barriers down. But '88 was the year. I can even give you a date. The 12th of July.

SA – Right

LS – And that, for me that was, when we had the shop in Affleck’s. It was summer, Oldham street was mobbed. We’d taken the biggest takings we’d ever taken. Right. All on a Saturday afternoon. Me and all the staff had dropped an E in the shop. It was fucking crazy. And we had bagfuls of money. Bagfuls. Thousands. Selling loads of stuff. As soon as it was going on the rails they were buying it. It was mental. Where’s it all gone? I don’t know. I just know I ain’t got it anymore (laughs).

SA – (laughs). So the 12th of July.

LS – Yes. To put a date on it. I would say that was the height of it. For me it was. It was a lovely day, the streets were mobbed, we were taking the biggest takings we’d ever taken and it was just. Everyone was partying. So if you needed a date, I’d go for 12th July 1988.

SA – Haircuts?

LS – Oh well... Obviously I’m quite famous for the Super Mario look [character from a computer game with dark hair and a moustache], but at the time I was trying... I did a t-shirt that said “Jesus had long hair”. I was trying... they still sell well as well, you know. And again they were saying, “oh, he’s down a religious route” and it wasn’t... you know, I’ve obviously got my beliefs but as a lapsed Catholic, as you get older and wiser you start to question stuff, but as I was saying to someone one day, he [Jesus] was probably the most outrageous rebel out there going. They caused that much of a stir they crucified him, ‘cos can you imagine, he’d be going, “right, we’re going to do this, that and the other”, and all I did was, someone had made some comment about hair, that was it, that Jesus had long hair and the other thing is Jesus turned water into wine, not the other way around.

So I had all these little comments that I'd been thinking as a kid. So again, it was the hippy thing, the big moustache. I was going for this proper '60s look, you know, and that went with it. Because it was like this hippy thing, this casual thing. It had to go with it, it couldn't be clean cut. Because that isolated you as a football fan or as a Skinhead [subculture deriving in the late 1960s from the Mod aesthetic but heavily influenced by the Jamaican Rude Boy style and music and was more casual. Named after the close crop hair style. The movement later took on fascist connotations], a Suedehead [a derivative of skinhead, with slightly longer hair (the texture of suede) and dressed more formally], whatever, you know. I always say something, you know, about that fashion era, it was about fun. I always used to say that when I'd decorate the shop and paint the windows all in black, you know, I just wanted the fun element in it. There was nothing serious about it. You know, oh its got to be this colour, its got to be that colour. Just get it on the hanger and get it sold, you know. Spray the window up with "Rave". Do you know why we put Rave on the window?

SA – Why?

LS – Because the police were filming the shop. What was going on. Because there was a bit of dealing [selling drugs] going on, and someone told us about that. And I saw this picture of Biba [London based fashion and lifestyle store in the 1960s and 1970s] from the '60s and they'd painted the whole window black but there was a peephole so you could look where the mannequin was, so rather than doing the whole thing, we put "Rave" on in big letters and they fucked off because we blocked the filming.

SA – Right. But then you're referencing the '60s there as well

LS – (laughs) Yes. That's right, yeah.

SA – Right. So they were filming.

LS – Yeah, what was going on. Because that was where it was happening. Our name kept coming up in police reports, along with Mike Pickering and The Hacienda, and Affleck's Palace, and Identity, and it was like... Because we knew the caretaker from the Methodist Hall across the road and he was like, "oh, the police are up there with a camera", and we were like, "eye eye". Not that we were up to no good. I mean dealing yeah, but nowadays everyone's a dealer aren't they. But that's why we painted Rave on the window. That's the story behind that.

SA – So you definitely think that there was a Madchester look. Do you think there is a Manchester look now?

LS – Yeah, I was interviewed once, when I was interviewed for Channel 4 and they asked if there was a look and I said that there was a regulation kit: the long hair, the baggy t-shirt and the baggy jeans and there was and I was promoting the shop and it worked because the next day the takings went through the roof. And they said to me, “oh, you’ve sold us out saying that”. And I went, “fuck off, sold us out”. Sold out. Who cares? You walked around Oldham Street and all you saw was baggy jeans and t-shirts. You know, that was the regulation kit, you know.

SA – Yeah. I mean, I dunno, you’ve said it just evolved from flares...

LS – Yes.

SA - ... comfy, casual...

LS – Yes

SA – just laid back really...

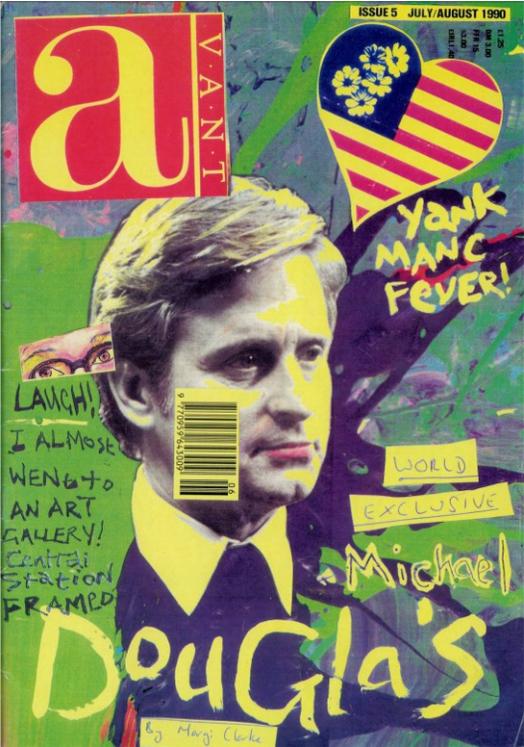
LS – Yeah, that’s right, ‘cos all sorts, ‘cos when you’re off your tits [high on drugs] you don’t get dressed up or anything, you’re in a mess anyway. So if you looked a mess it covered up a multitude of sins. (laughs) It looked the part, you know.

End of interview.

Appendix 2: Discography

1. The Smiths. (1986) *Panic*. London: Rough Trade
2. The Fall. (1986) *Mr. Pharmacist*. London: Beggars Banquet.
3. The Chameleons. (1986) *Swamp Thing*. New York: Geffen
4. Frankie Knuckles. (1987) *Your Love*. Chicago: Trax Records.
5. Inner City. (1988) *Good Life*. London: 10 Records.
6. Rhythm is Rhythm. (1987) *Strings of Life*. Detroit: Transmat.
7. New Order. (1989) *Fine Time*. Manchester: Factory
8. A Guy Called Gerald. (1988) *Voodoo Ray*. New York: Warlock Records.
9. 808 State. (1989) *Pacific State*. London: ZTT.
10. The Happy Mondays. (1989) *Hallelujah*. Manchester: Factory.
11. The Inspiral Carpets. (1990) *She Comes in the Fall*. London: Mute.
12. James. (1990) *Come Home (Flood Mix)*. London: Rough Trade.
13. The Charlatans. (1990) *The Only One I Know*. London: Situation 2.
14. M-People. (1993) *One Night in Heaven*. London: Deconstruction.
15. Sub Sub. (1993) *Ain't No Love*. Manchester: Rob's Records.
16. The Stone Roses. (1989) *Fool's Gold*. London: Silvertone.
17. New Order (1989) *World in Motion*. Manchester: Factory.
18. The Happy Mondays. (1990) *Loose Fit*. Manchester: Factory.

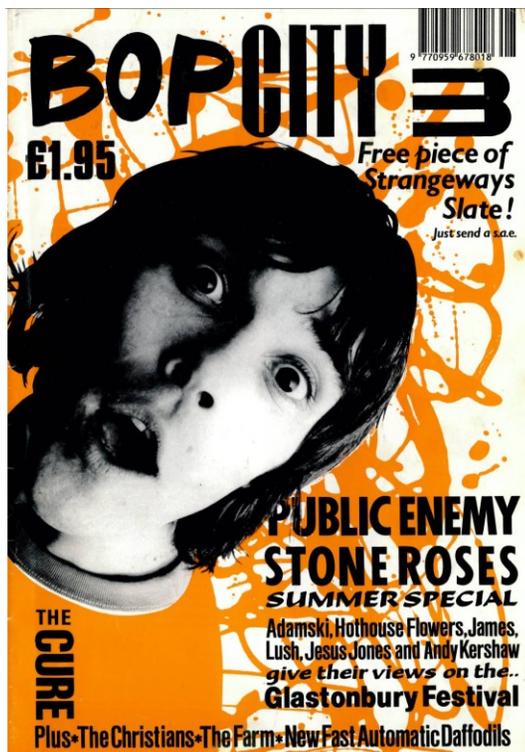
Appendix 3: Examples of Magazine and Fanzine Covers



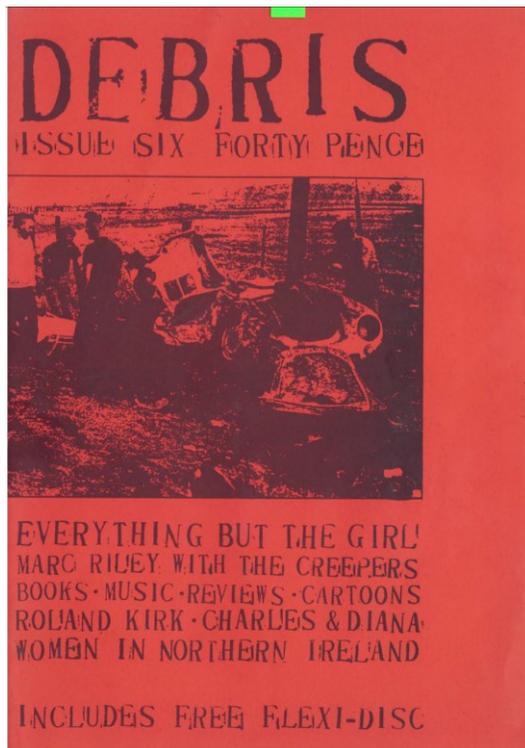
3.1. Avant, Issue 5, July / August 1990



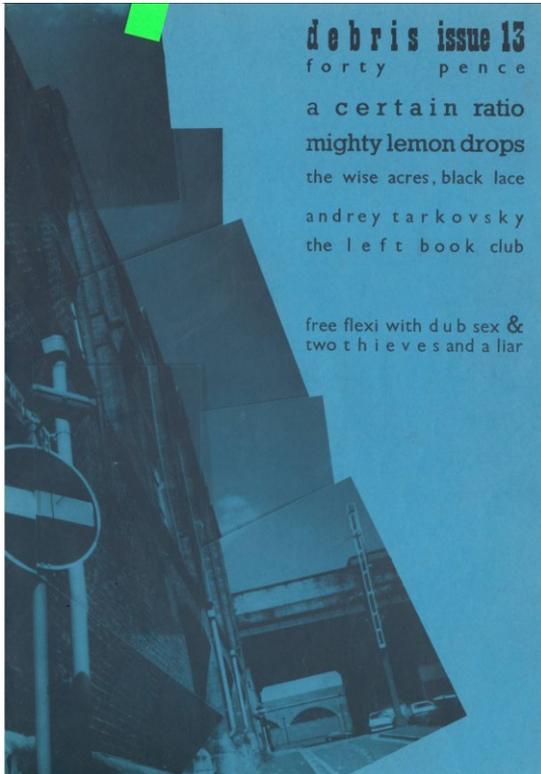
3.2. Avant, Issue 4, June 1990



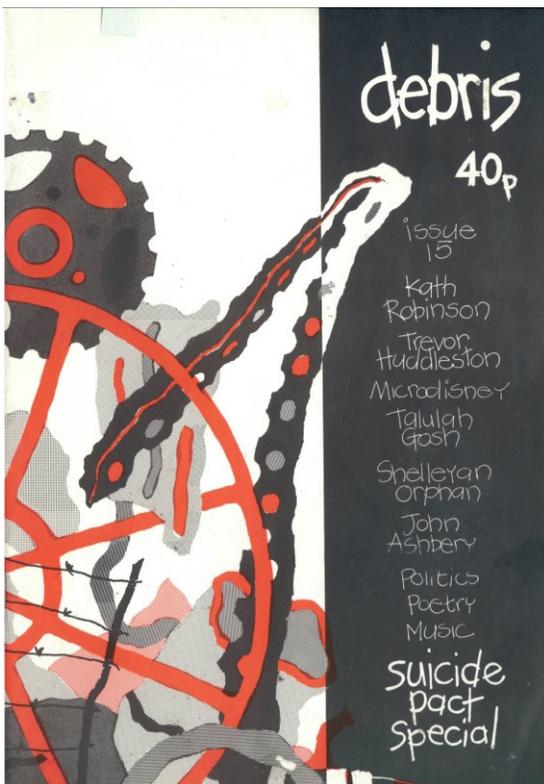
3.3. *Bop City*, no date



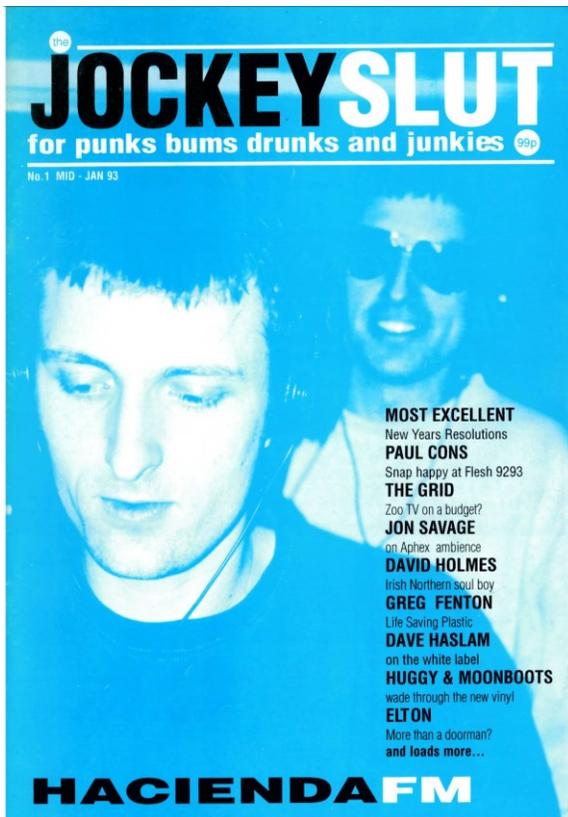
3.4. *Debris*, issue 6, no date



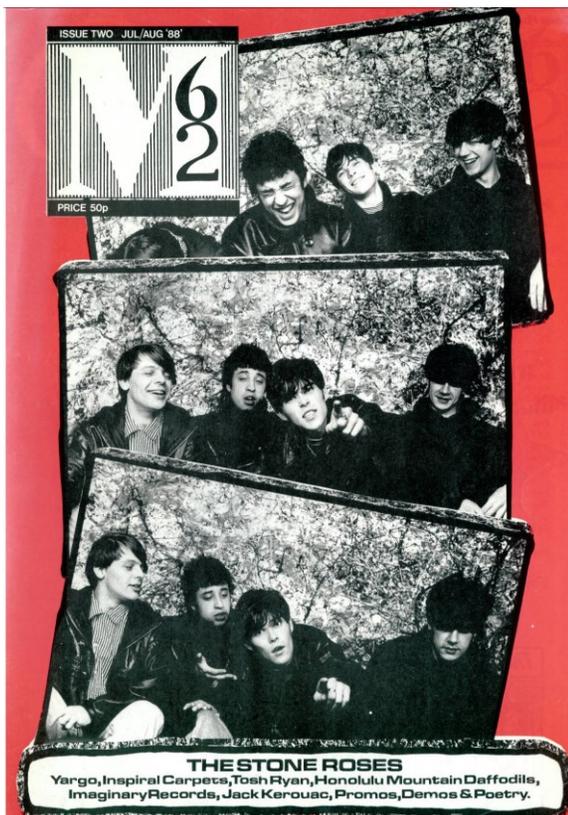
3.5. *Debris*, issue 13, no date



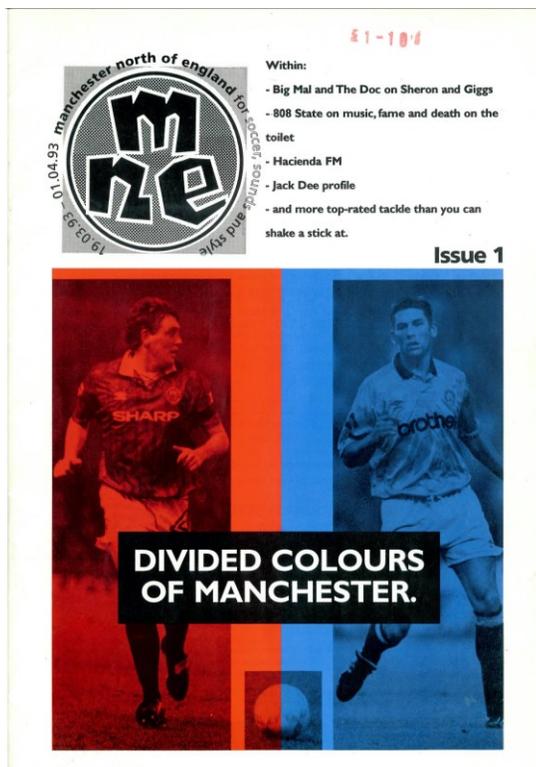
3.6. *Debris*, issue 15, no date



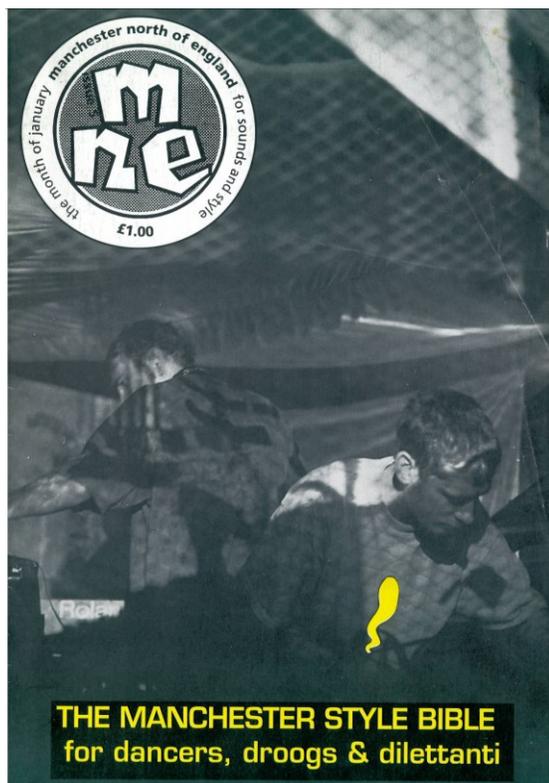
3.7. *Jockey Slut*, January 1993



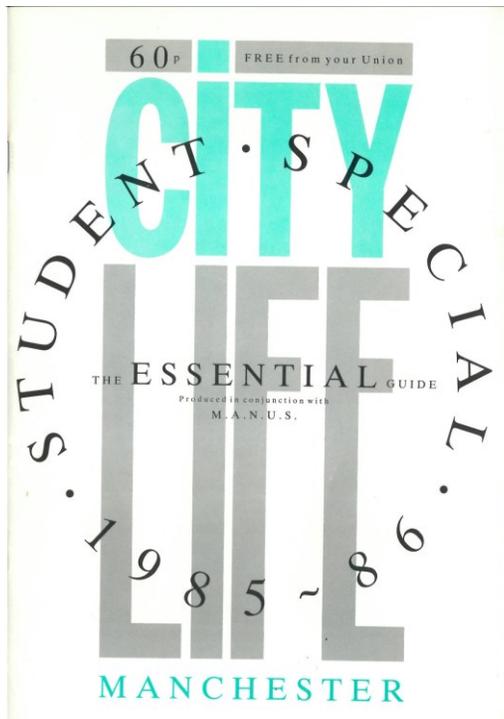
3.8. *M62*, July / August 1988



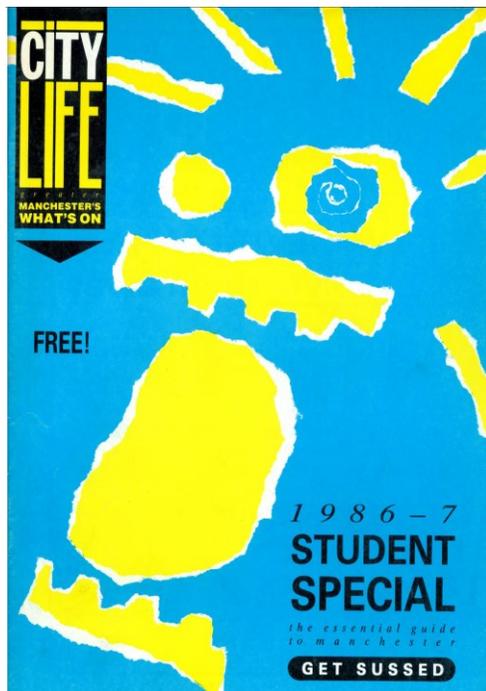
3.9. *MNE* (Manchester North of England) Issue 1, 19th March 1993 – 1st April 1993 edition.



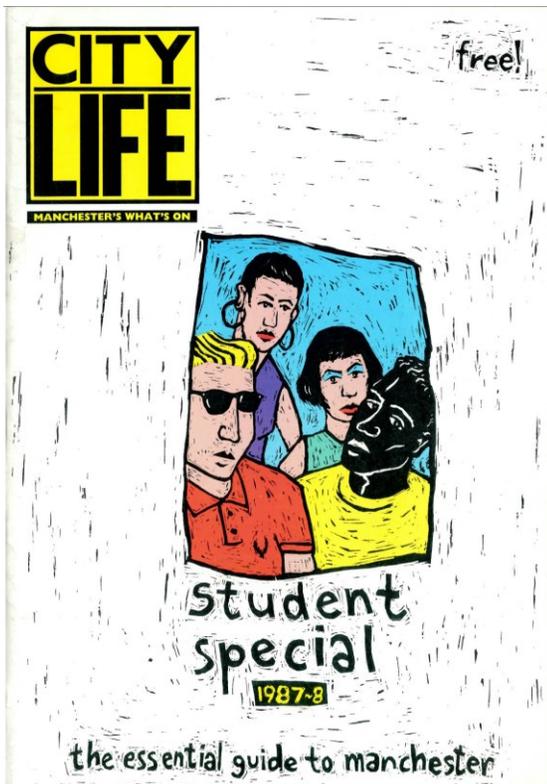
3.10. *MNE* (Manchester North of England) Issue 5, January 1994.



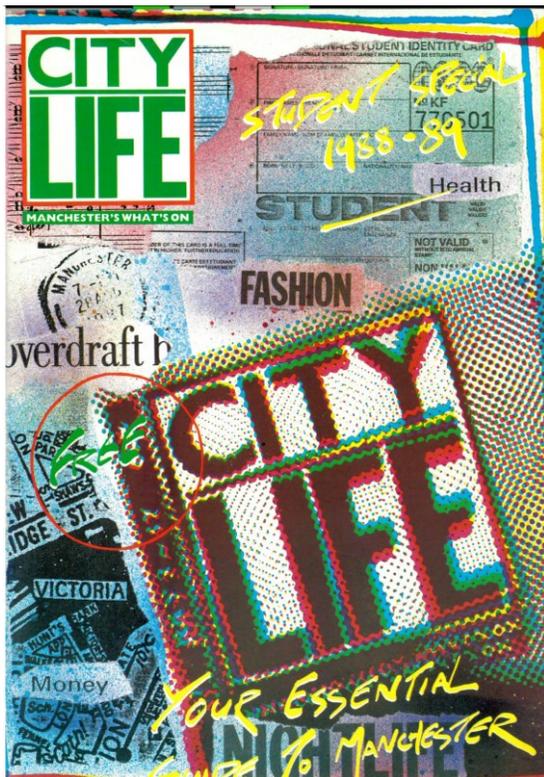
3.11. *City life Student Special 1985 – 86*, September 1985.



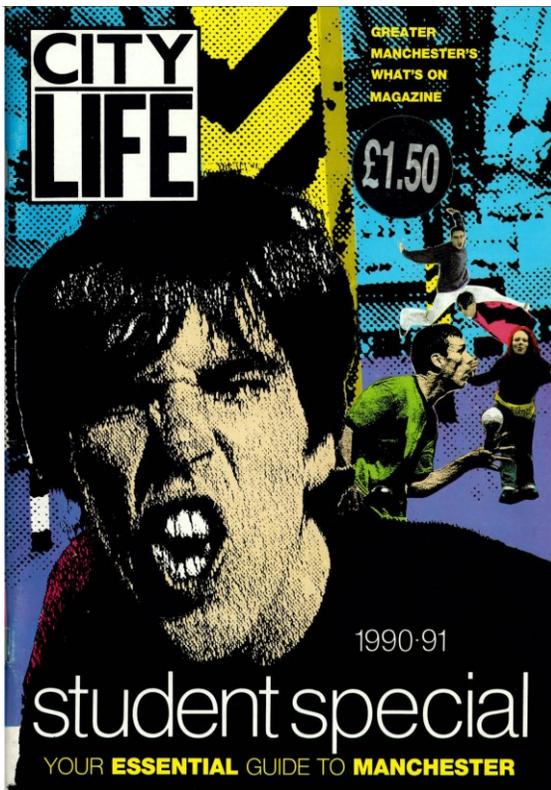
3.12. *City life Student Special 1986 – 87*, September 1986.



3.13. City life Student Special 1987 – 88, September 1987.



3.14. City life Student Special 1988 – 89, September 1988.



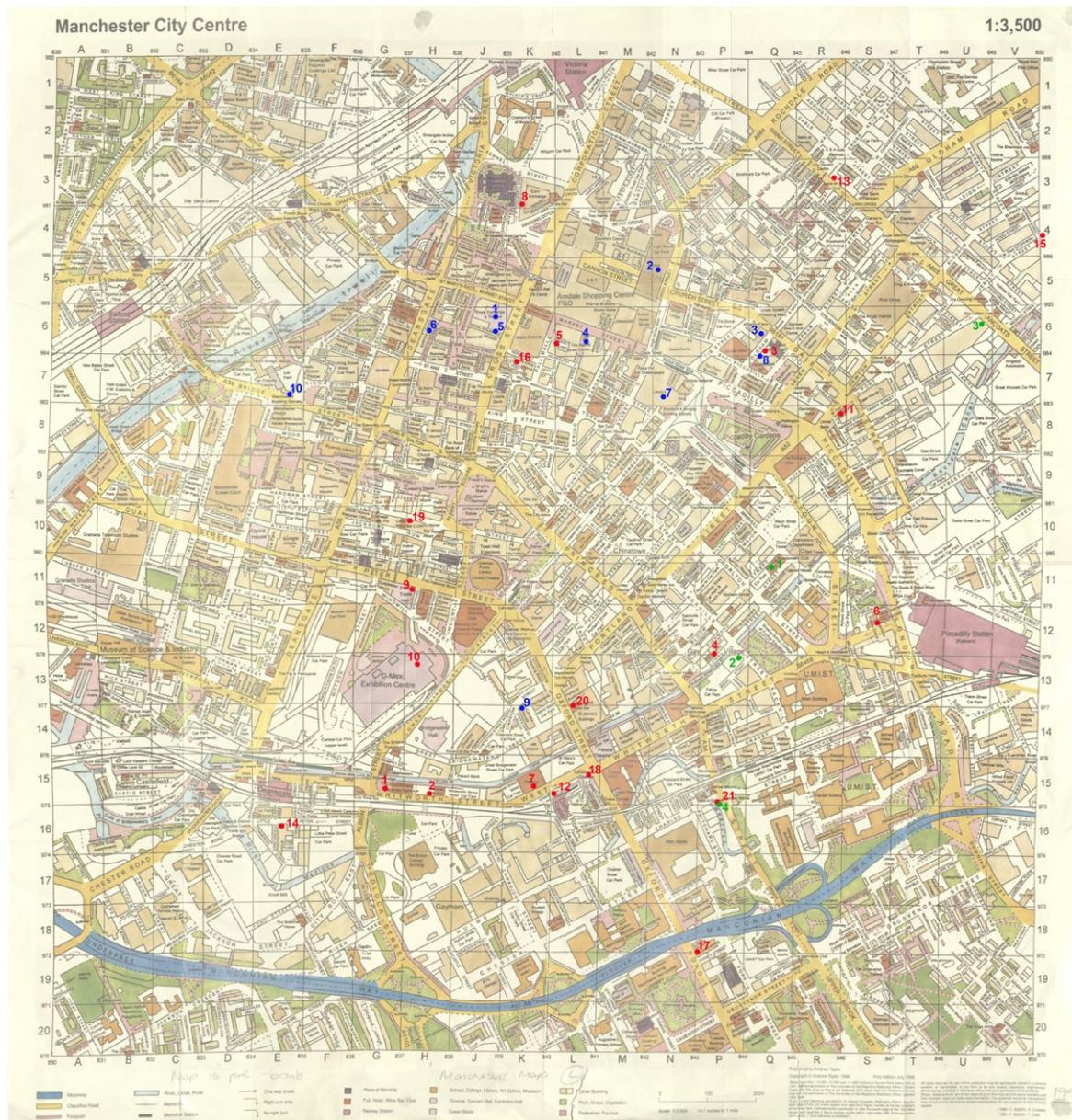
3.15. City life Student Special 1990 – 91, September 1990.



3.16. City life Student Special 1992 – 93, September 1992.



3.17. City life Student Special 1993 – 94, September 1993.



Appendix 3
Manchester City Centre Map with Key Locations.
 Adapted from Taylor, A. (1996).

Shops

1. Royal Exchange Shopping Centre
2. Gangway, Amdale Centre Market
3. Affleck's Palace (Identity, Exit, Wear it Out)
4. Underground Market
5. Wear it Out, Royal Exchange Arcade
6. Wear it Out, Barton Arcade
7. Lewis'
8. Picadilly Records
9. Yanks Records
10. Carl Twigg

Clubs, Bars and Venues

1. The Hacienda
2. The Venue
3. Dry
4. Manto
5. Corbierres
6. Twisted Wheel / Playmates
7. The Ritz
8. Pip's
9. Lesser Free Trade Hall
10. GME X
11. The Roadhouse
12. The Green Room
13. Polar Bar
14. The Boardwalk
15. Sanky's Soap
16. Pierrot's
17. Poly Disco / Manchester Polytechnic/Manchester Metropolitan University Student Union
18. The Cornerhouse
19. Devils
20. Rafter's
21. Paradise Factory

Business Headquarters

1. 42, Bloom Street, Baylis and Knight Headquarters pre Summer 1987
2. 42, Sackville Street, Baylis and Knight Headquarters from 1987 to 1989
3. 104, Great Ancoats Street, Baylis and Knight Headquarters from 1989 to 1998
 (Also the headquarters for designer/brands Sue Barnes and Swell Guy, graphic designers Johnson Panas and Grand Central Station, and music video makers Bailey Brothers).
4. 118 Princess Street, Factory Records Headquarters (Later Paradise Factory nightclub)