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Madchester

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the ‘Madchester’ music scene that emerged from the English city of Manchester and the neighbouring city of Salford. The term ‘Madchester’ originates from the title of a 1989 EP released by the Salford band the Happy Mondays, ‘Madchester Rave On’ⁱ. The term ‘Madchester’ was enthusiastically embraced and accentuated by the music press of this period and was rapidly adopted as a shortcut to describe the alleged youth cultural zeitgeist of the Manchester music scene in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Champion 1990; Halfacree and Kitchin 1996, Haslam 2000). The Happy Mondaysⁱⁱ were arguably the figureheads of ‘Madchester’. Other notable bands that were bundled together as being part of a Madchester scene include The Stone Roses, The Inspiral Carpets, Northside, The Charlatans, New Order (who grew from the band Joy Division after the death of their singer Ian Curtis in 1980) and 808 State. Most of these bands had been active well before the invention of ‘Madchester’ and like many media-invented labels aimed at creating a neat and instantly recognisable product, the idea of Madchester grossly over simplified the complexities of the range of pop music being made in the Manchester area at this time. It also led to bands who did not neatly fit the Madchester paradigm to being overlooked or sidelined by the music industry. Although not a Madchester band *per se*, Oasis, who rose to fame in the mid-1990s are a band who have a strong linkage to the Madchester sound and spirit and are posthumously bundled together with Madchester bands at Madchester nostalgia eventsⁱⁱⁱ. Numerous biographies, academic conferences, publications and films focussing on these bands have been produced (notably *24 Hour Party People*, 2002, *Spike Island*, 2012 and the 2016 documentary about Oasis - *Supersonic*). The paradigm of ‘Madchester’ often encompasses both bands and Manchester’s House music club scenes (Rietveld, 1998) which also flourished in the late 1980s. Concurrently to the rise of the Madchester bands, Manchester was also noted for hosting a number of ground breaking House music club events. With the arrival of Chicago House music to the UK in 1988, Manchester’s Hacienda nightclub was widely acknowledged as being at the forefront of what is now known as electronic dance music culture (EDM). This was the era of rave culture (Rietveld 1998), the rise of ‘superstar’ DJs, the dominance of key night clubs and Manchester was a prime site for dance music culture in the UK. This fusion of both band culture and club culture gave the

notion of Madchester a sense of breadth and depth. The reference to 'rave' in the fabled Happy Mondays EP title symbolically linked rave culture to Madchester (and Manchester). There was a sense, arguably highly exaggerated by the media, that musical creativity was uniquely abundant in Manchester in this period. Factory Records played an important role in the Madchester story. The Happy Mondays were signed to Factory Records. Factory also owned The Hacienda nightclub which was one of the most high profile of EDM clubs of the period as well as owning key Madchester hang out, Dry bar on Oldham Street. Tony Wilson, one of the co-founders of Factory records, used his profile as a journalist and presenter at Manchester-based independent television channel, Granada, to support and promote innovative aspects of Manchester's music and club culture and was responsible for much of the city's creative output at this time (Savage, 1992).

In ways that echoed the intense media focus on mid-1960s 'Swinging London', the 'Madchester' phenomenon featured as a cover story in the US publication, *Newsweek* in July of 1990. This example gives a sense of just how well known the Manchester music scene was at this time. A sense of a local identity was a crucial element in this phase of Manchester's pop cultural history and a distinctly northern working class hedonism was prioritised in the lyrics, vernacular and style of dancing of bands such as The Happy Mondays, Northside and the Inspiral Carpets. The so-called Madchester scene helped to solidify a distinct sense of Manchester as hot bed of popular music-based creativity. It is difficult to pin-point precisely when Madchester ended but the heyday of the Madchester phenomenon runs from 1988 to the early 1990s. In 1992 The Happy Mondays broke up and the Stone Roses slipped out of the public eye for a while. Both these bands reform from time to time.

The 'Madchester' scene was defined by what Redhead describes as 'hedonism in hard times' (1993). The emphasis was on partying in the post-industrial, 'no future' city. At the centre of this partying was the newly arrived drug, ecstasy (3,4-Methylenedioxymethamphetamine or MDMA). The 'spectacular' drug taking of Happy Mondays and the ravers of Manchester's club culture were part of the fuel that sparked nationwide moral panics and the subsequent regulation of 'rave' lifestyles (culminating in the 1994 Criminal Justice Act). Sarah Champion, Manchester-based music journalist during the Madchester era summarised Madchester in the following way; *'White scallies put down guitars, picked up the groove. Indie bands released 12 inchers; clubs spun rock tunes. Happy Mondays' 'Hallelujah', The Stone Roses' 'Fools Gold''* (1992:41) and acknowledges ecstasy, which induces euphoria,

empathy and heightened sensations, as being a centrally important driving force behind the Madchester scene and highlights the fusion of 'indie' rock music with dance music. The so called 'shoe gazing miserabilist' sound that was attached to Manchester bands from Joy Division to The Smiths that immediately preceded Madchester was replaced by up-beat and highly danceable music.

The precursor to Madchester: Punk and Post-Punk

Before discussing the Madchester period in more depth, I will outline the immediate pre-history of popular music in Manchester because precursor local music scenes paved the way for Madchester to achieve the scale that it did. Like most music scenes, Madchester doesn't have a distinct beginning or end. It is important to see Madchester as emerging from the Manchester punk and post punk landscape.

Punk in Manchester provided a context and infrastructure that enabled popular music making to flourish in the city. Punk sparked enormous changes in the Manchester pop cultural scene (Nolan 2006; Savage 1991). The Manchester punk scene acted as an important focus point for bringing previously disenfranchised groups of people into contact with one another so that they could begin to take greater control over their cultural environment. As Savage notes, Manchester became the most important punk city outside of London (1991:298). The two concerts played by the Sex Pistols at Manchester's Free Trade Hall (in June and July of 1976) are ingrained in Manchester music folklore. There is a well-worn narrative that the effect of watching this iconic band inspired Manchester's youth to form bands of their own and create new spaces for alternative music across the city centre. Although the number of attendees at the Sex Pistols gigs was modest, the impact of seeing these bands is claimed to have had a powerful impact on audience members (see Nolan, 2006) who realised that you didn't have to have formal training to be in a band in this new epoch of DIY culture. The gigs were also springboards for bringing together individuals who were looking for an alternative to mainstream chart music and run of the mill night clubs.

A sense of a distinct Mancunian music scene began to surface at this time. The physical environment of the city was foregrounded in the lyrics and visual paraphernalia of Manchester's bands and a sense of a distinct local identity became significant. Gritty, rainy, damp industrial landscapes had long been synonymous with northernness and this helped to

strengthen this powerful sense of place. It is also crucial to note that in the 1970s and 1980s Manchester, like the rest of the north, was experiencing the impact of high unemployment and the ravages of deindustrialisation. Thatcher was elected as Prime Minister in 1979 and remained so until late 1990. Post-punk and Madchester happens against a back drop of Thatcherism, urban crisis, urban decay and the erosion of traditional opportunities for young people. The hard-edged grimness of a declining industrial landscape was opportune in generating angry post-punk sounds. The destruction of the urban fabric and the city's disused warehouses and factories provided ideal sites for bands to rehearse in and as backdrops for promotional videos. These spaces were brutal and melancholic. The widely held public opinion that the North was dour and depressing was embraced by bands such as Joy Division - they often sounded and looked miserable - but this was highly germane to the mood and spirit that they sought to convey. This melancholic bleakness was an important facet in the creation of a distinct Manchester sound and image. However this version of Mancunian creative output is very different to what would follow a few years later in the Madchester period.

The Manchester post punk scene had a symbiotic physical and symbolic impact on the environment. A sense of place was skilfully emphasised by seminal Manchester band The Smiths. In the early 1980s Manchester born (Steven) Morrissey (of The Smiths) wrote poetic and playful lyrics inspired by the sites and experiences of his hometown. He celebrated the quirky mundanity of the provincial city and shone a light on the nooks and crannies of Greater Manchester's urban sprawl. In terms of The Smiths' record covers he also resurrected (in black and white) visual elements of 60s kitchen sink iconography (Mello 2010), juxtaposing media images of traditional working class northernness with a new type of working class northernness which he himself embodied (Haslam 1992). So intense were The Smiths allusions to Manchester spaces and places that there is a vivid geographical sense of their 'soft city' (Raban 1974), a sense of their specific stomping grounds and significant places, which has subsequently inspired a flourishing pop tourism sector. The Smiths were also highly intertextual and frequently drew, either lyrically or visually, on other notable representations of Manchester and the North. A Mancunian form of 'northernness' became a powerful cultural currency for musicians from Manchester and its surrounding conurbation. Northernness became aestheticized (Milestone, 1996) and popular music was the dominant medium for this cultural imagining.

In the late 1970s and 1980s Factory Records (established in 1978) had an enormous influence on the changing cultural landscape of Manchester. In addition to helping retain bands of global significance such as New Order and The Happy Mondays within the cultural economy of Manchester, the company was also responsible for opening the world's first Situationist inspired nightclub, the Hacienda. Factory also made use of local art school talent and spearheaded an innovative and distinctive design aesthetic in their record sleeves and promotional material (see Chambers, 1992). As the 1980s progressed and the pop infrastructure became more developed it became possible to work in a way that was closely allied to the sphere of the Manchester music scene. Spaces such as the youth cultural retail space, Afflecks Palace, provided an important focal point for creative entrepreneurs. Affleck's Palace was based in a former department store (Affleck and Brown) and offered small retail units for hire. These units were cheap to rent and when the Government introduced the Enterprise Allowance Scheme in 1983 setting up a fledgling business was incentivised and saw the birth of a number of Manchester pop cultural businesses. Madchester fashion and paraphernalia were emerging from spaces such as Affleck's Palace and other independent fashion companies, record shops and records labels (many of which were clustered in the area now known as the Northern Quarter).

An important factor that signalled a sea change from Manchester post punk (Joy Division and the Smiths) to what would become known as Madchester was the arrival of the drug ecstasy (MDMA) (see Redhead 1993, Melechi 1993). This drug lightened the mood of some of Manchester's youth and the media cliché of Manchester as the centre of miserabilist music, was replaced with a new relaxed and hedonistic mood on the streets and even the football terraces (Redhead, 1991). The summer of 1988 (and also 1989) were nicknamed the 'second summer of love' with the notion that ecstasy had a similar impact to that of LSD on youth culture in 1967. 1988 saw the arrival of new forms of dance music culture fuelled by Chicago House music. Some 'indie' rock bands began creating music that also had a dance music feel. The Happy Monday's Step On is a prime example of a genre blurring record and is a significant Madchester anthem.

A Madchester habitus?

Having briefly introduced a pre-history of Madchester and some key features of Madchester itself I will now explore the emergence of what I describe as a 'Madchester habitus' (drawing from the work of Bourdieu (1984)) and will focus on key music performers associated with

Madchester to examine this claim. The transition from post punk to Madchester marked the transformation of the habitus of the Mancunian pop star from that of a rigid and reserved stance to a more relaxed self that was open to public displays of affection. A prime legacy of Madchester is that it was a cultural moment when a Manchester pop star prototype emerged. An instantly recognisable stereotype begins to form and pop stars of the Madchester era are foremost examples of this stereotype. Shaun Ryder, Ian Brown and Liam Gallagher feature most dominantly in discourses about Manchester music ‘icons’ and ‘legends’ (along with Factory records boss, Tony Wilson). Qualities that include irreverence, cockiness, hedonism and an off-beat local pride have become symbolically attached to these three prominent and celebrated Manchester pop stars. These individuals are repeatedly referred to in the marketing of the contemporary cultural offer of the city and are pivotal figures in the narrative of Manchester as a pop music city. There are many Madchester nostalgia club nights, music walking tours hosted by former musicians, tribute bands, Madchester t shirts, posters and a range of other merchandise still available for consumption.

Although the musical offerings of Madchester were consumed by a diverse demographic of fans, the producers and key representatives of ‘Madchester’ were overwhelmingly white males. Apart from the Happy Mondays’ guest vocalist Rowetta Satchell, these bands are entirely comprised of men. The networks of the key players of Manchester’s music scene, mapped by Crossley (2015), reveal male dominance in terms of both the performers and behind the scene players. As Gill (2003) has acknowledged most work on contemporary masculinities focuses on masculinity in terms of magazines and films. She points out that ‘There is little research exploring the connections of contemporary music with representations of masculinity, yet it would seem obvious that musical styles have a profound effect upon the ways in which masculinity is codified and lived.’ (2003:45). Madchester happens alongside debates about the rise of lad culture (Benwell 2003, Whelehan 2000). Key representatives of Madchester are portrayed in the media as possessing a form of masculinity that is seen as being closely aligned with new lad culture and also inextricably linked to the North and Manchester in particular. Smith (2016) argues that lad culture was particularly prevalent in the North due to the crisis of deindustrialisation; ‘many young men began to reject education; “what’s the point if there’s no job at the end?” This is where we can see the rise of 'laddishness'.’ As Gill notes, the new lad ‘is depicted as hedonistic, post- (if not anti) feminist, and pre-eminently concerned with beer, football and “shagging” women. His outlook on life could be characterized as anti-aspirational and owes a lot to a particular

classed articulation of masculinity' (2003:37). These are certainly traits that were prioritised in the public personas of the Madchester pop stars. The specialist music press, popular media and academic accounts have often acknowledged the culture of masculinity that pervades the Mancunian pop scene (Kallioniemi 1998). The pop stars who gained fame from the Madchester period, through to the rise of Oasis were represented as embodying a very distinct northern and Mancunian masculinity which was deliberately irreverent, cocky and chauvinistic. In his work on Oasis, Campbell says of the band; 'This invocation of archaic – and highly masculinized – archetypes was, moreover, echoed in the band's other performance media, such as record sleeves and song lyrics' (2012:18). These figures became icons in the rise of the 'new lad'. They regularly featured on the cover of new lad publications such as *Loaded* and on lad TV shows such as *TFI* and *The Word*. Campbell cites the work of Knowles on new lad literature which she describes as 'consciously immature and anti-intellectual, preferring a lifestyle of drinking, casual sex and "masculine" leisure pursuits – particularly football and violence' (2004: 569). Knowles goes on to argue that the new lad is; 'epitomized by Oasis singer Liam Gallagher'.

A distinct place-based form of laddish masculinity which is associated with the most high profile aspects of the Manchester music scene, materialised. Although it is 30 years since these bands first came in to the public eye, the subject position that they forged and which the media promoted, is still a powerful cultural force. The bands themselves are centred on what Wiseman Trowse has describes as 'laddish camaraderie' (2008:170). This is a formation based on close male heterosexual friendships. The bands are comprised of school friends and sometimes siblings. These close networks can be compared to gangs where loyalty, dress codes and codes of conduct are all important. As Savage observes; 'the Happy Mondays are the most archetypal with their gang-like couldn't give a damn attitude' (1997: 267).

The bands of the Madchester period such as the Happy Mondays, The Stone Roses and then a few years later, Oasis, created music and public identities that were powerfully linked with Manchester as a place. Key members of these bands display the recurring traits of what has emerged as an 'ideal type' of Mancunian pop star as popularised in the media. These three leading lights of the Manchester music scene are represented as having a number of characteristics in common. Ryder, Brown and Gallagher have the qualities and mannerisms that have come to symbolise the epitome of the Manc(unian) pop star. Their style, attitude and habitus are distinct enough to be instantly recognisable and easy to parody. Of course

these three individuals are as different as they are similar to one another. However media representations and discourse promote them as being typical ‘Manc lads’. Oasis, formed in 1991, are not a Madchester band as they achieved fame a few years after the height and hype of ‘Madchester’. However, there is little to separate them – especially in terms of the public persona they promote. Oasis were heavily influenced by the look and feel of the Stone Roses. In an interview with Ian Brown (lead singer of the Stone Roses) a journalist asks him whether he was annoyed that Liam Gallagher copied his stage persona ‘I take it as a compliment because he was only a 16-year-old lad when he saw us and we wanted people to get influenced by us, that was why we were doing it. The fact that someone did, and then took it massive, I get a buzz off it.’^{iv} The stylistic links between the Stone Roses and Oasis are clear and deliberate.

There is a distinct and easily recognisable habitus attached to the key pop stars connected with Manchester; Shaun Ryder, Ian Brown and Liam Gallagher. This public person is made up of a style of speech, bodily movement (style of walking and dancing), dress code and attitude that has been constructed as distinctly Mancunian. This habitus is easily recognisable and easy to emulate. This persona became dominant in the Madchester period and still remains a strong cultural idea.

There is a distinct way that these men move and inhabit space. They have cultivated a way of walking which is deliberately affected. Arms swing casually and the upper part of the body leans backwards. This is a swaggering walk which might have been relaxed by drugs – including ecstasy. This habitus contrasts sharply with that of the Manchester pop stars from the earlier, post-punk era. The pop stars from this era were defined as sensitive ‘shoe gazers’ and ‘miserablists’ and the dominant habitus of this era was reserved and taciturn^v.

Contrastingly, the Madchester pop stars move in a very relaxed way. Ecstasy has a significant role to play here (Collin 1998). Adopting the habitus of the archetypal Madchester male became a social affectation adopted by some music fans during the height of the Madchester period. For example, according to DJ Justin Robertson (quoted in Garrett 1999); ‘*all the posh kids from Cheshire...were suddenly going, ‘Alright, double top!’ and pretending they were from Ancoats!*’^{vi}. There was the cultivation of a locally specific style of walking (derided by the Viz comic as a ‘Manc Walk’). A spoof advertisement for a service that will provide instruction on how to master this walk is complete with an image of Ian Brown^{vii}, thus highlighting Brown’s status as an archetypal Madchester pop star.



Figure 1. Manc walk ‘advert’. Viz comic, 2000.

Brown, Ryder and Gallagher all have pronounced Manchester accents and these Mancunian accents are accentuated when they sing. They use ‘Madchester’ colloquialisms such as ‘top one’, ‘sorted’ and ‘mad for it’ in public appearances. Their fashion preferences share many commonalities. Style-wise these three men often draw from the fashioned described as Scally or baggy. As Savage describes; ‘the predominant look is a mix of terrace fashion and psychedelia: the Merseybeat fringe, the cagoule and 24-inch baggies of the Northern Soul fan, are put together with wild Day-glo and ethnic styles’(Savage, 1997:266). Similarly Mathew Collin describes the Happy Mondays as having ‘shaggy haircuts, ragged goatees, huge, lapping denim flares and training shoes. Gaunt, spindly Bez was their talisman, playing no instrument, just cavorting insanely on stage with a pair or maracas.....football casuals, Perry Boys^{viii}, scallies, lads from estates’(Collin 1998: 141). Football style is mentioned by both Collin and Savage and the links between football fandom and music in Manchester are intense (Redhead 1987). All three of our case study bands make their footballing allegiances clear. Paul Willis’ work on homology and subcultures is germane for exploring the Madchester case. In an analysis of Willis’ work on biker boys by Trondman *et al* (2011:578) highlight that the; ‘biker boys symbolize their conditions, positions and subjectivities, a form of culture is created with specific choices of motorbikes, handlebars, ways of driving, clothes, music, hairstyles, language, forms of understanding and emotional structures that bear a relation to and differ from the cultural forms of other groups.’ With the Madchester example there is a close homological fit between the habitus, drugs, music and visual style.

The impact of the style and habitus of these pop stars on their fans is powerful. A pop scene was generated that was recognisably Mancunian, ‘northern’ and working class (a combination that was enthusiastically fuelled by the media). This was in spite of the fact that many of the key players come from Salford, Cheshire and Lancashire and many were middle class (Milestone 2016). This distinctive style is still evident today. These bands are still hugely popular. They are frequently referred to as Manchester (or Madchester) legends. Key representatives of the Manchester pop scene – notably Shaun Ryder, Ian Brown and Liam Gallagher - each convey a similar and instantly recognisable Manchester pop star persona. Their Mancunian-ness is emphasised through vernacular speech (use of phrases such as ‘top one’ and ‘sorted’ for example), a bravado involving a lot of risk taking behaviour and the cultivation of a distinctively cocky attitude. This distinct habitus of a Mancunian pop star became evident from the late 1980s onwards and it did not emerge in a vacuum but was formed from numerous cultural influences. Of course the media constructed stereotypes of the Madchester pop star, which, like all cultural constructs, are exactly that. As Shaun Ryder argued in an interview with Guardian journalist Simon Hattestone; "The Shaun Ryder in the Happy Mondays isn't the real Shaun Ryder. It's a caricature. Always has been. We really wanted to be rock 'n' roll, so we became rock 'n' roll, and really good at it, but you pick up loads of layers and you completely forget who you are and what you are." The performance of this identity, whether mostly bravado or not, has been reproduced, circulated and emphasised to such an extent that it has become ‘naturalized’ and contributes to a discourse about a type of Mancunian pop star who is endlessly recalled and reproduced.

Chained to the kitchen sink?

To what extent can the Madchester lad be seen as a repackaging or reinvention of earlier Northern lad role models? I propose that the characteristics displayed in Albert Finney’s rendition of the character Arthur Seaton, in the film *Saturday Night, Sunday Morning*, are remarkably similar to those emphasised by Ryder, Gallagher and Brown. Research about gender and popular music remains scarce. I want to examine what the possible influences and role models might have been for the manifestation of such a confident and powerful form of localised masculinity and consider the linkages between the ‘angry young man’ culture of the late 1950s and 1960s and the Mancunian pop stars of the late 1980s and 1990s. With the arrival of the ‘Kitchen Sink’ novels and films (see Hill 1986) that were set in the north of

England, a new antihero was born – the ‘angry young man’. This figure came loaded with an attitude of anger and youthful rebellion. A new northern identity centred on youth was a dominant feature of films such as *The L Shaped Room* (1962), *A Taste of Honey* (1961) and *A Kind of Loving* (1962). Nowhere was this most new attitude more strongly evident than in the 1960 film version of the 1958 novel by Alan Sillitoe, *Saturday Night, Sunday Morning*, directed by Karel Reisz. The film version shows the antihero, Arthur Seaton, played by Albert Finney as a brooding, swaggering hedonist. His philosophy on life is to do as little work as possible and have a good time (often at other people’s expense). The memorable opening scene shows Seaton in the factory where he works delivering a monologue expressing his disdain for the system and those who follow the rules. The scene ends with Seaton’s now iconic phrase, ‘I’d like to see anyone grind me down, What I’m out for is a good time. All the rest is propaganda’. *Saturday Night, Sunday Morning* is set in Nottingham in the Midlands. Culturally and economically though the Midlands are in ‘the North’ in terms of the North South divide. The character of Arthur Seaton, more than all the other male representatives of the ‘kitchen sink’ cycle of films, appears to have caught the imagination of younger generations of Northern pop stars. It is well documented that Morrissey was a fan of this cycle of films and another northern band, The Arctic Monkeys took the title of their debut album *Whatever People Say I am, That’s What I’m Not* directly taken from the novel by Sillitoe that the film was based on. The music video^{ix} for the Oasis record ‘The importance of being Idle’ is blatantly a pastiche of a kitchen sink film whilst the music video for Ian Brown’s 2009 single, ‘Stellify’ recreates a scene from 1968 film *Charlie Bubbles*, focussed on a marching band against the Salford rubble. The film *Charlie Bubbles* is not a kitchen sink film having been made 5 years after the cycle of films ended and being shot in colour. However as with *Saturday Night, Sunday morning*, the film stars Albert Finney. The film is set in Manchester, Salford and surrounding rural locations. That Brown chooses to directly parody a scene from this film suggests an interest and pride in earlier representations of Manchester. Albert Finney, the actor who plays Arthur Seaton is also, coincidentally, like many key players in Manchester’s post punk and ‘Madchester’ music scene, from Salford^x. An interview with the late Tony Wilson shortly before his death (in 2007) gives a strong hint of the fact that people from Salford were well aware of their local cultural heroes; ‘when people asked where do you come from I’d have done what I did then, “I come from Salford”. And people would go “Ah, Manchester”, and it’s “No, it’s fucking Salford.” Albert Finney would have said that to you.....we come from Salford, and there’s a real pride about it’.¹ The new youthful subject position offered by figures such as Seaton opened up a new possibility

in terms of identity that remains highly appealing. The character of Arthur Seaton broke the mould, he didn't care about the future and lived for the moment. This attitude of nihilistic hedonism is clearly evident in aspects of the Madchester ethos. However, 25 years on the dreary unskilled factory work was replaced by dole culture and alcohol by heroin and ecstasy. What was significant about the kitchen sink films was that they focussed on youthful, northern, working class rebels who were dissatisfied with the values and attitudes of their parents. These films helped make being young and northern, cool. This was further reinforced with the arrival of northern pop bands, spearheaded by The Beatles. Campbell uses the lyrics from Oasis' 1994 track, 'Cigarettes and Alcohol' in the context of a discussion about Irishness, music and masculinity. He cites these specific lines as being important; 'Is it worth the aggravation/To find yourself a job when there's nothing worth working for?/It's a crazy situation/But all I need are cigarettes and alcohol!'^{xi}. I think we can also think about these lyrics in terms of the 'angry young man'. These lyrics are expressing exactly the same sentiments as Arthur Seaton emphatically vocalises in *Saturday Night, Sunday Morning*. There is a style and attitude that appears to symbolically link media representations of angry young men with the new lads of Madchester.

The Legacy of Madchester

The legacy of Madchester is far reaching. Madchester has been an important part of the narrative of Manchester repositioning itself as the 'Original Modern' city. Oldham Street, which during the Madchester period was the city's equivalent of Carnaby Street, is now the beating heart of the successful creative industries and hipster leisure hub, The Northern Quarter. On the other side of Manchester city centre a new arts complex, Home, is located in what has been named Tony Wilson Place. Manchester has the highest percentage of creative industries outside of London. There is a thriving pop tourism industry and booming night time economy. The notion of Madchester spearheaded one of the most powerfully imagined music scenes in the history of popular music culture. As I have argued, this scene, although centred on music was also about a distinct attitude, dress code and even a way of moving and speaking. Because of its richness and depth, like other notable music-based scenes and subcultures (notably punk and mod) it retains a place in the popular imagination long after the original moment of invention has passed. In the aftermath of the Manchester Arena bomb of 2017 the Oasis track 'Don't look back in anger'^{xii} became the anthem of the city's coping strategy. There is much to celebrate. However the laddish maleness of the Madchester era, and the popularity and longevity of this phenomenon drowns out other voices and naturalises

the '4 white boys in a band' formula that continues to dominate the live music scene. As I write this there is a rumour that Oasis are about to reform, the Happy Mondays are on tour and the Stone Roses played a series of sell out stadium concerts in 2017. Madchester does indeed rave on.

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ⁱThe exact origin of the term Madchester is contentious. As Fawbert notes '*The Happy Mondays released an EP entitled 'Madchester Rave On' with the idea apparently inspired by associates of Tony Wilson. The NME's subeditor Danny Kelly also claimed credit*' (Fawbert 2004:18).

ⁱⁱ The origin of the name the Happy Mondays is unclear. Shaun Ryder made this comment about the bands name in his 2011 autobiography '*I think it was Mark who actually suggested the Mondays bit. It's a terrible name for a band, really, but we all quite liked it for that reason. It's a bit cheesy a bit gay [sic] and it was king of the opposite of what we were like.*' (2011:45)

ⁱⁱⁱ At the time of writing a Madchester event at Bowlers in Trafford Park is being promoted. The event features tribute bands of the Happy Mondays, The Stone Roses and Oasis as well as DJ sets from Clint Boon of the Inspiral Carpets and Dermo of Northside.

^{iv}<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/profiles/ian-brown-you-ask-the-questions-316239.html>

^v A notable exception is found in the stage performance of Joy Division's Ian Curtis who had a notably captivating and gesticulating performance style. However Curtis' movement were jerky and visually jarring than the loose and relaxed Madchester habitus.

^{vi} A once-industrial district of inner city Manchester.

^{vii} You tube video instruction for how to do a 'Manc walk' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5d3sfkKDa30>

^{viii} Gangs of football casuals associated with Manchester and Salford – see Hough (2007)

^{ix} Another Oasis video that nostalgically references earlier cultural representations of Manchester and the north is the video for The Masterplan (2006) which depicts the band as Lowryesque figures.

^x Key figures including Tony Wilson, the Ryder brothers, John Cooper Clark and Mark E. Smith all hail from the city of Salford.

^{xi} The music video of this song conveys a strong sense of this. The video is shot in black and white which may be a nod to the 'kitchen sink' films. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SaeLKhRnkhQ>

^{xii} The title of this song makes a direct reference to 'angry young men' culture.