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Yorkshire Über Alles: An Ethnography of identity, class, and myth among first- wave Post-Punks.

Rio Goldhammer
Leeds Beckett University
11/07/2024

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines ideas of 'Yorkshireness' and how Yorkshire identity is constructed and negotiated for post-punks, with a specific focus on the Bradford group 1919 – the group that the researcher has been the vocalist for since their reformation began in 2014 – and from there a spiralling outward of other musicians of the post-punk era, which is usually considered to be between 1979 and 1984. In taking this approach, the thesis prioritises the voices of artists and groups with mostly limited commercial success and that, while important, have until this point escaped critical attention. Fundamentally, through the lenses of class and post-punk (sub)cultural memory, myth, and music, this research seeks to identify and unpack essential myths of Yorkshireness in constructed notions of self, place, and of individual and communitarian responses to the fundamentally inauthentic environment of the culture industry.

Much of the history of post-punk, either from a broad historical perspective or a specifically regional one, is usually written in terms of a specific group of stakeholders. Where the cultural output of the "north" is discussed, it has tended to be centred on Manchester and Liverpool: in Yorkshire's neighbouring – and historically rival – county of Lancashire. In the post-punk era, where Yorkshire *has* had critical attention, it has tended to focus either on Leeds' art-school groups or the electro-industrial acts of Hull and Sheffield. This leaves a substantial gap in knowledge of groups that are resolutely working-class, Yorkshire, *and* post-punk. Therefore, this thesis takes an ethnographic approach that prioritises the co-production of knowledge with working-class musicians, recorded as accurately as possible in spoken dialect, while autoethnographic field notes document the researcher's accounts of Yorkshireness in the international post-punk community. This work demonstrates the subcultural characteristics of Yorkshire identity, challenges the hegemony of larger metropolises in musical heritage, and elevates working-class contributions to post-punk discourse, while the ongoing negotiation of the mythologising tendencies of working as a musician provide a key original insight.

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This work is dedicated to Mark Tighe, Steve Madden, Kev Holroyd, and all the departed punks of Yorkshire.

WORKS PUBLISHED FROM THIS RESEARCH

Goldhammer, R. (2019a) Provincial Towns and Yorkshire Cities: Post-Punk Sounds, Suburban Escape, and Metro-Hegemony, in: Lashua B., Wagg S., Spracklen K., Yavuz M. (eds), *Sounds and the City. Leisure Studies in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan.

Goldhammer, R. (2021b) "Authenticity in an insider-in ethnography of post-punk". *Punk & Post Punk*, 10 (3): 439-461.

Goldhammer, R. (2022) Dance and Drink The Fenton: Fighting for Territory in Leeds' Culture Wars, in: Lashua, B., Spracklen, K., Ross, K., Thompson, P. (eds), *Popular Music in Leeds: Histories, Heritage, People and Places*. Chicago: Intellect, The University of Chicago Press.¹

¹ This publication is based on data collected as part of this research, though unlike Goldhammer (2019a; 2021b) is not part of this thesis.

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Permission has been obtained from subjects included in photographs and correspondence, while others have been redacted.

PLAYLIST



FIGURE 1 – SPOTIFY PLAYLIST

INTRO

I. PROLOGUE

I was recruited for the Bradford post-punk band 1919 by guitarist Mark Tighe, when he set about re-forming the group in 2014 after a 30-year absence. Since then, we've released 3 studio albums – among other records – and performed in dozens of countries in Europe and America.

When I enter the field at the start of chapter 1, I am also placed at the centre of a world that had existed long before I did. Not as a researcher, initially, nor any kind of impartial observer, but a frontman: tasked with not only contributing to the musical legacy of a group but being its face and its voice. As such, a unique opportunity for research was presented. I was to be immersed into a world of musicians that had paved the way for my own generation, that had spawned new genres and been the peers of household names, and whose impact had encouraged a renaissance, decades from their heyday. I would form relationships with those at the centre of this world, as well as those for whom their music had, and continues to, play a distinct role in their identity. At the same time as I was learning about this world, and living in it, I also had the opportunity to document my own contribution to it: something that provides an important challenge for the nature of this kind of research, and in turn also the chance to produce something unique in the field of music ethnography.

These are the stories of the notable, but lesser-documented participants of Yorkshire post-punk.

II. CONTEXT & RATIONALE

The starting point for contextualising this thesis is O'Brien's "Can I have a taste of your Ice Cream?" (2011), an article named after the opening line of Delta 5's "Mind your own business" (1979) that explores the gender politics of Leeds in the post-punk era. This is one of the earlier sociological works on the genre specifically within Yorkshire, and its explicit focus on radical feminism in the era of the Yorkshire Ripper – a serial killer that targeted women in predominantly West Yorkshire in the 1970s and 1980s – allows for a significant widening of scope for research into post-punk at this time and in this place. Indeed, the violent atmosphere and post-industrial backdrop are significant contributors to the mythology of post-punk and place, and O'Brien's article is of particular importance to the parallel exploration of masculinity in chapter 3. But while O'Brien's lens was developed significantly in Butt's *No Machos or Pop Stars* (2022), the need to specifically consider what it means to be a Yorkshire post-punk has only grown, and this is due to an entrenchment of the hegemony of Leeds' art-school groups in Yorkshire post-punk history. This is something equally evident in Reynolds' *Rip it Up...* (2005): a book that remains of use, and indeed is utilised by O'Brien, but that has little in the way of critical focus, while Trowell's (2017) work on the Futurama festival, Mazierska's (2018) book on northern popular music, Schofield & Wright (2020) on the Sheffield sound are important scholarly works on relevant genres in relevant geography, but which do not seek to define Yorkshiredness specifically.

Yorkshire, a county with a population larger than Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall, and with similarly pronounced cultural and historical distinction – though often, but not always, stopping short of nationalism – is a culture in which notions of identity and belonging are central. However, in the culture industry, where musical memoryscapes are packaged and sold, there are contradictions of place, belonging, and genre, that are magically resolved in pursuit of cultural and tourism capital. Crucially, there is both the prominent idea that to

belong to Yorkshire one must have been born within its boundaries (see Hopps, 2010), and that “the broadly agreed, self image of Yorkshiremen” (Light, 2009, p. 504; Marshall, 2011, p. 50) that is implicitly white and working-class (see Fletcher, 2011; 2012; Carrington, 1998; 1999), all of which is contradicted by the prominence of groups whose members predominantly arrived in Yorkshire as art students.

There is, too, an oppositionality that is clearly evident in narratives of Yorkshireness, which is visible in Marshall’s thesis, *The Creation of Yorkshireness...* (2011), an important reference point for the opening chapter thanks to the generalised characteristics of Yorkshire identity highlighted. He states that identity “can be constructed in direct and explicit opposition to an ‘other’” (p. 55). Oppositionality is an important aspect of Yorkshire identity creation and is at play throughout micro-regional identities within Yorkshire, as well as asserting difference within British, English, and northern English identities (e.g. North vs South, Yorkshire vs Lancashire, Leeds vs Bradford, etc.) However, there is a clear fluidity of these terms in practice, which is symptomatic of a tendency towards mythologisation. For instance, as one of my participants stated towards the end of chapter 1:

I don’t think I really thought about the rest of the UK very much, outside the north! It’s like Yorkshire, the greater north... I mean Yorkshire all the way up to Teeside really and all the way down. It felt like we were all in it together, and a little bit... I know it’s a cliché, but against the south! (Rosie, interview, July 10, 2018).

Spracklen, Henderson, & Procter (2016) wrote, in their ethnographic study of F-Club goers in Leeds, that “idealization of the past” was central to the contemporary identities of their participants through a common construction of nostalgia (p. 159). For them, to remember to and follow “the punk scene now, having being a part of it in the past, is to be involved in daily myth-making” (p. 159), and so the navigation of mythologisation is integral to understanding (sub)cultural identities that are rooted in past experience. As a result, it becomes necessary not only to unpick the relationship between memory, history, and the Barthesian myth: to ask what stands to *Yorkshire* as ‘courage’ stands to the *lion*, but to understand the role of myth, whether of place or (sub)culture, in identity creation. Because here, in this metalanguage (see Barthes, [1957] 2000, pp. 114-116; 146), “the naturalization of the concept [...] [is] the essential function of myth” (p. 130), and the function of tourism and heritage, of commercial music promotion, and of any facet of the culture industry, where Adorno (1991) describes “cultural production [as] an integrated component of the capitalist economy as a whole” (p. 9; p. 43), is to construct myth that is marketable and monetizable. This is why one of the central questions of this thesis asks whether it is possible to be both an effective myth-maker and ethnographer of myth, because while I perform both roles as a musician and music scholar, the two are virtually incompatible.

It is not only the myths of Yorkshireness that are navigated in this thesis, but those of post-punk too: a genre that has been the focus of not only the aforesaid O’Brien, Butt, Reynolds, Spracklen et al., and Trowell, but also Haddon (2020), and in adjacent works such as Schütte (2022) on Krautrock, and Sabin (1999) on punk. Nominally the genre that followed, and is often considered to have retained the values of (see Sabin, 1999, p. 3) the original punk era, which in Britain tends to mirror the 1975-78 lifespan of the Sex Pistols, post-punk is a genre that often lacks stylistic consistency (see Carpenter, 2022, p. 265), although Haddon (2020) does a good job of identifying its more common tropes (p. 4). Indeed, it is perfectly possible to make post-punk music in 2024, and in fact at this time we are coming

to the end of a post-punk revival, with the early-mid 2000s marking the first notable “revival” period for the genre. But this “first wave” of post-punk is nonetheless usually contained in the period of 1978-1984: the timeframe also utilised by Reynolds. But the stylistic inconsistencies do create a temptation to overextend the lens of post-punk, just as can occur in heritages of place, for instance to incorporate the pioneering electronic and industrial music of Sheffield and Hull – something Reynolds is complicit in himself. Awareness of this is why this thesis does not seek to uncover the specifics of internal regional identity within the county in terms of the ridings or the modern North, South, East, and West, although the foundations for this type of research will be established in chapter 4 through an analysis of intercity identity negotiation, and furthermore in a wider context of cultural prominence within discourses of northernness and constructions of place and space. Because of this, not all corners of Yorkshire are equally represented in this research, which notwithstanding the geographical overlap of West and South Yorkshire in the old West Riding – which should become clear in the second part of the review of literature – is an area with clear potential develop in future.

Punk, and by extension also post-punk, is as deeply rooted in class as narratives of Yorkshireness and northernness, which is why narratives of punk are so intertwined with Britain in the late 1970s (Sabin, 1999, p. 3). And it is through class that each of these considerations of myth, place, and constructed identities so frequently converge. Innate to this convergence is the notion of authenticity, which as MacCannell (1973) surmised, the pursuit of which is at the heart of tourism, and which Adorno and others consider to be fundamentally incompatible with commercialised art and cultural industries. Through this lens it is clear that cultural production and the prescribed value of cultural artefacts are intrinsic to cultural hegemony (see also Gramsci, 1971, pp. 245-246, 303), and so this thesis considers the role of authenticity in ethnographic (sub)cultural research. This research forms a critical ethnography that disrupts the hegemony of northernness, within which Yorkshire is subordinate, and also of the Leeds art-school dominance of Yorkshire’s post-punk legacy. The testimonies of key participants are presented as accurately as possible in spoken dialect, while autoethnography is utilised to interpret the ongoing interplay of research, myth-creation, and post-punk habitus. Throughout this work, there is a reflexive effort to consider my own authenticity as a cultural insider, especially as part of a culture that pre-dates me by three decades, and in prioritising the voices of working-class and less commercially successful musicians, a co-production of knowledge with participants through the sociological imagination (Blackman and Kempson, 2021, p. 63).

III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS & THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis seeks to answer key questions about constructed identities of Yorkshire post-punk, and authenticity, while making an original contribution to knowledge through my unique research position as focal point for myth-creation – that of a lead vocalist for an important contributor to the 1978-1984 heyday of the post-punk subculture – tasked with unpicking the mythology of the past while creating the mythology of the future. While a number of Yorkshire's key post-punks have contributed testimony to academic research, none have sought to specifically explore post-punk in terms of constructed identities Yorkshire. Sadly, as stresses the urgency of continued work on communities of ageing (sub)cultural participants, some of my participants will furthermore not have the opportunity to contribute to knowledge through original testimony again.

Portions of this research (see Goldhammer 2019a; 2021b) have contributed to discourse already, while further research has been published from the data collected (2022). This thesis intends to answer the following key questions:

- What does it mean to be a Yorkshire post-punk?
- Is it possible to be both an effective myth-maker and ethnographer of myth?
- What is the role of authenticity in ethnographic (sub)cultural research?

I intend for this thesis to be as engaging and enjoyable as possible for the reader. Drawing from Ghodsee (2016), I've included visual elements where possible, and beneath the table of figures is a QR code for a playlist that includes the Yorkshire post-punk acts cited in the course of the work. Throughout this thesis I will draw from thematically analysed field notes and interview segments, which will help to explore topics drawn from literature, and should hopefully also give an idea of the research journey itself. The first chapter will focus on constructions of place, introducing myth and memory, and attempts to uncover an essential Yorkshireness as well as assess the cultural capital of the region in a wider 'Northern' and British context, before exploring class and oppositionality.

In chapter 2, I will analyse both the context and perception of authenticity. In the case of the former, Trilling's discussion of Rousseau invokes a dispute, between Sartre and Adorno, on the authenticity of Jazz. Sartre, a keen Jazz enthusiast, considered the genre to be an 'authentic and politically engaged art' (Matarrese, [2012] 2013, p. 57), while Adorno considered it 'mass-produced for mass consumption' (2012: 58) like any other popular art form (also see Adorno, 1991, pp. 9; 71). In the case of the latter we will consider, with reference to Berger and Benjamin, what can be considered a kind of existential authenticity: that for something to be perceived as authentic is far more of an active component in authenticity than some accounts might suggest.

Mythological narratives of place are explored more thoroughly in chapter 3, where discussions of 'race', masculinity, and trauma are central, and the chapter ends with a consideration of the international cultural capital of Yorkshireness. Chapter 4 (published as Goldhammer, 2019a) argues that the musical contributions of rural and quasi-rural places have been absorbed into the memoryscapes of nearby cities, and suggests the same could be true for smaller metropolitan areas into larger ones, such as Yorkshire into a Manchester-dominated 'North' (see also Etheridge, 2017, p. 257 and chapter 1 v of this work). Finally, chapter 5 is a reflexive account of punk capital, and my role as a researcher and myth-maker.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

I. WHAT IS POST-PUNK?

To understand post-punk, we must first focus on its root word: punk. Punk is a style of rock music which, in the UK at least, was popularised by the Sex Pistols: a group known as well in 1970s Britain for their controversial behaviour and provocative dress as for their rough-and-ready guitar music. Though the group's lifespan was brief, from their inception in 1975 to their first – and only – album, *Never Mind the Bollocks* (Sex Pistols, 1977), and their split in 1978, they remain a focal point within British popular music and synonymous with the word 'punk'. That isn't to say that punk began with the Pistols though. As O'Shea (2020) put it, "the seed was sown for its UK 'breakthrough' year as early as 1964 in the United States" (p. 311), citing the Velvet Underground and later the New York Dolls and Ramones as precursors, while Carpenter (2022) also adds the Stooges and MC5 to the mix (p. 264). As for its non-musical implications, he furthermore states, "punk in Britain inspired a youth fashion movement comprised of ripped clothes and spiked hair" (p. 264), while Sabin (1999) identifies existential characteristics that include "a consciousness of class-based politics (with a stress on 'workingclass credibility'); and a belief in spontaneity and 'doing it yourself'" (p. 3), concluding that its attention to class politics is why Britain in the late 1970s retains such a focal point for narratives of punk – irrespective of the nuances of musical context.

The point at which post-punk emerges, then, is equally fuzzy, and can be considered in many of the terms that define its forebearer: musical style, lineage, or aesthetics, while its class consciousness and DIY approach are relatively constant. That said, Leeds' capacity to produce bands in its university art schools during the post-punk era (see Butt, 2022; O'Brien, 2012; Reynolds, 2005) could represent something of an intellectualisation of these values, or at least it would if the punk era was indeed definitively working-class. As Laing (2015) put it, even if most punk performers came from "working-class backgrounds, that majority is not overwhelming enough to justify the claim that punk is fundamentally proletarian" (p. 168; see also Dale, 2020, p. 75). Then again, while art-school sensibilities are no alien concept in rock and pop music (see Frith and Howard, 1987), a lack of working-class ubiquity does not negate Sabin's assertion of working-class credibility as holding cultural value within the punk movement, even if, as Marsh (1977) put it:

As soon as a punk rock group starts to succeed, it will be dead; it will have moved outside of the milieu which gives reason to its very existence (p. 12; Frith and Howard, 1987, p. 50).

If we retain the Sex Pistols as a point of reference for the start and end of the punk era, it follows that Public Image (1978), the first record from vocalist John Lydon's Public Image Ltd, could denote the start of the subsequent era. This year also saw the debut albums from Magazine (1978), whose co-founder Howard Devoto had found success with Buzzcocks the previous year as their *Spiral Scratch* (1977) EP became the first punk record to be released independently (Reynolds, 2005, pp. 92-93), as well as Siouxsie and the Banshees (1978). These events are credited by Goddard (2010, p. 393) as well as Reynolds (2005) as signifying the dawn of post-punk, and the combination of these and their correlation with the rough lifespan of 1919 are enough to justify setting the terms of this thesis in this way. However, the delineation of the post-punk era is nonetheless far from concrete, and as Gracyk (2012) states, "the label ought to be understood as indicating something more than chronological sequence" (p. 74). But even so, it is inadequate to rely on the term post-punk

to present a necessarily postmodernist movement, because to do so suggests that punk was not postmodernist itself: something that, for Hebdige, owing to its bricolage style and propensity for “repositioning and recontextualizing commodities” (1979, p. 102; O’Shea, 2020, p. 311), as well as its rejection of the musical status quo (Carpenter, 2022, p. 264), and the accounts of so many others (see Dettmar and Richey, 1999 p. 8, p. 224; Frith, 1983, p. 160; Tetzlaff, 1994, p. 97; Grossberg, 1992), is simply untrue.

Remaining, then, is musical style, which Carpenter (2022, p. 265) and Haddon (2020, p. 2) interpret as diverse and inconsistent respectively. Haddon though, offers a description based on common conceptions:

The music is oriented toward the radical, the new, the experimental. It is not as mainstream as punk... And the genre displayed more ‘musicianship’ than punk [...] dour (male) vocals with erudite or self-conscious lyrics, accompanied by metallic-sounding, distorted electric guitars playing textually, not melodically; an accelerated disco beat or dance groove; a melodic bass line; and echoing sound effects borrowed from dub reggae (p. 4).

Though Haddon’s summary is not intended to be prescriptive, it gives an idea of tropes that would be recognisable almost universally in the works of my primary participants, less so in the case of male vocals and unmelodic guitar, but nonetheless often. So, when we refer to post-punk, it is to something “diverse yet somehow coherent” (Carpenter, 2022, p. 265), which usually displays one or more of the characteristics described by Haddon. As opposed to songs like, for example, “Psycho Killer” (Talking Heads, 1977), which would fit this stylistic framework, we would also look for punk influence in its existential characteristics such as class consciousness – albeit while recognising aforesaid discussions of class identity evident in Laing (2015), Dale (2020), and Frith and Howard (1987) – and the DIY approach encapsulated by Spiral Scratch (Buzzcocks, 1977). Finally, we would tend to understand this music as existing between the break-up of the Sex Pistols in 1978 and around 1984, when artists with their roots in post-punk – or who had themselves been influenced by its music – would shape new genres, such as gothic rock (see The Mission, 1986; The Cult, 1984) and indie rock (see The Wedding Present, 1984).

II. WHAT IS YORKSHIRE?

About this map:

Successive reorganisations of boundaries have brought counties for Local Government, the post and for the ceremonial purposes of the euteneancies - to name a few. Through all of this change, the boundaries of the historic county of Yorkshire and its Ridings have never changed, been disbanded nor faded to oblivion.

Ceremonial Counties:

- Y - North Yorkshire
- Y - South Yorkshire
- Y - East Riding of Yorkshire
- Y - West Yorkshire

Local Authority Areas:

- Redcar and Cleveland Borough
- Middlesbrough Borough
- North Yorkshire
- City of York Council area
- East Riding of Yorkshire District
- Kingston-upon-Hull City Council area
- City of Bradford Metropolitan District
- City of Leeds Metropolitan District
- Calderdale Metropolitan District
- City of Wakefield Metropolitan District
- Kirklees Metropolitan District
- Barnsley Metropolitan District
- Doncaster Metropolitan District
- Rotherham Metropolitan District
- City of Sheffield Metropolitan District

Administrations mainly outside Yorkshire, & serving parts of it

- County Durham
- Greater Manchester Metropolitan County
- Cumbria
- Lancashire
- Stockton-on-Tees Borough

map is provided for illustrative purposes, no claim is made to accuracy of the portions of features and locations or the scale.

The Association of British Counties map of

Yorkshire

This unique map shows the historic County of Yorkshire and its three Ridings, together with the current (2013) areas for administration within its borders. While these areas are subject to periodic reorganisation, the historic County remains unchanging.

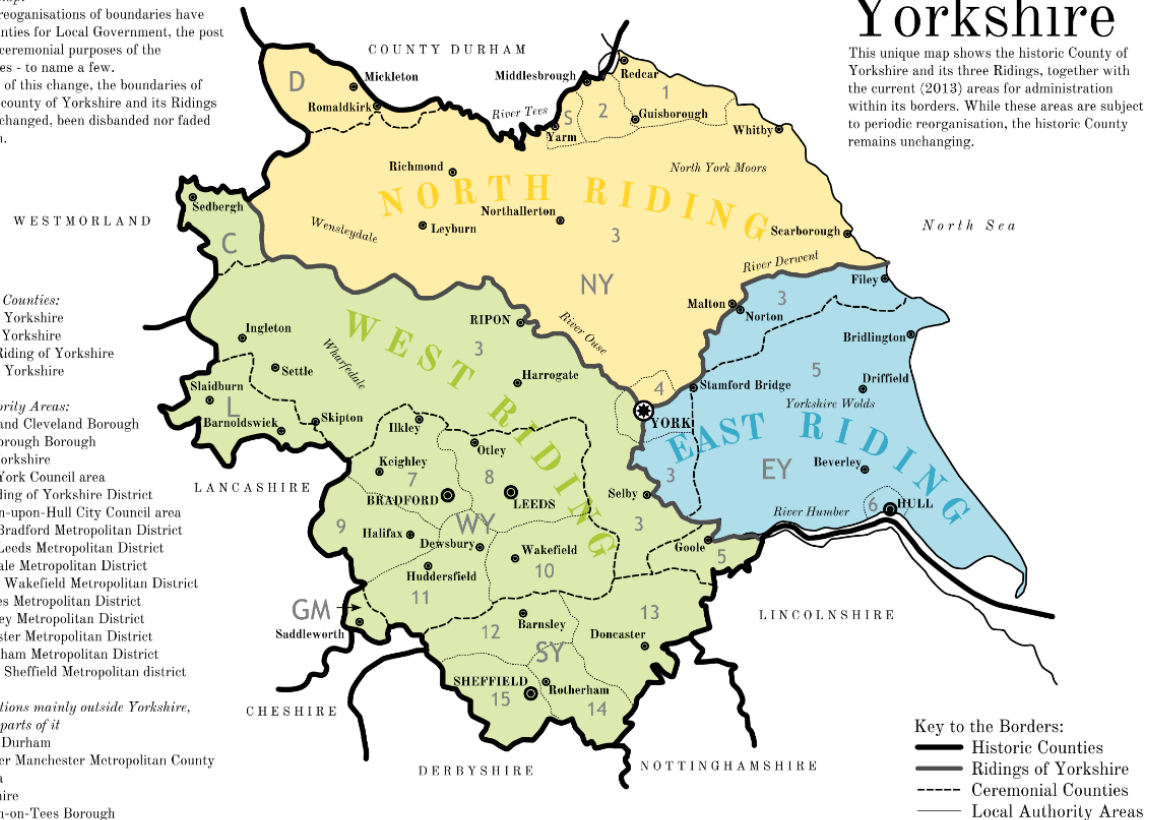


FIGURE 2 – ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH COUNTIES MAP OF YORKSHIRE (2014)

The answer to the question “what is Yorkshire?” is deceptively challenging for something that can be pointed to on a map. Indeed, the first thing that springs to mind when confronted with this question is the answer given by Leeds actor Julian Barratt’s character, Howard Moon, in the surrealist BBC comedy series *The Mighty Boosh*. The exchange, between Moon and the anthropomorphised spirit of Jazz, is as follows:

Moon: I want to be the greatest Jazz player in Yorkshire.

Spirit: Yorkshire? What is Yorkshire?

Moon: Yorkshire is a place. Yorkshire is a state of mind (Electro, 2004, 00:13:12 – 00:13:24).

Here, Barratt’s character encapsulates many of the diverse attributes of Yorkshire that will be explored in this thesis. There is humour, firstly, as well as a caricature of exceptionalism that is depicted by cultural outsiders and gleefully perpetuated by Yorkshirefolk. This is evident in both the abstract end to Moon’s retort and the extent of his ambition, at which point we can identify a potential divergence in meaning for those inside and outside of Yorkshire culture, though that nonetheless retains comedic value. It is possible at this point that one might be amused by the perceived limits of Moon’s ambition, for his aspiration is not to be the best in the world, nor in Britain or England, but simply within a particular part of the north of the latter. Meanwhile, the notion that a Yorkshireman would believe that to be the greatest in Yorkshire represents the peak of human achievement is a novel parody, but nonetheless one that would be proudly eschewed by many within the culture. This is

something we can see elsewhere in British popular cultural depictions of Yorkshirefolk, including Hale and Pace's *Yorkshire Airlines* sketch, which sees flights depart from Leeds before arriving 20 minutes later in the same place, "because if it's outside Yorkshire it's not worth bloody visiting" (Yorkshire Airlines, 2006, 00:02:03 - 00:02:07).

Such implicit, culturally constructed connotations are necessarily difficult to quantify, and the fact that Yorkshire is essentially both an abstract concept and a physical region only deepens its subjectivity. But even firmly within the realm of geography there is significant fluidity in accounts of Yorkshire, and this is particularly prescient through the lens of its constituent regions. When referring to Yorkshire as a modern entity, there are three distinct forms to consider: the historical county, the Ridings, and the contemporary administrative counties. The historical county² (see Figure 2) was divided into three Ridings – North, West, and East, with the city of York governed separately from 1396 (see Tillott, 1961, pp. 69-70)). Administrative powers were granted to the Ridings through the Local Government Act 1888, which were then revised in the Local Government Act 1958. Local Government Act 1972, however, saw the abolition of the Ridings as administrative regions and the creations of North, South, and West Yorkshire authorities, alongside Humberside and Cleveland which was replaced, via a 1995 statutory instrument, by the East Riding of Yorkshire (The Local Government Changes for England (Miscellaneous Provision) Regulations 1995, 1995).

The old Ridings are somewhat consistent with contemporary boundaries and the modern east Yorkshire is officially regarded as the East Riding, but there are some notable differences. Modern South Yorkshire was fully contained within the West Riding (there was no South Riding), while some northernmost points of the old West Riding – such as Harrogate – are a part of modern North Yorkshire. Selby, meanwhile, is also part of modern North Yorkshire but was in the old East Riding, and parts of North and North-East Lincolnshire fall within administrative boundaries of Yorkshire and the Humber. Goole, in modern East Yorkshire, was historically within the West Riding (see The Yorkshire Ridings Society, n.d), and there are numerous other examples of towns moving either side of the county boundary.

For all of these reasons, with the largest being the historical connectedness of West and South Yorkshire with the West Riding, and given that each constituent region of Yorkshire is not equally represented in my primary research base, this thesis will not seek to establish a holistic account of Yorkshireness, nor to specifically delineate characteristics attributable to identities of North, South, East, or West Yorkshire – though with due regard to the historical working-classness of the old West Riding. Instead, the aim will be to identify characteristics that form or partially form constructions of Yorkshireness in the data collected. With a common example of belonging in Yorkshire cited as birthplace (see Hopps, 2010), it will also be explored – in chapter 2 (i, iii) – whether it is possible to *become* a Yorkshireperson at all. In chapter 3 (i), I will set out the characteristics of humour, grit, thrift, and defiance as comprising the foundation of a divine mythology of Yorkshireness.

² Nominally from the river Tees in the north to the Humber estuary in the south, and west-east from the Pennines to the North Sea coast (see Gibbons, 1969).

III. MUSIC, PLACE, AND IDENTITY.

Although this thesis is concerned less with place itself, and more with the interplay of mythology and popular imagination that Yorkshire represents, it is nonetheless worth considering some of the key ideas in the surrounding field. We begin our journey in Leeds, the most populous city in Yorkshire, among the highest in England, and has immense importance in terms of the sheer number of notable post-punk bands emerging during the 1978-84 period. It is also where the story began for *my* involvement.

Leeds during the post-punk era was, and in many ways still is, a cultural melting pot, prime for the oppositional culture that emerged in the 70s and 80s. Decay, development, and gentrification have been perpetual throughout the decline of the industrial age, through the social unrest of the 80s and into the hipsterization of the 2000s. But literature is divided over the organic nature of this connection between music and its place of origin, or whether there is actually a connection at all. For example, in Spracklen et al (2016), according to respondents in a study of F Club frequenters during the post-punk era, “there was nothing essential or necessary about Leeds” and its prominence in the scene at this time (p. 17, see also Spracklen & Spracklen 2018, p. 68). If this is the case, it is inconsistent with the journalistic myth of dark, bleak music from a bleak, dark environment, as John Robb’s (2016) retrospective on the Leeds scene subscribes:

There were shadows, real shadows - the post industrial malaise whilst not as bleak as Manchester or Liverpool was hovering and there was also the very dark shadow of the Yorkshire Ripper [...] understandably and terrifyingly affecting the psyche of northern cities (p. 54)

Such inconsistency represents the perennial danger for this kind of analysis, in which the relationship between music and place can be either manufactured through nostalgia or pre-emptively discounted. In O’Brien’s analysis of 70s Leeds, she cites Connell and Gibson in asserting that “local sounds can be captured and mythologized in ‘narratives of place’” (2012, p. 28), yet the same authors discredit the notion of an “authentic” connection between music and place in 2014. O’Brien makes a series of links between the physical brutality of its architecture, the brutal ubiquity of ‘the Ripper’, and the emergence of seminal post-punk acts such as The Mekons, Delta 5, and Gang of Four, stating “their music echoed the stark campus architecture” (p. 29) of Leeds University. Much the same narrative is followed in Manchester where, in addition to their comments on “space” in Joy Division’s music, Fraser and Fuoto (2012) also cite Grant Gee’s documentary *Joy Division*, quoting the director as saying: “I don’t see this as the story of a pop group, I see this as the story of a city” (p. 141). Or, in discussing the famous Hacienda club, home to Factory Records (whose bands included Joy Division/New Order and the Happy Mondays, among others) and birthplace of the ‘Madchester’ era, Kiszely (2013) notes:

the club lingers in the local psyche, and while its constantly repackaged history is too neat in what it is supposed to represent, the residual spirit of the place does nonetheless connect with something of what ‘Manchester’ means today (p. 28).

In attempting to approach and understand the role of provincial towns in the context of post-punk sounds, it is necessary to navigate a web of interwoven myths of identity and place. But while this journey begins in Leeds, the discourse of music and place is of course far wider. Not dissimilar to O’Brien’s portrayal of Leeds, though with the onus more on

economic deprivation than sex and gender, Lashua and Cohen (2012) stated that the DIY nature of punk music in Liverpool was mirrored, through fanzines, in its coverage. “The ‘decay, dole and despair’ was expressed through music and also in band photographs, such as those of No Exit and others pictured in *Merseysound*” (p. 93). Scholars such as Bennett (2015) move quickly to dispel the interconnectivity of music and place from the offset, challenging the perception that “music situated at the community level is somehow more organic and authentic than imported mainstream music” (p. 414), and citing Mackinnon’s (1994) work on UK folk music as uncovering, in terms of music and place, a capacity to idealise and even manufacture a sense of localised authenticity. Furthermore, Bennett (2015) cites Sara Cohen’s 1991 work on Liverpool’s music culture as an example of locality being deliberately propagated as part of an attempt to fashion an identity for local music and music practices (p. 414).

Many of the wider theories of music from a geographical perspective are compiled neatly in Johansson and Bell (2009), who assert that music “actively produces geographic discourses and can be used to understand broader societal relations and trends” (p. 2). This leads the editors to gather work on music and place with a range of foci including scenes, subcultures, political engagement, ethnicity, gender roles, and globalisation, with the latter a catalyst for contemporary perusal of identity, both locally and translocally. This is an important development for geographers such as Johansson and Bell, who are keen to explore the impact of globalisation on music cultures and identities that have often been explored in geographically localised terms. Connell and Gibson (2003) are invoked as the seminal scholars on the subject and offer important context for the geographical reach of popular music. Music can occupy a micro, personal space via the Walkman or mp3 player, and reach each corner of the globe through large tours and recorded media (p. 2). Moreover, they say, music has helped to forge an identity for migratory and diasporic communities. African American blues musicians of the early-mid 20th century, their first example, both adopted local traditions in their new urban landscapes and signalled affinity to a “homeland” (p. 139; see also Gilroy, 1993, pp. 193, 208).

In an increasingly globalised, multicultural landscape, music subcultures have been a focal point of analysis since the immediate post-war period. As alluded to in the preface of this thesis, Stuart Hall and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) played an active role in this pursuit in the UK. Their specific focus tended to concern the understanding of the development of youth cultures – itself a fairly new concept in the 1970s – which they considered to be variously subversive manifestations of class, political, and gender conflicts. For Hall & Jefferson (2006), “...the subculture is seen as one specific kind of response, with its own meaning structure – its own ‘relative autonomy’” (p. 26). Mark Slobin (1993) considers music subcultures to be “central to such identity formation in multiethnic Western societies” (Johansson & Bell, 2009, p. 2), but also uncovered a global trend for this kind of self-identification. Through Afghanistan, Europe, and the USA, different groups always took ownership of different styles, instruments, or more abstract notions of music as “ours.” And what’s ‘ours’ was always set apart from what’s not: ‘mine,’ ‘theirs,’ or ‘everybody’s’ (Slobin, 1993, p. xiii), which is more or less what Kalra et al (2005) refers to as “commodities of difference” (p. 5; see also Crang, 2010, p. 140).

From these divided groups come separate music ‘scenes’, the notions of which run right through the middle of popular music geography. As “locations where clusters of the production (artists and the music industry) and consumption (fans) of music come together”

(Johansson & Bell, 2009, p. 3), scenes can either be fundamental to the identity of a town or city, or have no affinity to a physical place at all (Bennett & Peterson, 2004). Sara Cohen's (1991) work is important both as a case study of scene(s) and a wider ethnographic approach. Where Johansson and Bell (2009) cite Slobin alongside Andy Bennett (2000) in asserting the importance of music subculture in the construction of identity, as well as its day-to-day prominence, Cohen demonstrates the ubiquity of music culture in these respects in Liverpool. She said of Liverpool in the introduction to her text, she "learnt about bands from taxi-drivers, hairdressers, waitresses and waiters; and in cafés and bars conversation on bands could be overheard" (1991, p. 1). For Liverpool's youth, Cohen makes a familiar link between emerging groups and economic circumstance. The "dramatic rise in unemployment and the awareness of it had been accompanied by a mushrooming of bands" (1991, p. 2), and yet also that music culture (through venues, resources, and levels of disposable income) had been one of the greatest casualties of economic decline (pp. 2-3).

In this respect, of socio-economic circumstance, music can be seen to have a natural affinity to its place of origin, as could an expectation to contribute to the musical lineage of such a place. But the latter notion has been inverted by musicians in pursuit of innovation and their own identities. Connell and Gibson (2003) use Cohen's description of this practice in Liverpool in reference to the Seattle grunge scene of the 1990s, in which "bands [...] distances themselves from their mythologised 'sounds'" (p. 114). For Rose (1994), Lipsitz (1994), and Connell and Gibson (2003), there emerges a distinct and rather complex narrative of production, innovation, and cultural and economic capital, entered into by artists as they seek to transform their material circumstances, which shapes symbiotically the identity and heritage of place. "'Peripheral' sounds can [voice] experiences of place that negotiate (and sometimes oppose) the global processes commodifying musical heritage" (p. 15). This 'peripheral' (independent, innovative) music furthermore can both subvert and help to define the 'mainstream' styles.

Much of this discourse on identity and place seeps into that of heritage. However, ahead of this, come notions of authenticity and legitimacy of the local in a context of globalized consumerism. For instance, Biddle & Knights (2007) stated:

The local seems to have been consistently figured in the last decade or so as a kind of supplement to globalization [...] This abundance of studies seeking to connect musical practice to place and place-identification is a symptom of a wider tendency in recent scholarship to foreground micro-communities and their 'local' engagements (whether 'real' or virtual) of cultural resources" (p. 2).

For them, the inevitability of this is to paint the local "as inherently 'subversive, 'oppositional' and 'authentic', and an inverse figuration of the global as always already artificial and inauthentic" (p.3). However this mythology of place is not a contemporary phenomenon like globalization³, rather it has existed even in relation to music for centuries, or perhaps longer still. For example, as Stephen Etheridge (2017) stated, brass bands as early as 1914 had come to be "seen as a cultural production of the physical environment" (p. 255). In this case it refers to the physical fitness of northerners, thanks to their industrial labour, as a fundamental contributor to their prowess as brass band musicians (p. 255), (Durrell, 1969).

³ Globalization can be considered to be something of an infinite concept, intensifying with the dawn of the industrial revolution. But this usage is synonymous with hyper-modern global capitalism.

Place, to borrow a term from Etheridge, is “created”. It is done so through a mutually assuring history, or what David Harvey (1989) called the “motivational power of tradition” (p. 303; see also Massey, 1995, p. 184; Etheridge, 2017, p. 253). Such a tradition relies on a number of things to ultimately prevail: the built environment, cultural history, the production of artefacts, and most importantly a willingness for these things to be seen as interconnected. That is, for both agents of a culture to express these characteristics as part of their identities of place, and for outsiders to realise the characteristics of people and place as synonymous. As Sarah Menin (2003) said, “the making of place is simultaneously a material construct and a construct of the mind” (p. 1). The ultimate consequence of this is the establishment of myth, which will be also explored in detail in the following chapter.

Menin’s analysis is a useful one though, as is her inclusion of Didem Kiliçkiran (2010). Whilst predominantly concerned with ideas of migration and displacement, the notion of “rootedness” brought to the fore here is in many ways the inception of discourse on identity, space, and place. Kiliçkiran cites Weil’s 1942 (2002) work alongside Heidegger (Harvey, 1996) in establishing this idea, that:

the metaphor of ‘roots’ is a well-established belief in Western thought that there is a natural tie between peoples, identities, and particular geographic territories (Kiliçkiran, 2010, p. 100).

For Heidegger and Weil, Kiliçkiran surmises, this manifests in a somewhat nationalistic narrative. But within that exists a fundamental basis of “stability, permanence, and fixity in conventional conceptions of home” (p. 100). For Heidegger (1971), identity is rooted in a construction of place through “dwelling [...] to remain, to stay in place” (p. 146, Kiliçkiran, 2010, p. 100). This is the same for Bachelard (1994, p. 8) and for Relph (1976), who referred to the “existential insideness” (Kiliçkiran, 2010, p. 100) of identity of place. Such fixation on establishing an ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of identity of place is the underlying premise of Slobin’s assertion, that “what’s ‘ours’ was always set apart from what’s not: ‘mine,’ ‘theirs,’ or ‘everybody’s” (1993, p. xiii), and was solidified in Hobsbawm’s (1991) notion of *Heimat* (p. 63). That is, “to impose home as a social fact and a cultural norm to which some must belong and [...] others must be excluded” (Rapport, 2003, p. 211), (Kiliçkiran, 2010, p. 199).

This narrative, of “home as a fixed place with an unchanging character” (Kiliçkiran, 2010, p. 101), is what Malkki (1997) refers to as “sedentarism” (p. 62). Here, the unwavering temperament of home provides stability to notional identity. For Casey (1993), their interconnectivity is “no ‘casual qualification” (p. 307), (Kiliçkiran, 2010, p. 101), and the same is true for Birkets (Casey, 1993, p. 37) and Tuan (1980, p. 6). Casey, moreover, asserts that Western consciousness indulges a nostalgic attachment to places of ancestral origin (Kiliçkiran, 2010, p. 101). Kiliçkiran challenges the essential special rigidity posited by Heidegger though, invoking the paradox put forward by George Kateb (1991), where “to come to know oneself, it might be argued [...] necessary to become alienated or estranged to some degree” (p. 135), (Rapport, 2003, p. 51), (2007, p. 124). His conclusion, with regard to the construction of diasporic identity in domestic space, is one of hybridity. Both “reviving their ‘roots’, but also about expressing the changes they have experienced through their displacement and resettlement” (Kiliçkiran, 2010, p. 109). Ultimately, this analysis may indeed have a role to play in understanding the contemporary identity construction of former subcultural participants.

In a specifically musical context though, this notion of diaspora encompasses a number of the central themes in space, place and identity. A good reading that demonstrates the breadth of scope in music diaspora is Banerjea's *Sounds of whose underground?* (2000), which invokes familiar themes of hegemony, cultural production, and appropriation of cultural artefacts and practices into mainstream commodification. Banerjea questions whether there is "any currency in the concept itself of the underground, given the fetishization of both [Asian] culture and politics" (p. 65), and surmising that "ready appropriation of *bindis*, *saris*, insense [...] offer a primarily middle-class constituency a sanitized encounter with an imagined Asian 'other'" (p. 65). Lamenting the deracialised, corporatized club experience, Banerjea cites Armand White's (1997) analysis of a similar phenomenon in the US, of a "culture system that dangerously capitalises on Black talent while undervaluing Black life" (Banerjea, 2000, p. 76), and there is much in common here with Cohen's (1991) critique of commoditised locality in Liverpool (p. 414). Simultaneously, Banerjea denounces one form of myth and enforces another. On one hand, he states that "Renegotiating your own identity purely through the expressive cultural forms of diaspora is at best naïve, at worst opportunistic" (2000, p. 76), stating clearly the potential damage caused by cultural fetishism. An example of what can be lost though is also expressed in mythical terms. Decontextualized of its diasporic roots, he says, techno becomes:

A toneless perversion [...] No matter that the restless brilliance of producers such as Derrick May historically emerged from the ravages of Detroit's deindustrialized wastelands (p. 75).

For Banerjea, this seems to be offered as an example of an authentic myth, rather than the inauthentic cultureless⁴ myth that has taken its place. Myth, it seems, is an inescapable trope of identity and place, and will be a constant focus throughout this thesis (starting with the next subchapter). As I have stated in the introduction, however, class is a central concern of this work, and the reach of Marxism can therefore be felt throughout. In the case of music, place, and space – and necessarily intertwined with mythology – this is often framed by a working-class collective imaginary. The imaginary, rooted in Lacanian psychoanalytical considerations of the self (see Eyers, 2012, pp. 15-18), is what we can consider the basis for constructed notions of community and identity that are central to many of the discussions in this thesis, including the aforesaid examples of 'scenes', of Heideggerian notions of 'home' and constructed 'place', of Hobsbawm's 'heimat', and Bourdieu's 'habitus'. Each of the previous examples of place, such as Liverpool, and music such as techno, are important arenas in which identities are constructed along these lines while, in political philosophy, Anderson (2006) asserts the imaginary as the framework for nationhood and nationalism, utilising Benjaminian discourse on mechanical reproduction (see Anderson, 2006, pp. 37-46) which itself contributes to the discussion of authenticity in chapter 2.

Popular music is arguably inseparable from commodity culture, given its historical concern with the mass production and sale of plastic discs. But if themes of hegemony, cultural production, and appropriation of cultural artefacts and practices are familiar in the analyses

⁴ It's hard to find the right word for this precise form of myth. Cultural decontextualization is both cultureless and, in a sense, omnicultural.

of cultural identity in music cultures cited above, the following pages will also show the mythology of music and identity as a hand in the commoditisation of place.

IV. MARXISM, SUBCULTURE, AND THE CCCS

Marxism and Subcultural theory feature throughout this research, though often remain in the background. Reynolds (2010), reflecting on the notion that Marxism and post-punk were linked intrinsically, reveals an assumption of a link between post-punk and the Communist Party of Great Britain. But though this particular assertion turned out to be somewhat mythological, it also wasn't for want of trying on behalf of the party:

the period that followed [1977] was partly defined by leftist attempts to engage with and channel youth culture towards progressive ends [...] the politics of what became known as post-punk were oft-informed by leftist concerns as to questions of gender, sexuality, language, desire and cultural production (Worley, 2016, p. 506).

Where these themes permeate the data I have gathered as part of this research – through a mixture of interviews and field notes –, however, can be far more accurately described as a lived experience rather than a necessarily conscious ideological discourse. At least this is true for Marxism, while the importance of subcultural theory to post-punk identity – and even in Yorkshire identity – is far more concrete. That notwithstanding, the prevalence of Marxist discourse within studies of subculture is an example of its reach within this research, irrespective of whether my participants engage with such discourse consciously or not. Principally, Marxist considerations in a subcultural framework manifest in relation to value, consumerism, class, and cultural capital, and largely within the parameters of the Gramscian notion of hegemony, which Hall – and later Hebdige – invokes here:

The term hegemony refers to a situation in which a provisional alliance of certain social groups can exert 'total social authority' over other subordinate groups, not simply by coercion or by the direct imposition of ruling ideas, but by 'winning and shaping consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural' (Hall, 1977, pp. 332-333; Hebdige 1979, p. 16).

There are, furthermore, in studies of subculture, inescapable narratives of resistance and deviance, but these are not without issue. Citing criticisms of subcultural theory such as Fine & Kleinman (1979), Bock (1993) and Chambers (1985), Bennett asserts that "the concept of 'subculture' is unworkable as an objective analytical tool" (p. 599) According to Bennett, such criticism is directed towards the Birmingham CCCS' attempt in the late 1970s and early 1980s to analyse the normalised deviance of youth culture, where subcultures were considered "the collective reaction of [...] working-class youth, to structural changes taking place in British post-war society" (p. 600). Where Cohen (1972) argues, according to Bennett (1999), that subculture(s) "form part of an on-going working-class struggle against the socio-economic circumstances of their existence" (p. 601), Bennett proposes that working-class youth in the post-war period "were the social group with the largest disposable income" (p. 601). It is therefore essential to also analyse the role of consumerism in subculture and uncover its balance of power. There are major limitations in discussing subculture too. For instance, Fine and Kleinman (1979) highlight:

confusion between subculture and subsociety, [...] the lack of a meaningful referent for subculture, [...] the homogeneity and stasis associated with the concept, and [...] the emphasis on defining subcultures in terms of values and central themes (p. 1)

Because “values (or world views, themes, or folk ideas) are cultural elements [but] do not exhaust cultural content” (p. 7), the pair assert the need for a more holistic, interactionalist approach. As the anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1972) suggested, “in close reading, one can start anywhere in a culture's repertoire of forms and end up anywhere else” (p. 29). In this respect, it is reasonable to suggest that an ethnography is well-suited to researching subculture, but nonetheless must take care to avoid the pitfalls identified by Fine and Kleinman. Geertz continues, “societies, like lives, contain their own interpretations” (p. 29).

Above all, as a researcher of society, it will be important to resist absolutes. In this sense we can begin with the “complex” Marxism of the CCCS (1980, p. 25), a notion of Marxist adjacence rather than explicitism, which refers in particular to its multi-layered approach to youth (sub)culture. As Blackman (2014) explains:

Applying Levis-Strauss' theory of myth in terms of a 'magical solution' to the fragmentation of social class experience, coupled with Lacan's theory of the 'imaginary', youth subcultures were no longer pathological but were articulated as trying to resolve social contradictions through performance of multiple narratives of bricolage, which celebrated their agency (p. 502).

Indeed, this approach: an attempt to “understand deviance as informed by consciousness and agency” (p. 501), attracted a fierce backlash from mainstream sociology, and Blackman cites Hargreaves and Hammersley (1982) as explicit proponents of this (see also Griffin, 2011). Through Albrow (1986), Blackman describes the hostility as “sociology [being] under threat from cultural studies in losing its oppositional pathos” (p. 501), essentially at risk of ceding its claim to social radicalism to the emerging discipline. Much later, initially through the likes of Blackman (1995), as well as Thornton (1995), whose work – which presents a discourse of *subcultural* capital rooted Bourdieu's cultural capital framework – this thesis will draw from directly, there developed a discourse of post-subcultural theory which prioritised the lived experiences of groups studied (see Muggleton, 2000, p. 24; Blackman, 2014, p. 505).

If the CCCS approach was to celebrate agency, however, it is necessary to consider the sociological imagination of C. Wright-Mills (1959), which, for Blackman and Kempson, “has become shorthand for agency, representing an opportunity whereby people can see their ‘private troubles’ in terms of ‘public issues’” (Blackman and Kempson, 2016, p. 2). In Blackman and Kempson (2021), the sociological imagination is used as a critique of post-subcultural proponents who, overlooking its inherent complexity, have taken the CCCS approach to be a “narrow Marxist theory riven with determination” (p. 61), and others, such as Muggleton, who state “subcultural identities [as possessing] ‘no ideological commitment’ [and] are ‘merely a stylistic game to be played’” (Blackman and Kempson, 2021, p. 61; Muggleton, 2000, p. 47; see also Blackman, 2014). Citing Hodkinson (2005) Blackman and Kempson present the sociological imagination as something towards a re-imagining of “the dynamic qualitative fieldwork practice where the researcher and the participants actively construct and contest their identities through insider knowledge” (2021, p. 63). This endeavour to co-produce, to construct knowledge “through a back and forth between the researcher and participants” (p. 68). Class is a living, breathing thing, and in striving towards co-production, it may be possible to allay the ethical obstacles of narrative “ownership” set out by Sparkes (2024), and Thompson (2014), the latter of whom contemplated: “in writing about my life, I was also writing about the people around me (p. 250).

V. AUTHENTICITY

Much of the history of post-punk, either from a broad historical perspective or a specifically regional one, is usually written in terms of a specific group of stakeholders (in Leeds, for instance, this tends to be Gang of Four, Delta 5, and The Mekons). But part of the original justification of this research was to look just a little bit further into the shadows, where the likes of 1919 had existed. These are stories that deserve to be told, and I'm in a far better position to do so than most. However, Hodgkinson's point of entry begs the question: how does someone like me, born in 1990, who although raised in Yorkshire was born in London, become an authentic researcher of 1980s Yorkshire? Not only that, but to be positioned as the kind of insider-in researcher – one who uses their position within a community to observe without the barriers of entry experienced by an outsider anthropologist – as Hodgkinson. This is not simple to answer, and first requires an in-depth evaluation of theories of authenticity.

Authenticity is a diverse and somewhat contentious subject. Various, the authentic self is considered to be the default state of an individual – either conscious or subconscious, affirmed by religion (St. Augustine 1993: 292; McMullin 2019, p. 168) or sexual gratification (Freud, [1923] 1995, p. 636; Ştefan, 2016, p. 54), and either ordained by God (Pratt 1903, p. 222; Markus, 1988, p. 67), innate (Aristotle 1889, p. 45; vii; Kosman 2014, p. 62, also see McManus, 2019, p. 1193), or constructed within a societal framework that can either be seen as useful (Amjad and Kazemifar, 2014, pp. 63-64; see also Dreyfus, 1995; Gelven, 1989; Inwood, 1999; Heidegger, [1927] 2001; McManus 2015) or destructive (Schlenker 1986, p. 21; Marks 2005, p. 119). Though not offering a specific thesis of his own (Wain 1973: 179), Lionel Trilling (1972) helps us to further contextualise some of these key theoretical perspectives. In the case of Freud, for example, he offers an analysis of opposition from the pages of Sartre (1969), who considers psychoanalysis itself to have an 'inherent inauthenticity' (Trilling, 1972, p. 148). Principally, Sartre disputes that suppression of the Id can be an unconscious process (1972, p. 146) – something Freud himself began to revise in the latter stages of his career (1972, p. 147), and this notion that the authentic self can be consciously constructed is a divisive but important philosophical position. Nietzsche (1997, p. 128; Golomb, 1990, p. 244) and Kant ([1784] 1984, pp. 29-34) require agency for an individual to reach their potential, and for Durkheim (1933, pp. 283-284; Allen, 2005, pp. 108-109) the potential is for a self in-tune with the needs of wider society. The likes of Rousseau, conversely, would consider any kind of socialised construction of the self to be innately inauthentic. In this respect Trilling draws us to Rousseau's criticism of Molière's *Le Misanthrope*, in which he considers the avowed sincerity of Alceste, one of the play's principal characters, to be an exercise in 'self-deception' (Trilling 1972, p. 17). For Rousseau, Trilling states, this kind of sincerity that appeals to popular consciousness in favour of a purely personal spiritual endeavour, 'represents a 'false good' which is more dangerous than actual evil' (1972: 18). In short, it is impossible to operate authentically within an inauthentic framework.

On the question of whether authenticity is intrinsically individualistic or a societal pursuit, Rousseau, for example, considers modern societies to be the root of all unhappiness and advocated instead for a 'return to nature' (Golomb 1990, p. 244, Garrard, 2012, p. 70). Conversely, we find the Marxist assertion that 'the working out of the historical process, and therefore the essential life of man, could take place only in cities' (Trilling 1972, p. 20). Within such a polarized framework, there is significant speculation over whether authenticity is possible or not in any given circumstance, and in attempting to write reflexively about

identity across a number of these themes – via constructed notions of self, of place, and of individual and communitarian responses to the fundamentally inauthentic environment of the culture industry, I will also posit that authenticity can also be considered a de facto extension of ethnographic methodology.

METHODS

I. ETHNOGRAPHY AND AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

In order to investigate identity, class, and myth among first-wave Post-Punks, an autoethnographic approach was used with a range of methods including interviews and field notes, which allowed for this thesis to both explore the memory and constructed identities in relation to post-punk's 1978-1984 heyday, as well as the researcher's contemporary contribution to the legacy of 1919: a revived group from this period. Seeking to ascertain what it means to be a Yorkshire post-punk, as well as develop a reflexive account of the dual role of researcher-musician and further understand the meaning and role of authenticity in research of this nature. Ethnography, more broadly, provides an optimal framework for researching a culture that is at once distant – in this case the aforesaid “first-wave” era – and also part of everyday life. As Geertz (1972) put it:

the culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong (p. 29).

However, ethnography as a discipline has evolved considerably from its birthplace in nineteenth and early twentieth-century anthropology (Hammersley & Martyn, 2019, p. 1). Predominantly, as per the anthropological tradition, “it usually involved living with a group of people for extended periods [...] in order to document and interpret their distinctive way of life” (p. 1), however, its evolution can be characterised as a break from a methodology rooted in the values of natural sciences – i.e. objectivity and generalisability – which, for Merrill & West (2009), contributed to a “long-standing omission or marginalisation of the human subject in research” (p. 5).

Although most ethnographic research projects share data collection methods, including location in a “natural setting” (LeCompte and Schensul, 2010, p. 12) and the position of the researcher “as a primary tool for collecting primary data” (p. xviii), ethnography is far from a homogenous approach. While traditional ethnographies took a positivist approach, something that, it has been suggested, has its origins in colonial anthropology that considered “non-western countries [to be] primitive and undeveloped” (Soni, 2023, p. 9). Critical ethnography, on the other hand, has an explicit ideological function. As Palmer and Caldas (2015) put it, it sets out to “critique hegemony, oppression, asymmetrical power relations, and the normalization of these [...] in order to potentially foster social change” (p. 2), while Merrill & West contend that this is “frequently, if not exclusively” the case for biographical researchers (p. 5), though the two should not necessarily be conflated. That is, if deference is paid to the implicit understanding that biography and ethnography are separated by a dichotomy of personal and professional, where the lives of the researcher and their participants overlap exclusively within the field and between the start and end points of their research project. This is not the case for Carsten, Day, and Stafford (2018), who state that “biography and ethnography are mutually enmeshed” (p. 12), while an overlap of perhaps less severity is proposed by Tabib-Calif and Lomsky-Feder (2021) in the form of “ethnographic biography”, which takes into account the unique challenge of addressing subjects who “move across geographical space, constantly changing spheres of activity, occupations, and roles” (p. 1).

The effectiveness of this latter approach in this thesis was potentially limited by the relatively short nature of the study, with the specific rationale for the development of ethnographic

biography reflecting challenges posed by the longitudinal study of young people. The occupations and roles of my participants, for example, did not change in the course of my research. However, as the origins of the identities explored are necessarily rooted in subcultural participation from the late 1970s to the early/mid 1980s, and as all of my interviewees therefore provided some account of their (much) younger selves, we are able to view their formative experiences – including geographical movement, employment, and personal relationships – through the lens of identities and values that developed and matured through these experiences. While ethnography, in the mid-twentieth century, attracted criticism for its move away from the positivist epistemology preferred by natural sciences (Hammersley & Martyn, 2019, pp. 16, 19), perhaps in a concerted attempt to overcome the Westerncentrism described above by Soni, there would subsequently be a move from sociological ethnographers to develop “an alternative view of the proper nature of social research” (Hammersley & Martyn, 2019, p. 16; see also Lofland, 1967; Blumer, 1969; Matza, 1969; Denzin, 1971; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973; Guba 1978), ‘naturalism’, which stressed the need “to learn the culture of those we are studying” (Hammersley & Martyn, 2019, p. 18) in order to overcome the othering identified in earlier forms of anthropology.

Here we can also identify the need for reflexive positionality of the sort described by Reyes who, referring to Rios (2011), described an approach that acknowledged his “position as a graduate student afforded him privileges that marked him as different than the participants he studied” (Reyes, 2020, p. 224), despite having grown up in the same community. She goes on to further cite Rios (2015), alongside Contreras (2013), in their critique of Goffman’s (2014) ethnography of life in inner-city Philadelphia and the effects of US drug policing policy, quoting the latter as describing “‘cowboy ethnography’ which refers to ‘researchers who are thought to glorify themselves at the expense of the study participants’” (Contreras, 2013, pp. 26–27; Reyes, 2020, p. 226). In doing so, Reyes deepens the call for a reflexivity that goes beyond merely identifying some shared demographic characteristics between researcher and participant (p. 223; see also Robertson, 2002, pp. 789-790).

In Blackman (2016), we can see the introduction of the emotional imagination into sociological ethnography. Describing Wright-Mills’ *sociological imagination* (1959), Blackman refers to “the importance of learning to use ‘life experience’ alongside academic work” (2016, p. 66; see Wright-Mills, 1959, p. 216), ultimately citing Geertz (1988) as the basis for a critical ventriloquy, which “addresses the degree of collaboration between the researcher and the researched” (Blackman, 2016, p. 69). In doing so, he navigates Alcoff’s (1992) assertion that “the practice of speaking for others remains the best (political) possibility in some existing situations” (p. 24; Blackman, 2016, p. 70), in this case opting against it, while at the same time acknowledging that “the call for an increased personal stance in research has enabled the development of a responsive sociology” (p. 66; see Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In researching *this* thesis, however, there is a need to consider reflexive practice from within the specific field of autoethnography:

the term auto-ethnography has come to be reserved for ethnographical writing that incorporates reflexive self-observation and presents the researcher as an active and engaged participant in the social world or activity being studied.” (Anderson & Austin, 2012, p. 132)

Anderson and Austin further state that there are currently “two paradigmatic approaches; evocative and analytical auto-ethnography” (p. 134). Evocative is closely associated with Carolyn Ellis (1999, pp. 669-683; see also Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011), focussing on emotional experience in order to invoke empathy. While the analytical approach has a more traditional, theoretical basis in social science, both share “a methodological and representational commitment to reflexively engaging the researcher’s self as integral to the ethnographical enterprise” (Anderson & Austin, 2012, p.134). Because I have not only sought to explore the lives and testimonies of my participants within Yorkshire’s post-punk subcultural history, but also actively contributed towards this history in my role as the vocalist for 1919, then this had to be a PhD that included autoethnographic methods. As there is a challenge to hegemony in this thesis, namely in the role of Yorkshire within narratives of the ‘North’ and, within this, the contribution of artists outside of Leeds’ art-school sect, it necessarily also took the form of a critical ethnography. Biography, too, played an important role, and if not in the form of a sheer ethnographic biography then certainly in its orbit.

II. AUTHENTICITY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC ONTOLOGY

The natural starting point for ethnographic research is the process of *entering* the field. However, this is a very different process for outsider and insider research, and in the case of the latter is not necessarily quantifiable at all. As I have already suggested, the second chapter of this thesis can be considered a de facto extension of the methodology for this work, and this process of entering the field is the first example of why this is necessary. That I am both an insider and outsider of sorts means we need to consider examples from each type of ethnographic study in order to effectively contextualise this research, and Geertz gives us a clear demonstration of the process required for an outsider to gain trust and engagement from their research participants. For Geertz (1972), arriving in the Balinese village their research was situated in, the researchers themselves “were intruders, professional ones” (p. 1), and subsequently “invisible”. But following a police raid on a cockfight they were attending, they became not only “no longer invisible, [but] suddenly the center of all attention” (p. 4). This is because the raid had served as an induction into the community, for little reason other than their refusal to demand special treatment, as visiting academics, from the police. Instead, in what Geertz self-deprecatingly describes as little more than cowardice on their part, they had “demonstrated solidarity with what were now [their] covillagers [...] and [were now] quite literally ‘in’” (p. 4).

For an insider researcher, entering the field is slightly harder to define. As Finnegan ([1989] 2007) put it, “I had been involved in amateur music as both consumer and participant for many years” (p. xvii), and this cements her right away as an insider-researcher in Milton Keynes. This is something that the next chapter will suggest for me as an insider-researcher in Yorkshire. As an insider-in ethnographer of goth, an overlapping subculture to post-punk (see Spracklen & Spracklen, 2018, p. 1), Hodkinson’s (2002) approach is a useful starting point for developing my own research too. Hodkinson examines the norms, values, and (sub)cultural capital of the goth scene through a multi-method ethnography, analysing the role of cultural practices and consumer affectations from a critical insider perspective. Hodkinson’s work is considered by Kawamura (2011) as best articulating “the research process and methodologies that many researchers tend not to explain clearly in their work” (p. 57). Hodkinson interviewed 72 participants in total, in 56 interviews. This included a variety of performers within the scene, including promoters, DJs, fanzine editors, bands,

record label proprietors and specialist retailers, as well as “general participants” (2002, p. 6). Being able to draw upon personal experience within the participant culture, rather than sticking rigidly to pre-arranged questioning, was found often to be useful during the interview process itself. Moreover, making contacts and observing participants was made much easier by his status as an insider, as he states:

As well as having a suitable appearance, the manner in which I behaved in clubs [...] made meeting people, arranging interviews, taking photographs and gaining advice far easier than they might otherwise have been. (p. 5)

Hodkinson was also able to communicate this sincerity into the fledgling (pre-avatar) online community. Furthermore, having chosen a multi-method approach – citing Cohen’s assertion (1993) that too much in popular music studies were based solely on “textual analysis of styles or isolated interviews” (Hodkinson, 2002, p. 4) – Hodkinson’s ethnography included participant observation, interviews, media analysis, and a questionnaire. His genuine insider status was as crucial to his analysis as to his data collection. Referencing Muggleton’s scepticism of the capacity for researchers to over-rely on the reality of testimony (2000, p. 68), Hodkinson cites his ability as an insider to independently verify the accounts of his participants in the manner alluded to by Gillespie (1995).

Unlike Hodkinson’s critical insider position. Thornton (1995) utilises her position as an “outsider” to observe and dissect the intricate economy of cultural capital in club cultures that are “riddled with cultural hierarchies” (p. 14). Such capital, as surmised by Allaste (2015), “operates through values that its adherents reject and through their opposition to the mainstream” (p. 124). Thornton’s work centres on leisure spaces, practices, and (sub)cultural capital of UK dance music culture, with a specific focus on authenticity and counterculture in Acid House and Rave. Crystallized from an archival study of postwar records, recordings, and subsequent narratives of authenticity, Thornton (1995) “explores cultural transformations in two periods” (p. 19) through an ethnography of the UK club scene between 1988 and 1992.

Thornton (1995) opens her analysis by exploring authenticity at the dawn of recorded music. Where, in a live performance, the musician and performer have distinct artistic and cultural authenticity respectively, a record was simply a copy, “not regarded as the ‘real’ thing” (p. 37). But, she states, “Within disc cultures [...] the two authenticities diverge” (p. 39). In club culture, the record is regarded as musically authentic and shared listening and dancing its own culturally authentic experience. For Thornton, “the mainstream is a trope which [...] reveals the complex and cryptic relations between age and the social structure” (p.15). Her approach combined participation with observation of dance crowds, with each method providing very different results. Having identified a theoretical barrier in participation, namely that “the ‘mainstream’ was a perennial point of discursive reference, perpetually absent from view” (1995, p. 107), she attempts to investigate oppositionality to mainstream culture through more objectivist means.

Between 1988 and 1992, I acted as a participant observer at over two hundred discos, clubs and raves and attended at least thirty live gigs for comparative purposes (p. 108).

There is very little, ultimately, that defines the 'mainstream' in concrete terms. Instead, it serves as a magic resolution of "certain socio-economic contradictions" (p. 116) that can assert subcultural status and capital. "Like the mainstream, 'the media' is a [...] vague monolith against which subcultural credibilities are measured" (Thornton, 1995, p. 16). There are common discourses that arise here as within explorations of both "otherness" and "authenticity", as Thornton reveals within this media symbiosis both the oppositionality of the former, and the capacity for the latter to transgress and re-apply meaning. If I am to successfully navigate authenticity, otherness, and cultural capital in this research, it will therefore require some interplay of outsider and insider methodology, which Cohen (1991) provides a template for, using a mixture of participant observation, co-operation and conversational interviews in her focused study of two bands in Liverpool with professional aspirations, of which there are notable implications for both insider-outsider and authentic-inauthentic dualities (p. 5).

My central involvement in primary research activities, as well as the conversational structure of the interviews – which, by this point, were largely with people I would consider personal friends – is evidence of an ethnography that was fundamentally insider-oriented. And yet, at the start of chapter 1, despite offering Hodgkinson as a specific influence on constructing the kind of insider-in research that I sought to undertake myself, the fact that I had pinpointed my entry to the field in this way still had much more in common with the outsider ethnography of Geertz than it is of Hodgkinson or Finnegan. On Yorkshireness, former Yorkshire Cricket captain Andrew Gayle once said:

We've been brought up in Yorkshire, we know all about the tradition and the pride, and I'd love to see the day when once again we will field 11 Yorkshiremen. I dream of leading out a team of players born and bred in the county (Hopps, 2010, n.p).

For the ontology of ethnography, by the end of this thesis the reader should have some more understanding of whether answering an advert, as I did, and subsequently *becoming* an insider, is enough to magically resolve the fundamental contradictions outlined by Thornton: namely, in my case, that I was born outside of Yorkshire, which some would-be gatekeepers of local identity would not accept (as above), and also several years after the end of the period that I now represent. This is why authenticity was so central to this research.

III. POSITIONALITY

I am a punk musician who was born in 1990. I have been the vocalist for 1919, a cult Bradford post-punk group who first found success in the early 1980s, since guitarist Mark Tighe began working on re-forming the group in 2014. Since that point, I have become an active participant in Yorkshire post-punk and formed close relationships with a number of key participants of the scene's first wave of 1979 to 1984 (roughly the lifespan of 1919 in the group's first incarnation). This refers principally to original members of 1919 such as Mark, Mick, Steve, and Paul, as well as newer members such as Karl (and later Ding) whose careers began in the same era. But moreover, also to a number of other individuals and groups – whether artists, producers, promoters, roadies, journalists, photographers, or fans – who had either continued to be active or who had similarly re-formed their original groups due to a renewed interest in the music of the first post-punk era⁵.

The mid-late 2010s can be considered the second post-punk revival era, with self-avowed post-punk acts such as Idles, Chainsmokers, and Working Mens Club finding significant critical and commercial success during this period, and the likes of Arctic Monkeys, Kaiser Chiefs, and the Cribs having achieved the same a decade or so prior. But just as was the case for my friends, bandmates, and comparable individuals and groups in the early 1980s, 1919 have found a home beneath the surface of popular consciousness, with new and old artists and agents as described above who operate, if the pun can be excused, in the *shadows* of popular culture, but specifically for whom the cultural capital of the first wave is of particular value. This is owed to a combination of heritage, purism, a broad rejection of mainstream taste, and, especially for the surviving members of the first waves of punk and post-punk, also of memory and nostalgia. And this corner of (sub)cultural participation is where this PhD research takes place.

The analytical focus of this thesis centres on narratives of constructed Yorkshire identity, or 'Yorkshireness', through the lens of key post-punk participants of the genre's 1978-1984 heyday, combined with an autoethnographic account of my work as a member of 1919 and subsequent interactions with peers and other stakeholders. In particular, and appropriate to the outward spiral of trajectory that comes with having 1919 as a starting point, my research is focused on artists that, while important, have not had the levels of scholarly or literary attention that has been paid to some of their contemporaries. Yorkshire's post-punk representation in these areas has tended to be restricted to Leeds' university art-school bands (see O'Brien, 2012; Reynolds, 2005; and later Butt, 2022), and as such there is ample space for me to work with an adjacent focus. That said, the decision for my research to be guided by my personal-professional network (in most cases via interaction as part of 1919), separate, to a degree, from the art-school bands, and in-turn also from their renowned radical feminist legacy, has meant my research participants have been predominantly West Yorkshire males. On one hand, this has provided me with the opportunity, in chapter 3 (iii), to explore masculinity in the "paranoid atmosphere of gender warfare" (O'Brien, 2012, p.

⁵ In *Vive le Rock's Gothic Annual* (see 'Dark Re-entries', 2020), Skeletal Family bassist Trotwood commented on the number of bands re-forming, that 'A lot of people, maybe some too young to see us back in the day, [...] were wanting to relive their youth' (p. 100). He also refers specifically to 1919, alongside Paul from the Danse Society – one of my interviewees. Paul himself refers to 1919 in the same feature (p. 92), and so here it is possible to see how the snowballing of personal contacts took place for my collection of data.

28) described by O'Brien, but in another sense it means there is a danger of presenting West Yorkshire as representative of Yorkshire as a whole.

There are bands, then, that could have created a more regionally-balanced study of Yorkshire, but who have not been included in this research. In addition to constraints of connectedness to 1919 and a deliberate digression from the art-school focus of existing work, there are considerations of genre to be made. For instance, Hull's Throbbing Gristle are East Yorkshire's sole representative in Reynold's *Rip it Up...* (2005, pp. 224-244), and there is certainly a case to be made for their inclusion if post-punk is accepted as anything built from a punk sound, aesthetic, or ethos. In the case of Throbbing Gristle's industrial sound, Hegarty (2007) stated that "in the shadow of punk, something that would come to be called industrial music was being made" p. 105). However, as this thesis will also consider, defining post-punk isn't as simple as this, and crucially in this case the band are best known as pioneers of industrial music⁶: a separate, if somewhat parallel genre.

Sheffield band Pulp are one of the more interesting groups that fall slightly outside of the focus of this research, principally because they are among the most well-known, yet are somewhat underrepresented in post-punk discourse. Many of those familiar with the band will associate them with the 1990s Britpop era of British popular music, owing to their commercial success at the time; their music is deeply class-conscious, experimentally inclined, and of a style that infuses elements of new wave with indie and art-rock in an accessible but pointedly "authentic" manner. But although they fall outside the stylistic conventions of the genre, they also have a great post-punk pedigree, sitting alongside 1919 at York's Red Rhino label for their debut album, *It* (1982). Like a number of my participants, including 1919, and synonymous with emerging acts of the time, they also recorded a Peel Session⁷. Among their number in this early stage was Simon Hinkler, formerly of Artery and who would later join the Mission – a Leeds group containing members of Red Lorry Yellow Lorry and Sisters of Mercy – who were a key proponent of the gothic rock genre that emerged from post-punk in the mid-1980s. Most likely the omission of Pulp from accounts of this era post-punk in its first wave is owed to their limited success in the period, which in turn is compounded by their significant mainstream success in the 1990s. Although their music in this period is stylistically removed from post-punk – albeit, as the next chapter will consider, the genre itself encompasses a variety of musical styles – the same is true for Throbbing Gristle, who are included in post-punk narratives (see Reynolds, 2005) due to their overlapping geographical, socio-political, and epochal relevance.

Although vocalist Jarvis Cocker is cited on more than one occasion in my explorations of Yorkshire and urban mythology, the group is outside of my focus simply because, like their Sheffield compatriots Artery and I'm So Hollow, a 1919-centric approach did not lead me to them (although the latter pair were cited by Paul G (see Appendix iii). If I had engineered a greater focus on South Yorkshire acts, it may be that the band's presence would have been felt more prominently, and this will be something posed for future work during the 'outro' of this thesis – as will the possibility of revisiting the art-school bands with

⁶ "The term 'industrial music' is mostly thought to have come from Throbbing Gristle's label Industrial Records" (Hegarty, 2007, p. 106).

⁷ John Peel was a BBC Radio DJ, notable for championing new music. His live sessions – "Peel Sessions" – were a regular feature, highly coveted by emerging artists (see Heatley, 2005; "Keeping it Peel", n. d).

a specific emphasis on Yorkshire identity⁸. While there is a “Sheffield” sound that has a distinct character (see Schofield & Wright, 2020), especially after a pivot towards the electronic leanings of Cabaret Voltaire or the Human League (see also Reynolds, 2005, pp. 150-172), my intention in this thesis is to identify essential characteristics of Yorkshireness without imposing a homogeneousness of Yorkshire identity or culture. It is akin to, as Blackman and Kempson (2021) put it, utilising the sociological imagination of C. Wright-Mills to co-produce knowledge by “blending intellectual life and biographical experience” (p. 66).

One of the main strengths of this research is that I am a musician – I know the area, am part of it, and indeed have recruited participants on this basis. This ‘insider’ status is beneficial both for engaging participants as well as managing interactions and interpreting testimony (see Hodkinson, 2002, p. 5). It is therefore important to maintain a reflexive approach to my positionality as a researcher in order to, as Savin-Baden and Major (2013) put it, “provide the reader with the ability to determine whether preconceptions have unnecessarily influenced the results” (p. 71). This is a principle drawn from Bourdeau’s theory of reflexivity, which “requires the sociology of the sciences to be subject in principle to the same treatment it applies to other sciences” (2004, p. 18). Referring to its role within narratives of habitus, he states:

Constructing the notion of habitus as a system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action meant constituting the social agent in his true role as the practical operator of the construction of objects (1990a, p. 13).

Underlining the importance of reflexivity in social research, Bourdieu concludes that “if it is to be more than the projection of personal feelings, social science necessarily presupposes the stage of objectification” (1990b, p.11). According to Rose (2020), reflexivity – as it concerns researcher positionality – is “commonly displayed by authors through (often explicit) statements concerning racial identities, sexual orientation or gendered perspectives” (p. 451). In my case, I can make the explicit statements that I am A: a post-punk musician, and B: a Yorkshireman. But beyond this, there are implicit characteristics that Reyes (2020) sets out in her ‘ethnographic toolkit’, which identifies visible and invisible characteristics utilised by ethnographers to carry out their research, from setting up interviews to building rapport with participants (pp. 228-230). Notably, even concerning ostensibly ‘visible’ traits, there is a degree of subjectivity rooted in participant perception. She states, “For Rebecca, being American meant being white, and I – no matter my skin color – was white” (p. 229), and such an observation could shed an important light on my role in the eyes of my participants. My exploration of authenticity in this paper is, in part, a question of whether a musician born in 1990 can be considered a legitimate voice, or at all an ‘insider’, in 1980s music culture. But the answer to this could lie somewhere within this example from Reyes. As a member of 1919, an 80s group, I have become an automatic peer of my participants, irrespective of some mitigating factors, something that will be

⁸ The sleeve for Gang of Four’s ‘Outside the Trains don’t Run on Time’ (1980) is a picture of Leeds Town Hall.

explored in relation to existential authenticity in chapter 2. However, as Coffey (1999) highlights, this connectedness of researcher and subject remains a disciplinary challenge:

The legitimization of autobiographical ethnography continues to be fraught [...] It is still relatively unusual, and often described as alternative (or experimental) for the ethnographic self to be central to the experiences, events and texts of the field (p. 18).

Coffey establishes here the inadequacy of prevalent assumptions of ethnographic research, lamenting “the so-called conventional wisdom of ethnography [that] has been premised on a duality of observed and observer” (p. 20), and furthermore citing Bowen (1964, pp. 12, 4-5, 38, 290) as an example of the complexity of the researcher-field relationship (Coffey, 1999, pp. 19-20).

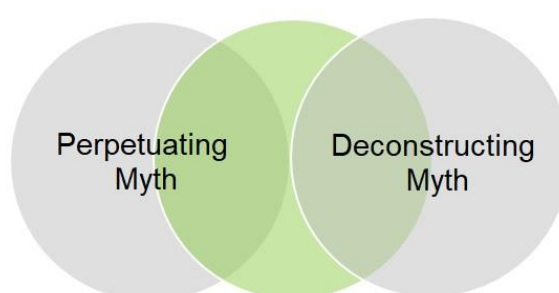


FIGURE 3 – POSITIONALITY MAP (GOLDHAMMER, 2024)

A key part of the original contribution to knowledge of this work, as illustrated in Figure 3 (above), is precisely reliant on this absence of observed-observer duality. Indeed, having stated that I am a post-punk musician is to state, especially within a commercialised music landscape, that I am a creator of myth: precisely the myth that I am attempting to unpick in my research. So while I have a unique perspective in the pursuit of these two roles simultaneously, the question is then whether the two positions are compatible.

IV. DATA COLLECTION

My research is an ethnography consisting of 10 face-to face and two telephone interviews with 11 key participants in Yorkshire post-punk, and personal communication with a further two, alongside autoethnographic field notes. This data collection took place between January 2017 and September 2018, during which time – over a 12 month period from September 2017 to September 2018 – I took field notes to record my activity as a member of 1919, which included 18 concerts in 7 countries (Germany, Poland, England, Scotland, Sweden, Finland, and Italy), part of the promotion cycle for the Bloodline LP (2017) – my first album with 1919 and the group’s second in total – and some preliminary A&R activity for the subsequent studio album, Futurecide (2019).



FIGURE 4 – BACKSTAGE AT KLUB DÖD, STOCKHOLM (FRANSSON, 2018)

On the potential obstacles to writing notes while in the field, Thompson (2014) writes that “some colleagues are doing research while also working [...] and have much less time to write long detailed fieldnotes” (p. 252), and this is certainly the case for life on the road with 1919 at this time. In a way that hasn’t quite been the same since the COVID-19 pandemic and Britain’s exit from the European Union, which roughly coincided via the latter coming into effect in January 2020, these DIY⁹ tours comprised great lengths of time in the back of a van. There were spells in airports and on budget airlines, the occasional cheap hotel, and nights on sofas and floors or bunks in rooms above venues. There was some time to shuffle around the city sights of Warsaw, and a little too much time knocking about with the Membranes, in searing heat, somewhere in a Neapolitan valley. Beyond performing, eating, or sleeping, all often in the same building, there was little time spent doing anything other than drinking and chatting, in backstage areas or elsewhere in the vicinity, with friends, fans, promoters, bands, and of course each other. As Thompson further states, “fieldnotes are

⁹ See O’Shea (2020) and Adams (2008, pp. 481-482) for narratives of DIY (do it yourself) in punk.

typically best written as close to the event as possible, preferably that night” (2014, p. 251), and such was the endeavour, but in the form of brief notes – on my phone’s ‘notes’ app, which handily gave the outward appearance of texting – to be expanded when the opportunity arose; “not ‘writing everything down’ but constructing particular versions of selected events” (p. 252). This method also influenced my approach to recording interviews, as I sought to demonstrate the utilisation of my ethnographic toolkit (see Reyes, 2020 pp. 228-230) by including details of the events surrounding the interviews themselves. It should be clear that there is a certain rapport here, owing to our shared (sub)cultural participation, even when I had not met the interviewee previously, as was the case for Paul D, Rosie, and Aki. The largely unstructured, conversational style of interview then reinforces this approach to research, furthermore giving breathing space to participant testimony that is necessary of a reflexive co-production of knowledge. However, in opening with questions like “what was it like growing up?”, while significantly open-ended, are nonetheless predicated on themes that I’d sought to explore as part of my research objectives, and I have therefore tended to describe this style as *semi*-structured rather than *un*structured.

The straightforward reason for my primary research retaining the focus that it does, is that it has 1919 at its core. My participants were either those who have been closely connected with the group at some point, either as current or former members (Mark, Mick, Sputnik, Karl), or producers (Will), contemporaries who have shared stages with the band across eras (Aki, Wolfy, Anne-Marie, Rosie, Paul G), or who were connected to these participants (Rob, Dave, John). These participants are, furthermore, primarily drawn from those who I have encountered during my time as the vocalist for 1919, and in the case of Aki (see Figure 15), the experience documented through field notes formed the basis for the subsequent interview. The interviews carried out were thematically analysed, based on keywords derived from secondary data analysis.

Although not quite the “pens, scissors, and index cards” (Deterding & Waters, 2021, p. 708) of the 1960s, the coding of interviews carried out in my research can be considered somewhat low-fi. Primarily this is because I didn’t use specific coding software, instead attaching keywords (e.g. place names or band names) to a basic chart that was subdivided into research areas (subculture, myth, etc.) – a similar approach I use to analyse discourse in documents and other secondary materials. There are elements of Deterding and Waters’ ‘flexible’ approach to coding in my methodology, particularly in their statement that “researchers should take care to note chunks of text where respondents are particularly concise, articulate, or poignant” (2021, p. 727). However, there is a clear basis in the more traditional ‘grounded’ theory (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; see also Deterding & Waters, 2021, p. 709).

...the grounded theory approach was developed based on projects with a relatively small number of interviews, generally conducted, and analyzed by the researcher himself or herself. Increasingly, qualitative studies involve large numbers of interviews, often numbering near 100 (p. 710).

Whilst Deterding and Waters offer an important critique of grounded theory in an attempt to modernise data analysis in qualitative research, it is not a wholesale rebuke of this approach, nor a blanket insistence on the use of data analysis software. Indeed, the authors note the potential superfluousness of the latter in instances of narrow scope or much smaller data sets (p. 721), whilst in the former stating that the base level of knowledge expected of

researchers is inherently at odds with a “pathological” prescription to inductivity (p. 713). Nonetheless, the interviews I conducted were fundamentally inductive, carried out in a conversational form, based on themes identified in literature, and were flexible enough to evolve with observations made throughout the data collection process.

The purpose of avoiding rigidly structured interviews can be seen as a performance of my insider position, which becomes especially useful when interviewing musicians overly familiar with the direct approach typically employed by journalists. As storytellers, according to Feldman, Sköldberg, Brown, and Horner (2004), “rely on tacit assumptions shared with their listeners” (p. 150), as the nature of interviewing for music press – a process of mutual self-promotion for artists, journalists, and their publications – is undoubtedly one of myth creation and perpetuation, and with the reality that, as a musician myself, I am equally acquainted with this type of interaction, there is an inherent danger of succumbing to a mythologising interview process. This is especially true when myth, or other received knowledge, seeks so readily to populate holes in memory: holes that are created and widened by the elapsed decades, by drugs and alcohol, by individual health issues, and the ageing process itself. At one stage I had hoped to seek verification for the accounts of some participants through the interviews with others – Dave’s story about the March Violets, for example (see appendix iv) – but learned the futility of such hopes through Rosie’s account of chemotherapy-induced memory loss (Interview, July 10, 2018). Nonetheless, a record of meticulous historical accuracy peripheral to this thesis, which seeks primarily to explore the lived experience of a deeply mythologised cultural landscape, in which constructed narratives of identity and place play a meaningful role. Or, as Feldman et al. put it:

Our concern is not with whether the argument is right or wrong or whether the events in question actually happened but, rather, with the understandings that the storyteller is expressing through the story (2004, p. 152).

The interviews themselves were chosen in a relatively simple manner, which I would like to consider fairly organic, though in truth the starting point was a matter of sheer necessity. Like the field notes that were gathered in a calendar year, September 2017 to September 2018, the same can be said for the bulk of the interviews. The exception to this is the initial interview with my 1919 bandmates, furthermore the only group interview conducted, which took place on 11th January 2017. Barely two months into my PhD, a detailed timescale for data collection had not been established at this point. However, Mark had been diagnosed with terminal cancer some time before and was keen to participate. He passed away just 17 days after the interview, and it was only on his explicit wish that 1919 would continue at all. We performed a tribute show in Leeds the following month, with Joel Heyes standing in on guitar for the night, and raised some money for Marie Curie, including donations from the Carpe Nocturn promoter, Howard, and from Westworld (Plastic Head), the label behind Bloodline (2018). After asking Sam¹⁰ to join as our guitar player it was back to business. His first tour was that April, and his second – in September/October – was the start of my planned data collection year.

¹⁰ Sam is like a brother to me - the one from the opening vignette, who I was living with when I met Mark for the first time. It would have been difficult to bring a stranger into the fold after what we’d been through, but his guitar did most of the talking anyway.

When the tour had finished, and with the band mostly studio-based until April, this was a good time to conduct some more interviews. Having started with 1919 it made sense to stay close to home, so I arranged to meet Paul (aka “Sputnik”). The day we set off to Germany for the September tour, I’d sent Paul the image Karl had shown me some time before, of him and Mick outside the trial of Peter Sutcliffe in Dewsbury (see Figure 15). He sent his thoughts via email, and some of the interview – on 19th October – was dedicated to the subject explored in chapter 3 (iii). One of the striking things about Paul, aside from his friendliness and wit, was how comfortable it was talking to him. It felt like we already knew each other – something reinforced by his use of some of Mick’s sayings. An example of this was “Green Nigel”, a play on Blue Peter that the pair used as shorthand for charity gigs¹¹ (in this case referring to our final gig of the year – Goth City in Leeds, which Joel organises). It’s no real surprise though, as the two had been close for decades. As well as playing synth for 1919 for a period in the 80s, Paul had been in a number of subsequent bands with Mick: The Hive, Ship of Fools, and even a Vicious Pink splinter group called Love and Destruction (Mick also worked with another VP splinter, Drug Free America). Having met at Piccadilly station, we’d chatted about the Manchester rain (and punk hairdos - which is how he originally earned the nickname “Sputnik”), before walking to a pub in the Northern quarter that I didn’t note the name of (I was just happy to be going inside!) This was the only interview that required me to scrawl hand-written notes on the train home (most others had other appointments scheduled), as we continued to drink and chat about everything from music to sexuality and relationships, before heading to the Ritz to watch Buzzcocks and Pins, courtesy of the latter.

The next interview was in November with Dave, a friend who I’d lived and worked with at one stage, and who seemed to have a story about everyone I brought up! Most relevantly, in this case, were his experiences with the Violets, Mekons, and Expelaires, and above all his work with Will, who Mark and I had recorded some tracks with before the 1919 reformation was completed with Mick and Karl. He gave me a tape of some rough recordings of God Squad from the 80s. The band never released a record, which is a shame because the songs are actually pretty good.

¹¹ As I noted at the time, I mentioned it to Kev the next night and he said they’d coined the phrase together when they were much younger.

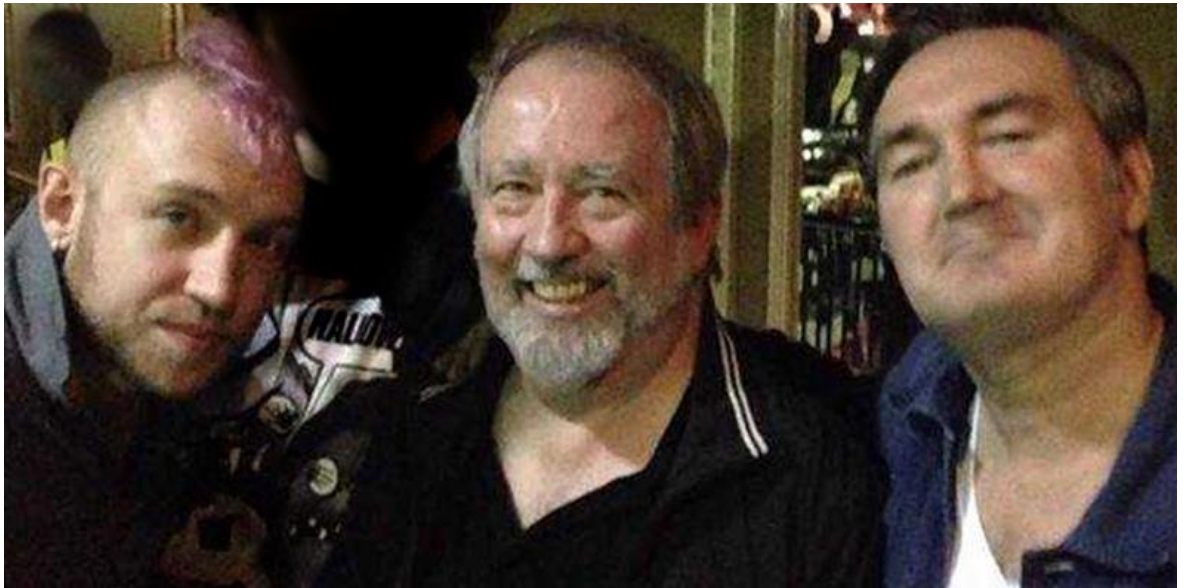


FIGURE 5 – WITH PETE SHELLEY AND SPUTNIK IN MANCHESTER (DRAKE, 2017)

The final interview of the year took place over the phone, with Mick, specifically discussing the photo from the Ripper trial (Figure 15), as well as his thoughts on the Fallout song that took aim at the perceived ‘mob’ mentality that surrounded it. At this time I was also in communication with Rob, a member of Fallout, who gave me his thoughts on the photo on 5th December.

The next interview was on 13th February 2018 with Wolfy, of Red Lorry Yellow Lorry, Expelaires, and Mission fame, at the Palace pub in Leeds. I’d first met Wolfy in 2016, when 1919 played a secret show with Lorries for Ding’s 50th birthday on 25th March – at Aatma in Manchester. Ding, now 1919’s bass player, was – and is still – on bass for the Lorries at the time, although as of April 2024 this was still their last performance. I’d met Ding on 5th February of that year, when he came to watch 1919 in Manchester with Skeletal Family at Zoo. He already knew Mick and had been a fan of 1919 in his youth, so invited us that night to play for his birthday gig, and ultimately set the scene for him joining 1919 a few years later! I’d gotten to know Wolfy a bit more that year when 1919 played in Wakefield with Expelaires, along with The Society, which was also the first time I met Paul Gilmartin. Wolfy had had a bit of a rough time when we sat down for the interview, so there wasn’t much chatting either side. The interview started with a pint and ended with a cigarette, and we’ve gotten a bit closer since. I even did a stint on vocals for him a few years later, in Vig Vam Bam – something of a punk supergroup¹² indulging a passion for 70s glam rock!

On 12th March I recorded an interview with Mick on behalf of the Italian magazine *Ascension*. The questions had been emailed over and, because Mick doesn’t use email, I read the questions to him over the phone. I’ve opted to include it here based on the date the recording was carried out, primarily because the published version was translated into Italian, and there was an interesting question from the interviewer, Alex, comparing the legacy of Bradford to other English cities which forms part of the context for chapter 4 (ii) and Goldhammer (2019a). A few days later, on 17th March, I interviewed Gigi (Paul G) at

¹² Members included Gerard, Martyn and Jess of The Vaynes/Expelaires, and Fi of The Hill Bandits: a Mekons splinter that also included Davy, an interviewee in Goldhammer (2022).

the renowned Old Chapel studio in Leeds, where he was rehearsing with The Society: his new group reviving TDS (Danse Society) songs alongside new material¹³. Interviewing Gigi was an obvious choice, beyond our recent gig together, because of the well-documented crossing of paths between the Danse Society and 1919 in the bands' original runs (see Figures 6, 7, 8), in addition to his being thanked by name on the back cover of 1919's Earth Song EP (1984). With a rehearsal to get back to, and ultimately a drive home to Barnsley, there wasn't much to document other than the contents of the interview. However, there were two things that struck me immediately when talking to Paul: firstly that he was cut from very much the same cloth as Mick (although distinctly South Yorkshire in tone), as a working class drummer who flirted with pop stardom in their younger years – in Paul's case burning brighter but for a much shorter but period – and were now driven solely by their love of music. The second thing was what a handsome bloke he was! Despite the years on the clock, and struggles with sobriety for extended periods, he has this chiselled jaw and slicked-back hairdo, and it's still discernibly the man who was a dead ringer for George Michael back in the day. Paul had been through a few legal issues in recent years, stemming from a dispute with one of the other TDS co-founders over the use of the name. A couple of years later I was able to help him out with a related issue, compiling and submitting his defence document to court. This is something I was happy to do for a friend, but I'm especially proud to have done so because of the help he'd given to 1919 in the band's early days.

On 24th April, just before we played at Whitby Goth Weekend for the first time, I communicated with Anne-Marie of Skeletal Family, though the exchange was brief. I'd sent a message to the remaining original members – her, Stan, and Trotwood – and expressed my desire to set up an interview. Hers was the only response, though she was unresponsive to a separate interview request on 6th August. It was a tad unfortunate as Skeletal Family are probably the 80s band we've shared the stage with more than any other in the modern era of 1919. Nonetheless, I left it there as I didn't want to pester anyone. In the last couple of years Anne-Marie has departed "Skels" for the second time, performing with Ghost Dance (her original post-Skels group, co-founded by Sisters of Mercy's Gary Marx), while the others continue as Skeletal Family.

¹³ Dave Whitaker, another of Gigi's former TDS bandmates – and who also played with Expelaires in recent years – manages the recording studio at Chapel and had been involved with The Society at some stage. He was knocking around along with the other bandmates.

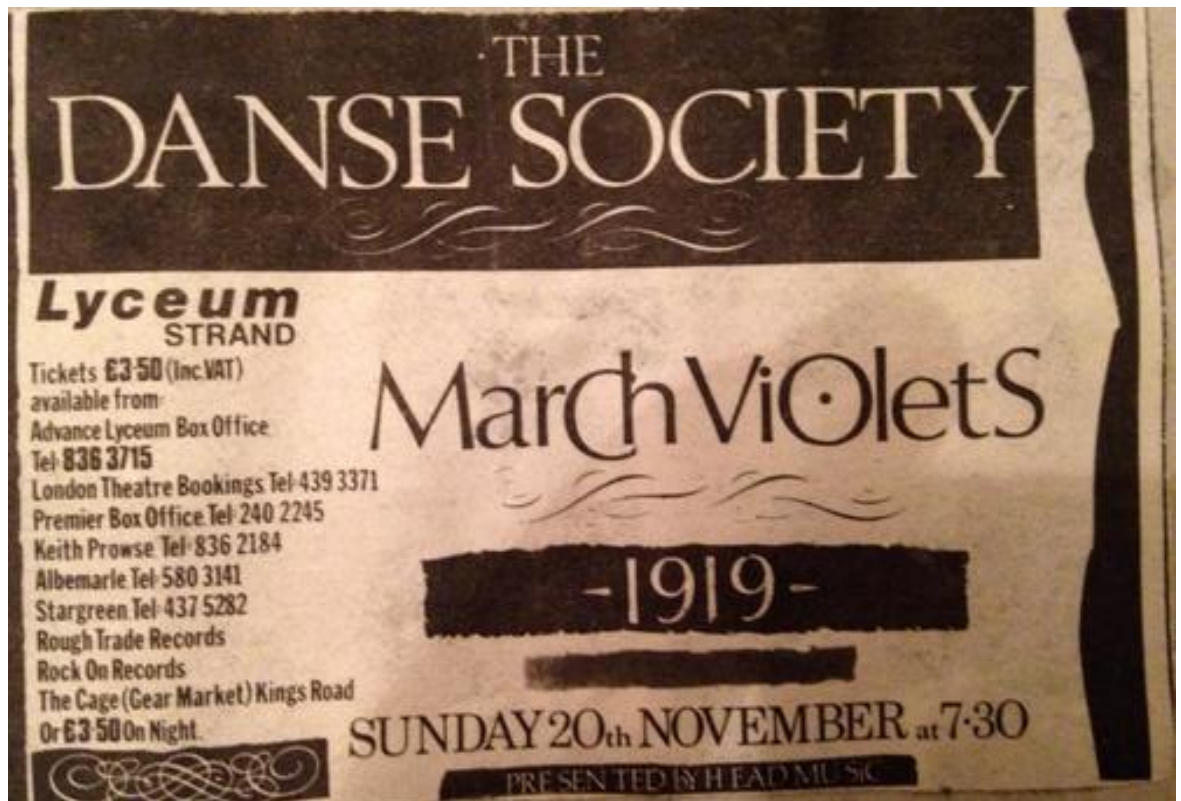


FIGURE 6 – LONDON GIG ADVERT (SOUNDS, 1983)

On 10th July I travelled to Manchester again, this time to interview Rosie at Idle Hands café. In the time since the last interview there had been a string of UK dates and some good opportunities for writing field notes, as well as making some new friends! The Society joined us in Manchester on 6th May, while at our debut in Scotland, at Glasgow Audio, we were supported by Twisted Nerve¹⁴: an Edinburgh group whose career had followed a similar path to 1919s (see Figure 8) and, like us and many others, had respawned in recent years after some indie success in the early 1980s. Rosie was the first person I interviewed that was neither directly connected to 1919 nor somebody that I had previously met (at least to our recollection). However, there was not only archival evidence of 1919 and March Violets crossing paths¹⁵, through clippings sent to me by long-time fans of 1919 and the wider genre (see Figure 6; see Figure 10 for an unrelated example) – in particular from David Manlove and Sean Riley – as well as Nick Toczec’s archive of posters from his club night at Keighley Funhouse (see Figures 7, 8, 9), but the Violets also provided a particularly interesting example to explore. This is because the band was formed at university, with a mixture of students from Yorkshire and elsewhere, but were not part of the art-school scene explored by O’Brien (2012), Reynolds (2005), or later Butt (2022). The interview ended with Rosie due to attend another appointment, and shortly before had stressed the need to “start” the interview owing to lack of time. She laughed when I said this was the interview, and gestured to the recording device on the table. This demonstrated a couple of things: firstly, that the

¹⁴ We grew close with Twisted Nerve over subsequent years, playing with them in England, Poland, and a few times in Scotland. I even opened for them as a solo act in Berlin, where we started the habit of performing The Damned’s New Rose (1976) (see Twisted Nerve & Rio Goldhammer- New Rose, 2019)

¹⁵ We would ultimately share a stage again some years later, at Wave Gotik Treffen 2023 in Leipzig.

interview style was conversational to the point that it wasn't recognised as an interview, and furthermore that this represents both a successful departure from a familiar journalistic format and likely also an effective use of my post-punk cultural capital.

The following month, on 21st August, I interviewed Will at Eiger Studios in Leeds. The adjoining unit to Eiger was the new home of his Soundworks studios, after the original unit on Kirkstall road – where Mark and I had recorded the tracks that would later be released as *Circle of the Absurd* – had been badly damaged by floods in 2015. Will is from Harrogate, like me, but has been an important part of Leeds' music scene for decades. He produced many of the bands that found success in the post-punk revival era of the early 2000s, including Kaiser Chiefs and the Cribs, and worked with Dave on early God Squad recordings. After the interview he showed me around the new unit, a work-in-progress that still mostly comprised MDF and raw sound-proofing material, then we chatted about the *Circle of the Absurd* record – which he had contributed synth and programming to – while searching through hard drives for the unfinished tracks.

A couple of weeks later, on 4th September, I interviewed John Hyatt – of the Three Johns – in his office at Liverpool John Moores University. Although my focus in this thesis is specifically turned away from the Leeds art-school bands, which the Three Johns were a part of, there were a few reasons for seeking an interview with John. The first was that I didn't want to be solely reliant on secondary resources when referring to this section of Yorkshire music history, the second was that Rosie referred to him directly in our interview, and the third was that the Three Johns had not garnered the scholarly – or indeed commercial – attention of their counterparts in Gang of Four or the Mekons. Whilst mentioned in O'Brien (2012), this is only due to despite co-founder John Langford also being a founder of the latter¹⁶. Additionally, though I don't have evidence that the Three Johns played with 1919, they cropped up in the interview and appear on a few of the same listings (see Figures 8, 10) – the only of the aforesaid art-school bands to do so in the documents available to me.

My final interview was held on 11th September with Aki, of Southern Death Cult (SDC). As stated previously, Aki lives in London, and our first meeting was when he came to watch 1919 on 3rd June at the Windmill in Brixton. I had offered to meet in London, but he was planning to visit home and was kind enough to get in touch ahead of his journey to Bradford. We met at the Westleigh hotel, which Aki described as a "bit more punky" than the city centre alternatives. The place seemed to have signs of life at one point, but now seemed to be frozen in time in around 2004, with the jukebox blaring late 90s and early-2000s chart hits on a loop. Aki had to confirm the price when ordering a blackcurrant squash, which is usually a sign that someone has been in London for too long, but at 15p it was cheap even by local standards. The interview itself forms the backbone of chapter 3 (iv), and there was the clearest example here of the reflexivity described in Reyes' *Ethnographic toolkit* (2020), insofar as she refers to an explicit statement about her immigrant family history (p. 230), which in turn creates a commonality with her participant. In my case it was because Aki's account of his parents' values closely resembled that of my grandfather, an Eastern European Jewish immigrant, and verbal affirmation of this demonstrated utilisation of an invisible tool that would have been visible for a non-white researcher.

¹⁶ Some years later, they were the opening act in Butt (2022, p. ix).

The end of the interview segued into a long conversation with the barman, who, having cut a lonely figure behind the bar of a large, empty pub, came to join us at our table. It turned out the low prices and the non-existent clientele were because the pub had been marked for closure, but owing to some quirk of insurance or business rates it was cheaper for the brewery to keep the doors open until the end of the lease than close prematurely, even if it meant paying someone to stand behind a deserted bar. I'm sure this could be used as an allegory for the state of the post-industrial north, or maybe just Bradford, but in any case, Aki was kind enough to drop us at the interchange for the train home. Here, we mainly discussed his car, a 20-odd-year-old BMW that I thought was incredibly cool, and more so when he said he'd picked it up for about £500! Although a breakdown was the cause of him arriving late to our Brixton gig...

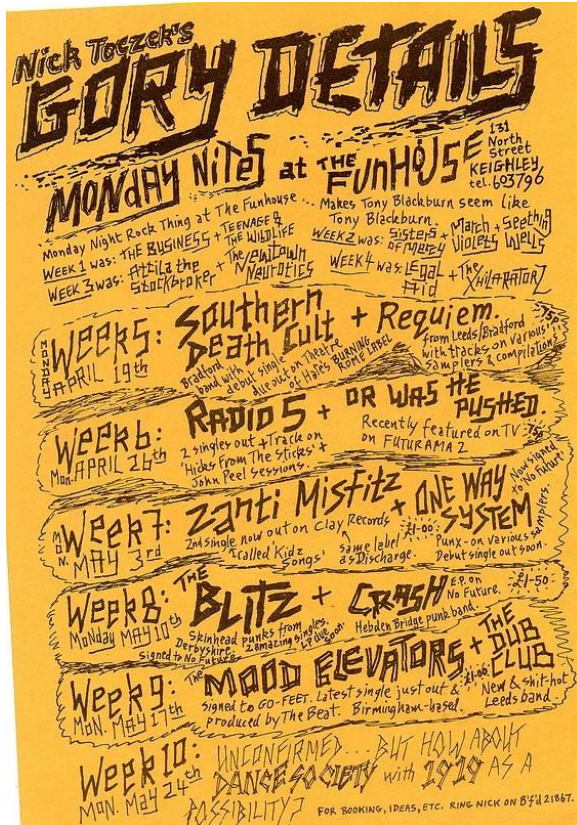


FIGURE 7 – NICK TOCZEK'S GORY DETAILS, 1982 (1)

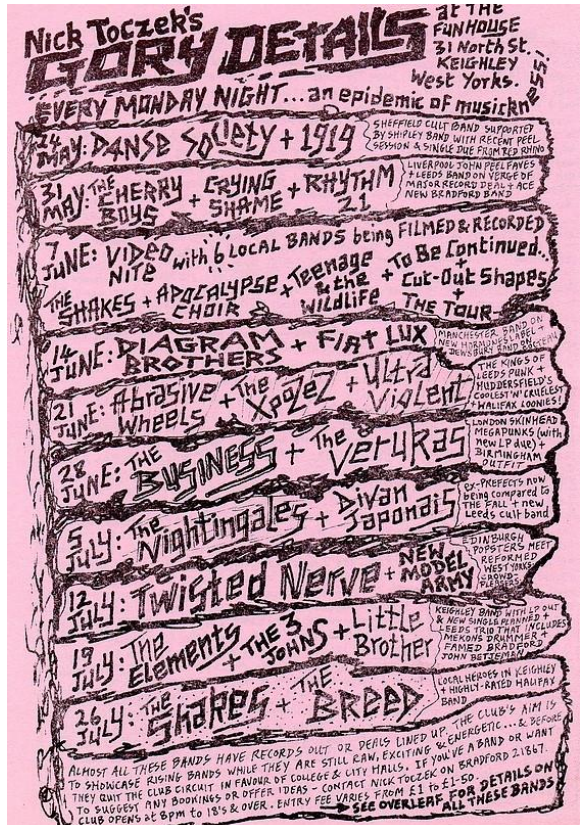


FIGURE 8 – NICK TOCZEK'S GORY DETAILS, 1982 (2)



FIGURE 9 – NICK TOCZEK'S GORY DETAILS, 1982 (3)



FIGURE 10 – LONDON GIG LISTING (SOUNDS, 1983)

V. NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION AND YORKSHIRE DIALECT

'A ! it's grand to ha' plenty o' brass !
It's grand to be able to spend
A trifle sometimes on a glass
For yosen, or sometimes for a friend ;
To be able to bury yor neive
Up to th' shackle i' silver an' gowd,
An', 'baght pinchin', be able to save
A wee bit for th' time when yor owd. (Hartley 1868, p. 12)

All interviews are transcribed and included, as best as possible, as spoken. For most of my participants this means an attempt to preserve in writing the oral Yorkshire dialect, represented above in traditional form by Harley's poem *Plenty o' Brass* (1868). To do so is an attempt to record a certain authenticity of heritage and place in Yorkshire which are central themes of this research. As Coupland (2007) put it:

Dialects are evolving social styles and they can be read for their contemporary as well as their historical associations – associations with particular places (geographical dialects) and with particular social groups (social dialects) (p. 2).

Dialect has an intrinsic value to an analysis of place. However, although it will be addressed later in much more depth, it is necessary to offer some theoretical context here at the onset on this notion of authenticity. This is because, far from an arbitrary decision and beyond a personal affectation on behalf of the researcher, this process of recording speech 'authentically' – or seeking to do so – has its own set of theoretical connotations. Though this research is not one of sociolinguistics, there will be a need to reflect critically on my own voice, the interaction with my participants, and my dual position as an insider in Yorkshire post-punk and a member of the academic community – an intrinsically middle-class group – as a requisite of methodological reflexivity. But before then we must consider the Yorkshire dialect in popular culture.

Recently, in celebration of "Yorkshire Day", the Yorkshire Post¹⁷ published a short article titled *Yorkshire Day 2018: A guide to master the Yorkshire dialect*. It began: "Yorkshire is known for its quirky dialect and strong, broad accent, with the region having its own versions of commonly used words" (2018). Thereafter it contained a list of such words totalling 57; some, such as "owt/howt" (meaning anything/nothing) that are very commonly used, and rarer phrases such as "phummock peeping out of an ivy bush" (meaning untidy hair), which have more-or-less been consigned to history. Absent from the list though was reference to the famous *T'* (pronounced tut), which abbreviates the words "to the...", such as "I'm off tut shop". Although an example of grammar rather than vocabulary, it is nonetheless a pivotal feature of the Yorkshire dialect. Moreover, it is also one that is commonly misunderstood and/or misappropriated by outsiders, as illustrated by this excerpt from a performance by the prominent comedian Michael McIntyre:

¹⁷ The popular regional newspaper founded in 1866.

I thought it'd be a nice idea, maybe just for a bit of fun, to [...] get *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*, *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, and an album by '70s sensation *The The*, and line them up on the counter of HMV in Leeds city centre:

"What is it I'm purchasing here today?"

"*T' Lion, T'Witch, and T'Wardrobe, T' Good, T'Bad, and T'Ugly, and T' T'!*"

(Best of Comedy Roadshow #2 | Michael McIntyre, 2019, 00:04:27)

Whether deliberate or not, McIntyre's misuse of *T'* to represent the word "the" alone, rather than "to the", is a common one, and it's barely an exaggeration to say that hearing it causes physical pain to most Yorkshire folk. Of course this kind of parody is not aimed at a Yorkshire audience though, unlike the Yorkshire Post article. There are a number of reasons why the latter may have omitted reference to *T'* in any case. Not only is it a syntactical idiom rather than a lexical one, but it is not a specifically Yorkshire one either. In parts of neighbouring Lancashire, Derbyshire, and North Lincolnshire, its usage makes *T'* an expression of northernness rather than Yorkshireness.

To transcribe then, in the manner I am proposing, is to *place* the testimony without caricature. But as Hodson (2014) states, the pursuit of any sort of authenticity is not a straightforward one:

I am not proposing that we simply dispense with the notion of stereotyping and authenticity [...] However, we need to abandon the idea that such judgements can ever be absolute, as well as the idea that representations which lay claim to some real world 'authenticity' are therefore inherently 'better'. Instead, we need to explore how authenticity is being constructed in particular instances, and investigate who gets to decide what is authentic or not (pp. 235-236).

The act of recording the spoken Yorkshire in writing, then, is not a magic key to authenticity. Nor is it enough to assume that the Yorkshireness of my participants, combined with my own¹⁸, is automatically authentic. In fact, none of my interviewees use dialect that resembles the 19th Century examples cited, and most do not use discernible dialectic language at all. In reality, it is much more of an exercise in writing accents than dialect. However, there are some very specific aims which this practice is able to discernibly achieve. Namely to produce a text which – as Hodson touches upon – represents "real world" dialect (p. 235), and furthermore which provides a written Yorkshire recognisable to a Yorkshire-speaking audience.

The Yorkshireness invoked by McIntyre's comedy routine is not the only function of the Yorkshire dialect stereotype, and not all such stereotypes are ignorant of a Yorkshire audience. Indeed, there is also the spectre of traditional written Yorkshire dialect to consider. The written dialect utilised by the Brontës and Dickens are Yorkshire's representatives in the canon of English literature. But, in spite of the native voice of the Brontë sisters, this is also the template for the stereotype demonstrated by McIntyre. One example of this is the dialogue of Joseph from Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*:

¹⁸ My Yorkshireness is considered critically in chapter 2 (see also Appendix i and ii.)

“T’ maister’s down i’ t’ fowld. Go round by th’ end ot’ laith, if ye went to spake to him [...] There’s nobbut t’ missis; and shoo’l’ not open ‘t an ye mak yer flaysome dins til I neeght.” (Brontë, 1847, p. 6)

Mouffak (2020) describes Brontë’s work as indicative of “the structures of the religious, economic, social, and cultural life of this part of the world during that time” (p. 219). On one hand this is a fair assessment, particularly regarding the broader text, but as a portrayal of spoken Yorkshire English it’s not necessarily accurate. For example, “by th’ end” would be spoken as *byt end*, rather than *by tuh end*. This, in turn, suggests that this is not supposed to be spoken Yorkshire, but merely that this is how Yorkshire speech was written at the time. The same can be said for Hartley’s opening poem, in which “Up to th’ shackle...” would be spoken as *Up tut shackle*.¹⁹

Written Yorkshire, then, is against this very old and very traditional backdrop. There is a consistent written style to depict Yorkshire English, but it is not concrete and does not necessarily convey speech practices. Ultimately this should be no surprise. It would be absurd, after all, to expect an English speaker to read French correctly if that person had no knowledge of the spoken language. That is, to adapt a Derridian terminology, one who is not embedded in Yorkshire metaphysics. As Derrida himself writes:

The writer writes in a language and in a logic whose proper system, laws and life his discourse by definition cannot dominate absolutely. He uses them only by letting himself, after a fashion and up to a point, be governed by the system (Derrida [1967] 1976, p. 158).

Saussure’s semiology is the starting point for many of the key perspectives that I will discuss variously in this research. Barthes, Derrida, and Heidegger are all examples of those. Through Derrida (1981), we also notice the translational dynamic of my approach. For him, translation is “a regulated transformation of one language by another, of one text by another” (p. 20). Therefore, in writing Yorkshire that can be accurately understood by a non-native speaker, there is an inherent risk of loss of meaning. In this case, it would be paradoxical to strive towards some kind of authenticity if this practice meant translating a regional dialect for a non-native audience, even if it were to mitigate the potential for misappropriation or stereotyping.

Through Barthes, we can see that this problem of translation is deeper still. As Farsi, Sharifabad, and Al-Douri (2014) surmise, Barthes “lead us to view the text as a productive process rather than as a concrete entity” (p. 240). Furthermore, Barthes’ own translator in *Image/Music/Text* (1977), Stephen Heath, notes: “English lacks a word able to carry the

¹⁹ Most words in the examples given, just as in my own transcription, are unchanged from standard written English. But this does not mean they are consistent in their delivery. A word, for example, like “broke”, would traditionally be pronounced *brork* in West Yorkshire and *brurk* in the East, and a variation of the former in the North and South (in all cases the “R” sound may be formed with a roll of the tongue on the roof of the mouth, in a similar manner to Scottish speakers). Some might veer towards a *br-ow-k* pronunciation, and throughout the county the usage of *brock* is commonplace.

Any of these deliveries may occur interchangeably, irrespective of traditional regional associations, based on variables including class, migration, or simply context, even in single sentence spoken by a single person. Writing accents is fundamentally inconsistent, and a consistent spelling does not necessarily imply a consistent pronunciation.

range of meaning in the term *jouissance*" (p. 9). Thus, any such attempt to do so is necessarily at the mercy of the translator. That said, rather than suggesting my own interpretation of my participants' testimony is superior or less fallible than others may be, I am certain that my method of recording speech as spoken is at least less invasive than the alternatives. These would be to either translate informal, largely colloquial speech into formal English, or conversely into the traditional written Yorkshire found in *Wuthering Heights*: either to sanitise or synthetically enhance any spoken Yorkshireness through the process of transcription²⁰. I therefore choose neither.

Although there exists a recognisable, even dominant written form of Yorkshire, as previously discussed, there is ultimately no definitive form. Any convention is derived either from the aforesaid Victorian literature, or the songs and poetry exemplified by Hartley, and has limited relevance therefore to contemporary speech. This is perhaps not as limiting though as might be expected. Bourhis, Giles, and Tajfel (1973) discuss how spoken language is perceived to Welsh audience, measuring fluent and non-fluent Welsh, and English with both Welsh and English accents. Welsh, unlike Yorkshire, is a language in its own right, but it is analogous here as an oral signifier of cultural identity in a predominantly English-speaking community. Importantly, they state: "the Welsh accent can also serve as a marker of ethnic identity" (p. 457). Very possibly, my attempt to write as spoken is an exercise in recording accent more than dialect. It is not a completely original notion. Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting* is a notable example, and more specifically my style takes inspiration from Spracklen's *Green-flavoured gobstoppers and aliens* (1997).

"Ah, e were seein things, a couple oreglars in pub are always seein lights, especially when we avto chuck em out," grinned Andy (p. 12).

In a work of fiction, however, it is important to remember the characters are able to follow as much or as little of a language template that the author chooses. Irrespective of any perceived authenticity in the author's voice, fictional dialogue is necessarily manufactured. Real people, from one to another or even word to word, vary in dialect and accent.

This latter point means that, much like the traditional literary Yorkshire, the authentic voice of the participant will not be fully discernible to a reader without a Yorkshire accent themselves. However, that is a satisfactory outcome given my intent. Like the genie in the lamp, the authentic voice is hidden within, except drawing it out with any coercion is to risk losing it permanently. Ultimately it may be impossible to capture sheer "authenticity", or perhaps even to be truly authentic. But, to return to Hodson (2014), "authenticity matters because people believe that it matters" (p. 228, also see Hakala 2010a, 2010b). It must therefore remain part of this theoretical lens.

²⁰ An authenticity that is in some sense performed or embellished does not necessarily render it inauthentic. This will be addressed in more detail later.

1. YORKSHIRE ÜBER ALLES

I. ENTERING THE FIELD: ALL ROADS LEAD TO POST-PUNK

The following vignette, a snapshot of my response to the advert shown in Figures 11 and 12, capture the precise moment I entered the world of 1919. It seems cliché to posit that a simple act such as responding to an advert can be a life-changing decision, but this is most certainly the case here. Before too long the band's original drummer, Mick, would also return to the fold, bringing with him a new bass player in Karl (the band had had a few bass players back in the day), and my role would be the new vocalist. Now, not only would I finally be in a band that worked as hard I'd always hoped for, making the kind of noise I'd always wanted to make, but I'd also be placed at the centre of a world that had existed before I did, and had survived through a mixture of nostalgia, reverence, and advancements in information and communication technology.

06/09/2014

I've just answered a vague advert for a punk singer on joinmyband – kind of an old school classified board for musicians but online. I was here looking for a drummer to get a shoegaze project off the ground with me and my flat mate, Sam, who I play with in PseudoNympho. It's a fun band to be in and things are going OK, but we've always been indie kids at heart and have jammed on a lot of stuff since living together.

This ad had a lot of intrigue though. It just said something to the effect of "Punk singer wanted to record a demo. Label interest."²¹ It should be fun at least. I've had a pretty quick response from this guy called Mark and now we're exchanging private messages through the joinmyband server. He says, "Style wise we want a unique sound but if you have to pin me down a cross between killing joke and the ruts would be good". Sounds like an interesting mix! He goes on in a new message, "I was in a band in the 80's called 1919 [...] There is still a lot of worldwide interest in the band..."²² I'm not familiar with the name but I'll check them out – sounds cool!

"Ok

Rio

The best thing to do is to come down to a rehearsal, have a jam, have a chat. Take it from there. We rehearse at blueberry hill studios kirkstall on Fridays 12.30.....how does that sound.? Marc"

12/09/2014

Turns out they were short of a bass player too, so I've brought my rig down in a taxi. I don't drive and I live in Moortown, so I guess I'll just have to do it like this for now. I've arrived and Mark's there to meet me. It's a cool studio but was hard to find, tucked in the back corner of a retail park. The first thing that hits me when we start playing are the guitars – this ear-shattering noise from two Roland Jazz Choruses on milk crates. It's like I'm jamming with Kevin Shields, I've never heard anything like it live. Right away we're jamming a riff

²¹ The original advert is no longer available at the time of writing, but my message inbox is still intact (Figure 11).

²² Although my recollection of the exact advert is vague, information that would be contained in a more detailed listing clearly unfolds through the correspondence.

and I'm trying to pick the notes out of the cacophony. I'm starting to feel out a vocal pattern already, mumbling into the mic. There's definitely something here.

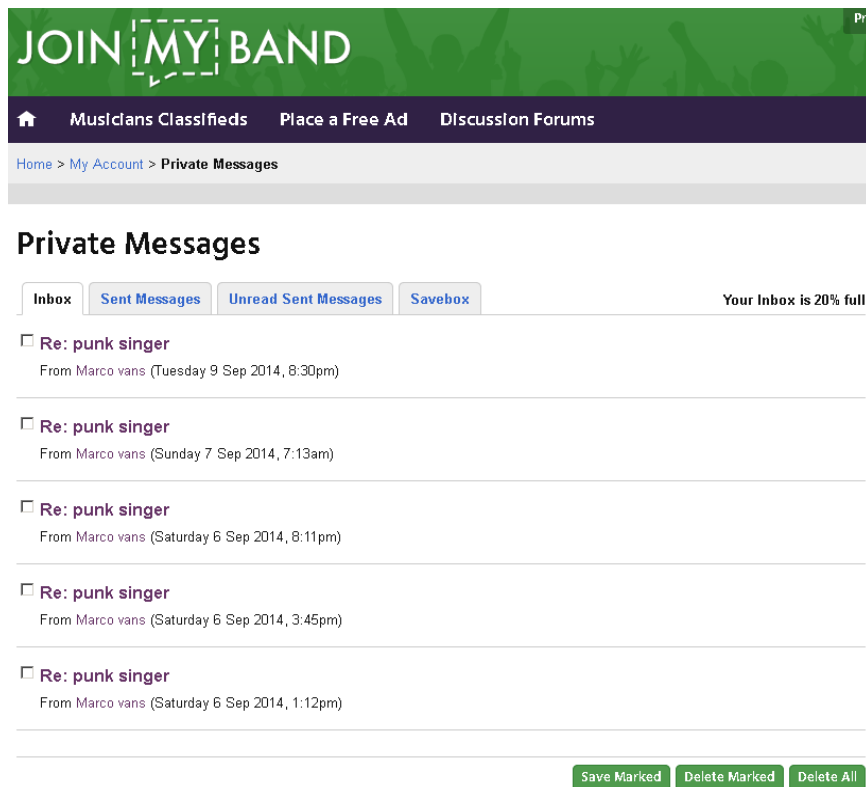


FIGURE 11 – JOINMYBAND INBOX (GOLDHAMMER, 2014)

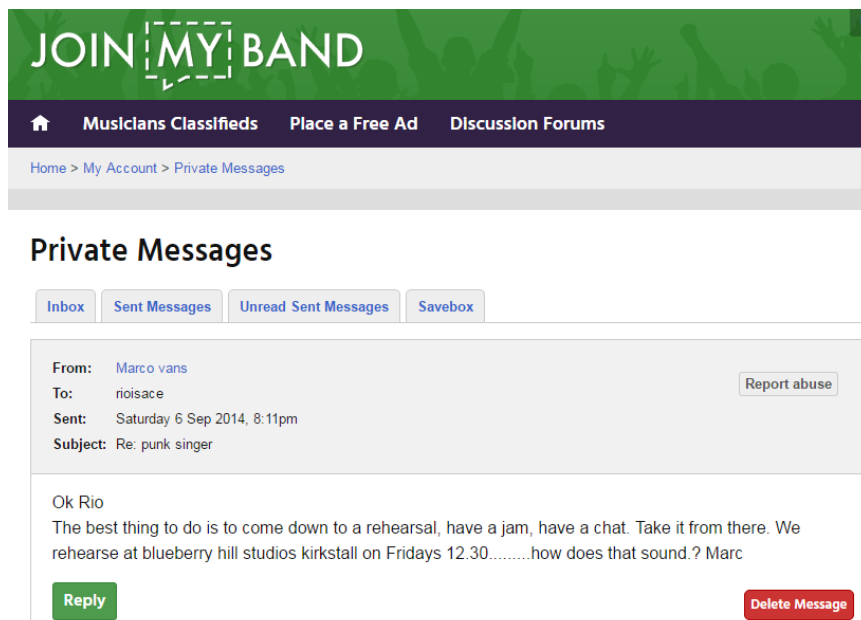


FIGURE 12 – JOINMYBAND MESSAGE (GOLDHAMMER, 2014)

Hodkinson (2002) wrote the following of his participation as an actor and scholar of goth:

I had been an enthusiastic participant in the goth scene since the beginning of [the 1990s], but in 1996 my personal involvement became just one part of an extensive research project (p. 4).

To borrow his phrasing, my own position could be summarised in the following way: I had been an enthusiastic participant in the indie music scene since the early 2000s, but in 2014 my personal involvement became just one perspective from which to interpret the intricate landscape of post-punk.

2004, half way through secondary school, was when my interest in music started to move from fandom – an “information rich” (Harris & Alexander, 1998, p. 184) obsession over individual figures or work (Hills, 2002, p. ix) that inspires participation through diverse lifestyle practices (Duffett, 2013, pp. 17-18), into a serious leisure activity that strived ultimately for professionalism (Stebbins, 1992, p.3). This was the apex of the period known as the “post-punk revival” (Kravitz, 2012), (Hebblethwaite, 2016), but my initial correspondence with Mark ten years later would be my first critical awareness of the era I had come of age in. My earliest experiences of the term “goth” had been to describe Marilyn Manson. Now, in describing the band whose re-birth I was about to become a part of, Mark had said “We sort of got embraced by the then original goth scene”. This brought to mind the interview printed in the liner notes of my *First and Last and Always* (1985) CD, in which Andrew Eldritch tries to distance himself from the “goth” label:

I’m constantly confronted by representatives of popular culture who are far more goth than we, yet I have only to wear black socks to be stigmatised as the demon overlord (Bonner, 2006).

As I began to research 1919, more than simply learning about a band I was about to join, opening the window to its past raised more questions than it answered. As a pre-teen and young adolescent, I had been a fan of Marilyn Manson, but never identified as a goth. Then, as an indie kid, I’d found Joy Division, PiL, and the Manics, and as I gazed into the annals of the internet in search of answers there appeared links that I’d never noticed before. At the same time, what I knew of the artists themselves by this point only tried to undermine such links. Post-punk was the accepted glue that held these bands together, and yet it was the “goth” scene that had kept 1919 alive through the decades. If not 1919, what exactly was the “revival” period of my adolescence bringing back to life? Had punk, indie, and goth died? What world was I about to become a part of? And what even is post-punk anyway?

II. MEMORY, MYTH, AND HERITAGE.

In something of a micro-snapshot of the interconnectedness of memory, myth, and heritage, Relph (1976) wrote:

physical appearance, activities and meanings are the raw materials of the identity of places and the dialectical links between them are the elementary structural relationships in that identity (p. 48; Etheridge, 2017, p. 259).

Although not referring to myth directly here, this notion that identity can be deconstructed to an elementary structural level of raw materials and their relationships is central Barthes' seminal 1957 work *Mythologies*, a series of articles in which he aimed to deconstruct the bourgeois fantasy or "myth" in every-day items. It was Barthes' belief that our lives are subject to constant pervasion by myth, which in turn is sinister particularly because they appear to be natural. In order to evaluate the reasons for this, Barthes utilized the semiological analytical techniques of Saussurian linguistics.

semiology aims to take in any system of signs, whatever their substance and limits; images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all of these, which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment: these constitute, if not languages, at least systems of signification (Barthes, 1967, p. 9)

Barthes identifies steak for example, among other things, as following "the index of patriotic values [...] it is the very flesh of the French soldier" (2000: 63). To eat steak is a symbolic process of national unity and its blood the measure of prestige, with the aptitude to "flow into the very blood of man" (p. 62). In blood, French dominance over nature is expressed, while its precise preparation and consumption reflects the internal values of bourgeois intellectualism. This demythologization is at the heart of analysing memory and myth, and specifically in this case will prove a vital tool in examining identity through cultural memory. Of latent subcultural identity, Spracklen, Henderson, & Procter (2016) wrote, in their ethnographic study of F-Club goers in Leeds, that "idealization of the past" was central to the contemporary identities of their participants through a common construction of nostalgia (p. 159). For them, to remember to and follow "the punk scene now, having being a part of it in the past, is to be involved in daily myth-making" (p. 159), (Barthes, 2000; Pickering & Keightley, 2013). In field notes recorded during a 1919 visit to Poland in 2017 (see field notes 04/09/2017 and 05/09/2017), I noted that Mick's experience of the former Soviet Union played a notable role in his interpretation of our shared experience on this tour. Either side of the fall of the Berlin wall, as a touring musician in the late 1980s and then again with Ship of Fools in the early 1990s, Mick had performed in a number of Soviet and post-Soviet countries in a remarkable geo-political era. This meant that, after we'd been involved in a minor traffic collision on the way into Poland and were made to hand over 50 Euros to the local police before we were allowed on our way, he was certain it was a bribe. My belief, as a millennial whose experience of Poland is entirely modern, is that it was an on-the-spot fine, similar to what would be expected in any other European country²³ (including Britain). These differing assumptions were again evident the following day, as I overhear part of a

²³ Of course, it may indeed have stayed in his pocket! But that the country was formerly behind the iron curtain is unlikely to be a contributing factor. Certainly, this situation certainly could have had a worse ending for us in any case.

conversation between Mick and Tomek, the promoter who was hosting us for the duration of our stay:

Field Note - 05/09/2017

A bit later I catch part of a conversation between Mick and Tomek: "I was out here in the late 80s – I know it's a tough life". "Maybe 20 years ago" says Tomek, "but not so much now". For my money, except the architecture and milk bars (which are both ace), it's not so different from other major cities in Europe.

Cultural myths are created and propagated for a number of reasons, consciously and unconsciously. This could be individuals shaping their own public image, relying on the legacy of others to provide a convenient narrative, or simply a phenomenon that evolves to fit societal need. Sernett's (2007) text on the myth of Harriet Tubman, "the Moses of her people" [who became] a fixture in American iconography" (p. 2), covers each of these in depth:

many constituencies (some with opposing ideologies) [...] have adopted Tubman as their symbol [...] Americans, black and white, have long constructed images of Harriet Tubman mirroring their own experiences and the progress made in the United States (and the world) towards the social goods with which Tubman is identified (p. 2).

In her review of Sernett's text, Margaret Washinton (2010) uses the example of a Hillary Clinton speech from her 2008 Presidential run, where her evocation of Tubman sought to contextualise her campaign "in the struggle against slavery fought by the heroic figure of Tubman" (p. 366). In doing so she both highlights Sernett's assertions of the power of cultural myth, and demonstrates how and why such a myth might be enforced. For Clinton the rationale was twofold: to enforce the myth of Tubman and to assert herself as heir to it. In addition to this was the "need to create a black heroine in an American culture saturated with white male historical icons" (p. 366), (Sernett, 2007, p. 67). This largely picks up from where Banerjea left off in the previous chapter, specifically as it demonstrates a sterilized representation of a non-white figure into a commodity of the American dream narrative. Anna Cole (2009) builds on this, invoking a Derridian dialectic of self and otherness in her analysis of the 'first' national Aboriginal debutante ball in Australia in 1968. She writes: in a certain "postcolonial critique [...] the coloniser/colonised dialectic [is] a process which changes the identity of both the colonised and the coloniser" (p. 254).

For Schofield and Wright (2020), "heritage concerns the relationships between people and place as opposed to places in and of themselves" (p. 199). With its ability to assimilate personal experiences and history into a cohesive, nostalgic narrative, music is an artefact that lends itself easily to appropriation by the heritage industry (van der Hoeven, 2015a: 260; see also Strong, 2022). Baudrillard (1994) even posits that essential meaning has been fully eclipsed by mythology in a societal context. So even though there is, as Hussein (2017) puts it, "a positive mutual influence between the social and cultural content of the members of the national industrial cities and arts" (p.8), nostalgia, fetishism, and myth are commonplace within cultural memory. But there can be no surprise here that, in matters of memory, myth – whether concerning narratives of place or other aspects of cultural identity – retains a powerful presence. When I interviewed Rosie, I'd wanted to try to verify an

anecdote that Dave had told me about a March Violets gig in Harrogate (see Appendix iv). However, the possibility that such things could be verified in any concrete way quickly became elusive:

Just quickly about the memory thing... You know I had cancer 9 years ago? Throat cancer. How weird can you get? And chemo and radiotherapy saved my life [...] but does affect your memory. So when I say I don't remember [say] Harrogate, it's like my memory needs to be rebooted. If somebody was to show me the poster, show me the photos, show me a little bit of footage, I'd go fuck yeah, Harrogate! But it's like my memory gets to a gate and then can't get any further (Rosie, interview, July 10, 2018).

As Degnen (2016) put it, memories are “a site of negotiation and positionality” (p. 1663), with Preece (2020) going as far as suggesting that “historic memories can conflict with contemporary meanings” (p. 839). Indeed, among ageing participants in particular, and in addition the kinds of reflexive constructions of self cited by Lovejoy (2014, p. 722), memory cannot be relied upon for historical objectivity²⁴. Instead, it is just one aspect of discourse that can be used to map the narratives of identity and place that this research attempts to navigate. But others, like archival research, must also be taken with a pinch of salt. As I have referenced once in the introduction, the popular music magazine *Vive Le Rock* published a gothic annual in 2020 (see ‘Dark re-entries’, 2020, pp. 92-100). Pages 94 and 95 featured an interview with Mick, Sam, and I, as 1919, but in reality I wrote the collective response to questioning myself. That’s not to say the interview is a fabrication: most of these questions have been asked and answered before by some or all of us in various interviews, and the answers given were constructed according to these past experiences. Moreover, all members were given the opportunity to add or remove anything from the draft response that they wanted. Although, in this case, Karl opted not to contribute to the interview at all, as he considered this particular method to be too ‘inauthentic’, these things are nonetheless not uncommon in music industry practice. Chris Catalyst, a long-time touring member of Sisters of Mercy, published the following Tweet in 2020:

I have sad news for whoever bought this signed Sisters of Mercy poster from eBay. You see where Andrew signed it. He didn't. That was me (@ChrisCatalyst, 2020).

There are a number of duties expected of professional musicians that do not involve music at all. These include media appearances, logistics, designing/signing merchandise, and often administrative duties involving postage and tour management (especially for independent artists). Each of these is a function, with the purpose of sustaining a group that either employs you or that you helped to build (or often both). In the case of the dubiously-signed poster, it was likely a contractual expectation which was taken up by Catalyst as Eldritch was otherwise unavailable (or disinclined) to do so. In the case of this interview, the interviewer has the task of garnering a verifiable account that will engage the readership sufficiently to attract sales. For the band, our purpose is to provide something publishable which will support our own promotional objectives. And yet, having verified our own constructed myth, after the 6 months or so between submission and publication I had no

²⁴ In my interview with Paul D, he acknowledges this directly, stating at one point, “I could be wrong. I’m sure I was [...] unless it’s a phantom memory. It was so long ago of course!” (Interview, October 19, 2017).

real recollection of writing it. Rosie referred to items such as posters as being mnemonic devices, but here too is the ease with such devices are created and mythology is perpetuated.

III. PUNK, POST-PUNK, AND ACADEMIC DISCOURSE.

Myth pervades throughout this thesis: myths of place, of youth, of era, and so too of music and cultural memory. To 'read' punk and post-punk is often to grapple with some familiar ontological frameworks: the essential working-classness of punk, the essential middle-classness of academia, and the implications of ascribing a 'post'-genre label.

It is perhaps appropriate that the punks, who have made such large claims for illiteracy, who have pushed profanity to such startling extremes, should be used to test some of the methods for 'reading' signs evolved in the centuries-old debate on the sanctity of culture (Hebdige, 1979, p. 19).

These narratives, often contradictory, are therefore also virtually inescapable in this section, and are furthermore compounded in attempting to read the role of academic discourse in which punk and post-punk art and artists are the focus. This should come as no surprise, though. With Adorno (1991) having stated that "All 'light' and pleasant art has become illusory and mendacious" (p. 33), Trilling (1972) defining art that "stands, overtly or by implication, in an adversary relation to the dominant culture" (p. 67) as representing fundamentally 'serious' art, something as countercultural and, often, confrontational as punk, is a necessary forum for cultural studies, in a way that is summarised neatly by Hebdige above, to exercise. This is, furthermore, rooted in the Nietzschean emphasis on artist biography explained here by Donzé (2018):

The painting art of the bus driver who devotes himself every night without any reference or deference, without any model, and without any Monnet or Van Gogh is worth as much as the painting of an art student. It is true that the technique matters, but what really counts is the biographical forces that transpire through the artistic gesture (p. 202).

That punk music and (sub)culture is an amenable framework for academic analysis, however, does not negate the often-contradictory value structures that are encountered in the process. To illustrate these contradictions, the seminal Clash manager Bernard Rhodes claimed, according to Savage (1991), "you need the mix of working-class roughage with middle-class kids to make a group work" (p. 71), and this represented the appeal of the Sex Pistols to the "middle-class, art school-educated Malcolm McLaren" (Branch, 2014, p. 29). In the next chapter I will cite Gillian Evans (2007) and Richard Hoggart (1957), as suggesting an overall suspicion of formal education within working class culture and identity, and in doing so highlight the possibility that my position as an academic researcher has the potential to undermine my 'insider' position in the field. Furthermore, in Chapter 4, I will note from my interview with Dave that middle-classness can be construed as a barrier to countercultural fertility, with reference to Bestley's (2012) claim that "much punk from the early 1980s onward remains a resolutely, and self-consciously, 'working class' form of expression" (p. 43). Still, that Branch (2014) questions "the degree to which class is central to an understanding of the conflicting aesthetic and ideological positions punk adopted" (p. 23), something which is therefore magnified in an academic context, is exemplified in

embedded contradictions in punk's rejection of class constraints, which is highlighted here in Wilkinson's (2014) example of Manchester group The Fall:

The Fall felt alienated not only from the world of higher education prior to the intensification of university expansion, but also from the determinations of their working-class background (p. 69; see Ford 2003: 14–15).

This negotiation of embedded class and cultural transgression is rooted in Hebdige (1979), who suggested “whereas the skinheads theorized and fetishized their class position [...] the punks dislocated themselves from the parent culture” (p. 120), and this is clearly recognisable in the testimony of my participants. For example, Aki, who is the focus of chapter 3 (iv), had stated in a previous interview that, as a first-generation Pakistani immigrant in Bradford, he is “probably a symbol of integration, and also of a kind of rebelliousness... against that integration” (Cultural Jihad - Aki Nawaz, 2011, 00:03:47). Paul D, meanwhile, likens his working-class roots to a religious upbringing: “I’ve read that a lot and heard that about people who were brought up as Catholics – you can’t ever escape it” (Paul D, interview, October 19, 2017). Notable, too, in the respect of my participants’ relationship with traditional class values, are attitudes towards employment, and specifically concerning the cultural capital (or lack of it) attached to work outside of their artistic endeavours. These attitudes are perhaps most profoundly surmised by Mick’s comment, in reference to the mindset of his younger self, of “fuck the job, where’s the band?” (Interview, January 11, 2017), and will be re-visited with some more specificity in the opening part of chapter 5. But before then, and ahead of deeper analyses of class, cultural capital, and belongingness to Yorkshire cities and towns, each of which emerge variously throughout this thesis, it is worth also highlighting the post-punk legacy of Leeds with specific attention to the prominence of the city’s universities in enduring memory. During my interview with the March Violets’ Rosie, despite the group essentially forming as university students, there emerged the suggestion that this was no guarantee of any place within related mythology:

Rio: You’re never kindav seen as one of the “university” bands, in the same way I suppose as Delta 5...

Rosie: ...Gang of Four... Yeah, it’s funny. We never felt like a university band, and also we felt very different to things like the Delta 5 and Gang of Four-

Rio: Because they were attached to the art department as well?

Rosie: They were. And art students didn’t mix with mere mortals! In fact one of the only art students we did know was the lovely John Hyatt! I found a lot of art students thought that we were kind of lesser forms – somewhere lower down on the evolutionary scale! But you know, it’s like... I was never ashamed of going to university – it’s not like I pretended that I didn’t – but we didn’t feel particularly attached to the university. We were a *Leeds* band... (interview, July 10, 2018).

In chapter 3 (ii), I state that the Leeds’ ‘art school’ bands comprise much of the critical and popular cultural focus for the city, and this is demonstrated most clearly in Butt (2022). But Rosie’s testimony here implies a much more complex relationship between university and city in Leeds, which can already be viewed as a kind of bourgeois hegemony of universities in Leeds’ musical heritage and suggests a distinct micro-hegemony of art students within this framework. This is an important consideration ahead of the final 2 sections in this

chapter, in which I will note the hostility between several northern – specifically Yorkshire – bands and the London-dominated music press, because although there is a distinct cultural capital in working-classness which will be considered in reference to chapter 4 (ii), and following Branch's (2014) earlier account of Malcolm McLaren's valuation of the Sex Pistols (p. 29), we can also acknowledge a potential for capital in Leeds' art schools in the minds of southern journalists and publications.

Ultimately, each of these discussions contributes towards an understanding of the relationship between punk and post-punk, in which Gracyk (2012) states that “‘post-punk’ carries the unfortunate implication that it stands to punk as postmodernism stands to modernism [...] as a repudiating offspring” (p.74), and moreover Guarracino's (2012) underpinning of the importance of considering post-punk as “not simply a moment in time – what happens ‘after’ punk (or post-punk) [...] [but] both movements for a different time (p. 112). In the respect that punk, and in particular the Sex Pistols, represents something of a commoditization of working-classness by the middle-class McLaren, it is little surprise that punk-inspired art students might have created something of notable value to the London commentariat. To say that post-punk is intrinsically middle-class – or even intrinsically *more* middle-class than punk – would be a mistake, but it is nonetheless reflexive, as Wolfy's testimony here suggests:

I think everyone says their kinda seminal moment of punk wo seein the Pistols, but when Gerard n I went to see the Banshees at Leeds University, this wo like early – it wo like ‘this is interesting – what the fuck are they doing?’ We could play like Steve Jones n the Ramones n everyone like that, but we couldn't figure out what John McKay wo doin! So we taped all the John Peel Sessions an got the records, an figured out how to play like John McKay. You're kinda learning by copying, but then that develops your vocabulary n then you kind've ave your own voice. An that worra more interesting voice than playin 3 chords, you know, it wor extremely colourful. And so when Bauhaus came along they has a similar plot, n the Gang of Four, y'know, not just playing full-on square punk, which is ok but it's a bit borin. I like it in a kinda nostalgic way, n love the Ramones (interview, February 13, 2018).

When Hebdige (1979) addresses the response of mainstream culture to punk in the late-1970s, he identifies two conflicting narratives: one, an outraged othering of punks who, in turn, “willing played the part of the folk devil” (p. 98), and two, “depicting punks with smiling mothers, reclining next to the family pool, playing with the family dog” (p. 98). The latter, a far more successful approach, is virtually as clear an example of Gramscian cultural hegemony as possible, with the sole purpose of the ruling class being to retain power (see Gramsci, 1971, p. 526) and ideological fluidity providing a key attribute (see also Hebdige, 1979, pp 15-16). In depicting the bourgeois absorption of punk, or at least its de-fanging, Hebdige makes an early invocation of William Burroughs ([1969]1973):

The chic thing is to dress in expensive tailor-made rags and all the queens are camping about in wild-boy drag. There are Bowery suits that appear to be stained with urine and vomit which on closer inspection turn out to be intricate embroideries of fine gold thread (p. 50; Hebdige, 1979, p. 23)

There is an argument to be made that post-punk, if framed as punk-influenced art school musicians, is symptomatic of a reflexive bourgeois cultural hegemony. But, while I have

already stated this to be a mistake, it is at the very least a narrow interpretation. There is unmistakably an element of natural progression, owed to the fact that those who first picked up guitars to form punk bands in 1977 were often, by 1979, at least intermediate in proficiency, and even more so for those like Wolfy and Gerard – eventual colleagues in the Expelaires – who had some rudimentary technical skills before punk arrived. But there was also an explicit rejection of some of the more highbrow associations with the original punk scene. As Mark put it:

Mark: [Mark Manning and I] didn't really get on to be fair. Because, again, he was that sort of... Vivienne Westwood type, in fact he was friends with her. They were all part of an old scene, from the art world. They were all art based (interview, January 11, 2017)

To take these developed attributes, then, and consciously create something with less mainstream accessibility²⁵, is to return to Adorno's assertion that "all 'light' and pleasant art has become illusory and mendacious" (1991, p. 33). Perhaps this a response to the hegemonic absorption of punk? Perhaps, for punk to have entered the annals of university research, is an overhaul of the old order? Or perhaps the ascent of punks in academia is the hegemonic victory of the bourgeoisie? Likely there is truth in each of these conclusions, varying by circumstance.

IV. YORKSHIRE AND THE NORTHERN CANON: THEORIZING THE "NORTH" AND NORTHERNNESS

The focus on industrial labour in the North blended Lancashire and Yorkshire workers as northern. By 1901, the *Musical Standard* reflected upon a brass band story that illustrated a homogenous northern identity that had arisen from notions of status, independence and artisanal skill, the idea of the skilled and proud Dickensian bandsman, who loved to make music, with a liking for horseracing, dogs and gambling. (Etheridge, 2017, p. 257)

Prior to this account of homogenous northernness, Etheridge also cites Helen Jewell's (1994) description – "the north of England is as much a state of mind as a place", and further, "being a northerner is a creation of the imagination, a product of cultural traditions, assumptions and memories" (p. 6; Etheridge, 2017, p. 248). It is, as we have already started to see in the previous sections of this chapter, these aspects of imaginary creation that run throughout this thesis as points of analytical focus. However, these final two sections will consider Yorkshire in its context – this purported homogenous 'north' – both from outsider and self-identifying narratives of place.

Yorkshire is the largest ceremonial county in England by populace and landmass. A nexus of both intensely urban (with cities such as Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield and York) and rural (including rich agricultural areas and vast swathes of national park), Yorkshire is commonly portrayed as an area of post-industrial urban decay or bleak moors and rugged dales. In his analysis of myth and identity in Yorkshire cricket, Fletcher (2012) describes Yorkshire as "perhaps the most stereotyped of all major counties in Britain" (p. 1), and such stereotypes have become embedded in British popular culture. From the proto-Monty Python *Four Yorkshiremen* sketch to Ken Loach's poignant film *Kes* (1969), booming actor Brian Blessed

²⁵ Wolfy described the songwriting process for Red Lorry Yellow Lorry as taking Chris Reed's well-constructed songs and fucking them up (interview, February 13, 2018).

to outspoken football manager Brian Clough, and northern TV soap opera *Emmerdale* to Leeds-born Spice Girl Mel B, there is no shortage of reminders that Yorkshirefolk are outspoken, thrifty, and hard-as-nails. For Russell and Wagg, Yorkshire is “an imagined space, which while ‘rooted in objective realities such as landscape, built environment, economy and dialect, are constructed [and] refined’” (2010, p. viii). This interplay of reality and myth permeates Yorkshire cultural identity, and mythical values and tropes enforced both from outside and in. These appear in George Orwell’s (1959[1937]) account of northern working-class life, *The Road to Wigan Pier*:

There exists in England a curious cult of Northern-ness, sort of Northern snobbishness. A Yorkshireman in the South will always take care to let you know that he regards you as an inferior [...] the North is inhabited by 'real' people [...] The Northerner has 'grit', he is grim, 'dour', plucky, warm-hearted, and democratic; the Southerner is snobbish, effeminate, and lazy - that at any rate is the theory. Hence the Southerner goes North, at any rate for the first time, with the vague inferiority-complex of a civilized man venturing among savages, while the Yorkshireman, like the Scotchman, comes to London in the spirit of a barbarian out for loot (pp. 110-111).

On the ground, numerous narratives reinforce varying myths of Yorkshireness too. Of a planned devolution deal that would see Yorkshire awarded a degree of autonomy and a directly-elected mayor ²⁶, one BBC journalist described characteristic Yorkshire fractiousness as producing “a quick end to the lingering idea that Sheffield, Doncaster, Barnsley and Rotherham might actually agree with each other” (Vincent, 2017). Renowned for its sporting heritage (see Light, 2009), Yorkshire nationalism grew in the public consciousness at the 2012 Olympics, with the region placing “twelfth in the medal table if regarded as an independent country, as it should be” (Wainwright, 2012)²⁷. From its industrial past to its sporting present, Yorkshire invokes a powerful sense of regional identity in those that belong to it, one cemented through a symbiosis of mythmaking and place-making. But, as Spracklen et al (2016) noted in the testimony of their participants that “there was nothing essential or necessary about Leeds” (p. 17, see also Spracklen & Spracklen 2018, p. 68) in their memory of the F Club, the city’s prominent club night in the first post-punk era. This suggests, in addition to the challenges of distinguishing Yorkshire within homogenous narratives of northernness, that such challenges are likely to be compounded in any pursuit of a discernible musical identity of Yorkshire, and therefore also into such an identity for specific music or cultural movements such as post-punk. In my interview with Wolfy, he referred at one point to the comments of a mutual friend, Chris Catalyst, who he said ‘describes that genre of bands as the bands with the M62 guitar sound’ (Wolfy, interview, February 13, 2018; see Appendix vii). As the M62 is the stretch of trans-Pennine motorway that connects Yorkshire and the north-west of England, something like this encapsulates the potential density of northern homogeneity in post-punk. In the testimony

²⁶When a form of devolution eventually manifested it was for separate Yorkshire regions of South, West, and eventually North. In 2020, I ran for the Labour Party candidacy in the inaugural West Yorkshire race (see Scott, 2020). Comparable arrangements are due to take place in 2024 in North Yorkshire and 2025 in East Yorkshire.

²⁷ In 2018, Yorkshire had its national football team recognised by the main non-FIFA governing body (CONIFA, 2018).

of my participants, there is also evidence of a conscious effort to draw parallels between Yorkshire cities – in this case Bradford – and other British metropolises:

You can come to Bradford, and all the problems we've got on the streets of Bradford you'll get em on the streets of Manchester, Glasgow, [...] I get em in London, you go to Birmingham [...], chavs n dickheads, people who are... I dunno what you wanna call em. For them that's their lifestyle, bein a bit harsh or y'know. When you talk about Bradford or whatever, because it's Asians doin it, you kind of racialise the subject [...] A couple of weeks ago there was a programme on BBC n it was slagging Bradford off, which they usually do cos you always get commissioned if you slag Bradford off! I tried to do a documentary where I wasn't slagging Bradford off n they wouldn't commission it! (Aki, interview, September 11, 2018).

Aki's testimony is the primary focus of chapter 3 (iv), and the context of this extract is that of racist attitudes towards Bradford rooted in its perceived Asianness. The first part cites attitudes towards 'race' as a metric by which Bradford is distinguished from other cities. Although important, it doesn't so much address notions of Yorkshireanness as it does simply Bradfordness, and the reason for this – which will become clear in the aforesaid chapter – is that Bradford, or more specifically Bradford punk, is cast as kind of sanctuary from racist attitudes that were especially prominent in Britain in the eras of punk and post-punk, which themselves emerged following notable periods of post-war migration from, firstly, Afro-Caribbean and, later, south Asian populations into British industrial areas. But, in this respect, Bradford is nominally as differentiated from other Yorkshire metropolises, such as Huddersfield, as it is from non-Yorkshire cities like Manchester or London.

Even with this in mind, though, the second part of the above extract gives a glimmer of insight into the relative capital ascribed to Bradford – a victim of many a racist presupposition, yet nonetheless a primary metropolitan centre of Yorkshire – in wider British consciousness. I have a long-standing suspicion that Yorkshire has little more than a provincial role in canonical narratives of Britishness or Englishness, in which, conversely, Manchester, Liverpool, and London are prominent. In the early stages of this research development, where I had planned to engage more substantively with this notion, it became clear that it was both hard to identify in literature and furthermore that my own primary research methodology – comprising autoethnographic field notes and qualitative data from a relatively small number of participants – would be insufficient to address the idea substantively. It is possible to show from my research that Yorkshireanness, among my participants, tends to be described in opposition to its British metropolitan and regional counterparts, and I will attempt to address the philosophical implications of this in the final section of this chapter. However, in terms of Yorkshire and its value in canonical British, English, or 'Northern' identity, the significance of my suspicion is essentially limited to the fact that I, as both a Yorkshireman and Yorkshire musician, hold such a supposition. But I get a sense from the data I have collected that such a belief is not an outlier:

Wolfy: It's funny cos when you talk about... everyone thinks that there was this immense camaraderie in Leeds and it wor all, like we're all in it together. But it's not true. It's like Spinal Tap: "oh well done mate... fuckin wanker". Cos you didn't want someone to surge ahead in front. There was a kinda common kinship, but you didn't want anyone to leap in front of ya. [...] It wor incredibly competitive. Which is a good thing but it's not very encompassing, is it!?

Rio: Maybe that's one of the reasons why Yorkshire as never... *stuck* as a-

Wolfy: -oh I think I know why it is, it's cos no one had the sense to start a record label. Apart from when Eldritch did Merciful Release but, like, no one kinda documented... This is just too weird because [John] Keenan was the man, he really was the man in Leeds n y'know we were like the resident band at the F-Club. We wo like is favourite band...

Rio: With Lorries, or-

Wolfy: -with the Expelaires. E wo really really good to us. But must've known that, bein a businessman, that to get some kinda sense of progression that... it's like, well, you got music so what else do you need? But it never... it never occurred to anybody that there should be a record label (Wolfy interview, February 13, 2018; see appendix vii).

Manchester's Factory Records was the home to the city's seminal groups Joy Division, New Order, and the Happy Mondays. Its founder, Tony Wilson, also ran the famous Hacienda (see Kiszely, 2013; Taylor, 2021), and here Wolfy is reflecting – or perhaps lamenting – the possibility that an individual such as John Keenan, the promoter behind the F-Club (see Spracklen et al., 2016) and Leeds' Futurama festivals in the first post-punk era (see appendix vii; Trowell, 2017), might have attempted the same on this side of the Pennines. The lack of a label for Yorkshire bands, which also meant that Wolfy's band Expelaires signed with Liverpool's Zoo label, while their contemporaries Dance Chapter travelled to London to sign with 4AD 'to get a single out, n it just seemed wrong' (Wolfy interview, February 13, 2018; see appendix vii), was not limited to Leeds either. In Sheffield, Wray quotes Pulp's Jarvis Cocker as echoing the situation for Artery:

"Artery had an intensity that was up there with Joy Division," says Cocker. "But they didn't have a Factory Records or a Tony Wilson. They got stuck in Sheffield, got frustrated, got off their heads, and lost it" (Wray, 2019, n.p.).

But this may not tell the whole story, either. I interviewed Will Jackson as part of my research, the owner of Leeds' Soundworks studios and an early producer for a host of 'New Yorkshire' bands (see Bassett, 2020) in the mid-2000s. As well as some familiar themes, he goes as far as stating that, perhaps, part of the issue was sheer quality:

Rio: Does it seem like Yorkshire is not as canonised as Manchester or Liverpool? Certainly London, but...

Will: Yeah, I think it's the area that everybody ignores [...] in a way you could say it's too similar to Manchester and Liverpool, because it's "the north". Y'know? People generally think "it's the north, that's it, they're all the same", but then Leeds isn't significantly different to the other places.

Rio: You don't think?

Will: I don't think so, no. It's not significantly different [to Manchester]. We're only, what, 30 miles away? We're just over the hill! But I think in Manchester there's been more people who've instigated stuff to happen. I mean, look at Factory for instance. The Hacienda...

Rio: Wolfy reckons the lack of a label was what stopped Leeds having its own reputation in the same way Manchester has. I mean you had Merciful Releases, Sisters of Mercy, their stable, but there was no Factory records [...]

Will: That's down to not having a New Order. They were a band of real substance [...] Manchester had a lot of really amazing talent, which Leeds didn't have. The question is why?

Rio: Maybe because they didn't have the label!?

Will: Maybe people from Manchester aspire to higher levels?
(Will, interview, August 21, 2018).

In a sense this kind of ruthless objectivity is of no surprise from a veteran producer, for whom there is less of a personal investment in the relative success of Leeds' late-1970s and 1980s output.²⁸ But, whilst there is also the possibility that he's playing devil's advocate, the issue of the label was still introduced of his own accord. Seemingly, there is also now something of a chicken-and-egg situation concerning the missing Yorkshire label and the commercial success of its bands. Would such a label have meant the likes of Artery, Expelaires, and Dance Chapter, have developed artistically and commercially with a label closer to home? Would any of these have become Yorkshire's answer to New Order or sowed the seeds for such a band to emerge? Or would the emergence of such a band have tempted somebody to start a label? Regardless, it is certainly true that, in releasing music in Liverpool and London, Yorkshire bands have contributed to the musical legacies of these cities in addition to their own. And moreover, there seems to be little doubt in the minds of my participants that Manchester, although not significantly different to Leeds in Will's eyes, had something that Leeds didn't: 'kudos', as Wolfy put it (see appendix vii). Over time, this amounted to something of a commodity of place for the city.

Manchester, as a nearby northern metropole of historical rivalry, from the War of the Roses to respective region's sports teams, has an important role to play in the construction of Yorkshireness, and this will be explored in more detail in the next section. But if Will doesn't necessarily see a difference between the cities, the same cannot be said for a Mancunian perspective. As John Robb (2009) put it, "where else could [the Stone Roses] be from? Where else could The Smiths and Joy Division be from?" (p. 1). In an article describing how Manchester became the 'epicentre of British music', Taylor describes the city as "a kaleidoscopic soot-covered utopia for bohemians on the rather more fizzing side of the spectrum" (2021, n.p). In a masters thesis at the University of Amsterdam, van der Hoeven (2015b) writes that "from around 1978 until into the nineties Manchester was the country's and maybe even the world's biggest music city" (p. 5).

The fact that the successful mid-2000s bands of Yorkshire were declared 'New Yorkshire', conversely, implies a lack of existing cultural capital in the region, at least from the perspective of the national music press. Wolfy states that Leeds bands had little favour with the press, irrespective of international success (see appendix vii), while Mark, in my interview with 1919, said that the indie music magazines "championed all these bands [...] then just turned their back on em ank kicked shit out of em" (Mark, interview, 11 January,

²⁸ Will's career as a performer was well underway in the early 1970s, with the progressive rock band Wally.

2017). So perhaps Manchester *did* have a better commercial music infrastructure than Yorkshire? Perhaps it even had 'better' music? Or perhaps it simply had better branding? Indeed, as we shall see in chapter 4, the musical memory of Manchester includes a hegemonic co-option of neighbouring cities and towns. But, frankly, to my Yorkshire sensibilities I can think of little more undesirable than to be a self-styled cultural epicentre anyway. So if the Four Yorkshiremen were to include a discussion of post-punk, maybe it would look something like this:

One: A *Label*? We dint ave a label in our day! We at to get bus to Liverpool just to put a single out!

Two: A bus!? Luxury! We at to *walk*. To *London*! And we only got alf an hour int studio!

V. "NOT FROM LONDON": YORKSHIRENESS AND THE ABYSS

"We don't come from Leeds or London, we don't come from Manchester..."
(The Negatives, 2001)

This lyric, from The Negatives' 1979 recording, *We're from Bradford* (unreleased until 2001), is a perfect illustration of what Saussure ([1916] 1983) described as a fundamental oppositionality of signs, in which "What characterizes each most exactly is being whatever the others are not (p. 115)". Following discourse on Manchester and homogenous northernness in the previous section, and ahead of the discussion of micro-differentiation in the divine myth of Yorkshireness that will feature in chapter 3 (i), we can see the roots of these ideas take hold in Saussure's semiotics. Without wishing to create a philosophical wormhole here (the discourse that I will attempt to summarise without being too reductive comprises books and theses of its own, and its density will be clear), there is a fundamental importance to this kind of oppositionality – at least as concerns negative definition –, which can be explained most effectively in terms of *mise en abyme*. The term is considered to have emerged in André Gide's (1978 [1893]) analysis of plays within plays (p. 31; Snow, 2016, p. 10), such as *Hamlet* (see Dickmann, 2019, p. 11), which Dällenbach (1972) considered to represent "a kind of reflection" (p. 8; see Dickmann, 2019, p. 12), and although Dällenbach was critical of the explicit semiological interpretation of *mise en abyme* (Snow, 2016, p. 225), it is still a connection worth noting in the deconstruction of myth especially, which Barthes ([1957] 2000) refers to as a "second-order semiological system" (p. 114).

Crucially, the existence of the 'other' in Lacanian linguistic analysis (1970, p. 193), which contributes to the image of a mirror reflecting another mirror that tends to be synonymous with *mise en abyme*²⁹, necessitates a reflexivity of reflection. So, for example, if Yorkshire relies on its othering of Lancashire for meaning, and if Lancashire repeats this process for Yorkshire, each will become "black holes of retreating signification" (Cunningham, 2002: 18; see Snow, 2016, pp. 219-220). Each mirror, therefore, must not simply reflect "as an external reflection might do [...] it can only ever split it in two" (Deleuze 1989, p. 82; see also Dickmann, 2019, p. 12), and in doing so creates myth that sustains the cultural understanding of difference between the two identities. Frequently, in interviews with my

²⁹ Language, for Derrida ([1967] 1976) "is about infinite substitution" (p. xix).

participants, both Lancashire³⁰ and ‘the south’ are used as points of reference for constructing Yorkshire identity and place:

I don’t think I really thought about the rest of the UK very much, outside the north! It’s like Yorkshire, the greater north... I mean Yorkshire all the way up to Teeside really and all the way down. It felt like we were all in it together, and a little bit... I know it’s a cliché, but against the south! We were lucky. I’m not trying to say the south hated us, and we did have some real champions in the music press: Sounds was always with us – Johnny Gellar [...] he gave us our first interview in 81. The people at Melody Maker were fine, NME have always been snotbags and very proud of it! And they made it clear that because we were, y’know, northern, grungy, and wore too much black, and weren’t in that art-school [crowd] [...] there was that attitude of the south doesn’t want us so we don’t want them (Rosie, interview, July 10, 2018).

In William Marshall’s (2011) thesis on the creation of Yorkshireness, he cites a number of factors as important contributors to Yorkshire “self-perception and auto-stereotyping”, which are recognisable from the late-Victorian period through to the present day (p. 45). The first of these is the emergence of local and regionalised press, which by the mid-19th century was beginning to break the hegemony of London news media for the first time (see Lee, 1976, p. 49; Marshall, 2011, p. 46), and which we have seen from the accounts of Mark, Wolfy, and now Rosie (above), is still a recognisable hegemonic struggle in the perceptions of London-based music press by northern musicians in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Furthermore, Schofield & Wright, (2020) refer to “an article about Northern Soul [where] it is noted that, ‘up north they don’t like London journalists snooping about’” (p. 215), and in the wider news media we will see the north-south divide come to a head in chapter 3(iii) during the trial of Peter Sutcliffe.

Further to Yorkshire’s local and regional press, and alongside culinary practices, Marshall cites spectator sport, the “supposed rivalry between Lancashire and Yorkshire”, and the reverence of notable individuals as central tenants of Yorkshire identity (2011, p. 45). We have already seen, in the previous section, some contribution to narratives of Yorkshire nationalism from the region’s 2012 Olympic prowess, and though Rosie’s testimony above tends to lean more on opposition to the south of England – which, notably, is virtually tantamount to the music press by her account – she also invokes some more discernible differences between Leeds and Manchester:

I think Leeds was noticeably [less colourful]. Like everybody would walk around, pencil thin, black drainpipe jeans, big hair... In Manchester people were wearing blue jeans! [inaudible] Joe Bloggs ones... I couldn’t believe how colourful Manchester was. Where’s all the people wearing black!?

³⁰ Historically, Lancashire is the main ‘other’ of Yorkshire outside of ‘the south’. When discussing Leeds in particular, or conversing with those who identify with the city, the ‘other’ is usually specifically Manchester. Although now the metropolitan capital of Greater Manchester, the city is a historic part of Lancashire and is therefore included in my references to Lancashire here. The same is true, historically, of Liverpool, but is less synonymous with the county in contemporary consciousness.

[...] Leeds was all I knew, I think I've described it in the past as shabby, chaotic, and poor. And Manchester didn't feel quite any of them. Chaotic, yes. But there was quite a difference coming over the Pennines. Different drugs, slightly different music (Rosie, interview, July 10, 2018).

Marshall goes on to cite Colley (1992) and Hewitt and Poole (2000, p. 118) in suggesting that, in English regions, "identity is most effectively shaped when it can be constructed in direct and explicit opposition to an 'other'" (Marshall, 2011, p. 55), furthermore involving Rawnsley's (2000) assertion that English 'northernness' is was constructed in fundamental opposition to "the emerging sense of Englishness constructed around the capital and the South of England" (p. 10). Yorkshireness, then, can be seen as incorporating two narratives of otherness: first, a macro-otherness of the south as part of the north, and within that a micro-otherness of Lancashire, something that we can recognise in Cohen's (1972) account of subcultural conflict:

In a real sense, subcultural conflict (greasers versus skinheads, mods versus rockers) serves as a displacement of generational conflict, both at a cultural level and at an interpersonal level within the family (Cohen, 1972, p. 73).

But beyond differentiation to Lancashire and 'the south', there are also competing historical class and cultural claims to Yorkshireness, between the rural-dwelling gentries of the North Riding and the industry workers of the West Riding³¹. In this respect, when Aki goes on to refer to Leeds as being more 'sophisticated' than Bradford (interview, September 11, 2018; see chapter 5 ii), it is rooted firmly in the disparate histories of political radicalism across the cities (Briggs, 1968, p. 153). But it is also indicative of something further: in chapter 4, when I discuss the competing hegemonies of memory of musical heritage, it is that individual Yorkshire metropolises will be engaging in oppositional constructs of self in three or even four semiological orders. That is, of the north to the south, of Yorkshire to Lancashire, of West and North Ridings, and, for smaller towns, of themselves and the neighbouring cities whose metropolitan boroughs they are placed within.

³¹ The old *Ridings*, as previously discussed, differ from the contemporary county boundaries.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Memory, Myth, and Heritage opened with a Barthesian account of connectivity in myth and identities of place, which in latent subcultural participants is characterised by a daily myth-making through “idealization of the past” Spracklen, Henderson, & Procter (2016, p. 159). This is an important starting point for understanding what it means to be a Yorkshire post-punk, and the notion of myth remains central in the navigation of researcher-myth-maker duality. As heritage “concerns the relationships between people and place as opposed to places in and of themselves” (Schofield and Wright, 2020, p. 199), we saw, through van der Hoeven (2015a, p. 260) and Strong (2022), that such a context is fertile for co-option from heritage industries, and that Baudrillard (1994) goes as far as suggesting that, in a societal context, essential meaning has been fully eclipsed by mythology. This is compounded in the lived experiences of participants; in Mick’s case of touring in Eastern Europe in the communist era, in Rosie’s case through experience of memory loss, and across myth-making professions – specifically, in the case of my participants and I, music – as an engrained and often obligatory practice.

In *Punk, Post-Punk, and Academic Discourse*, I set out some clear ontological mythologies: the essential working-classness of punk, the essential middle-classness of academia, and the implications of ascribing a ‘post’-genre label, referring to contradictions in punk’s rejection of class constraints while introducing the interplay of class, identity, and punk ‘values’ in the testimonies of Aki, Mick, and Paul. Moreover, through Rosie, we can begin to see narratives of place and class unfold in relation to Leeds’ university scene – as characterised in Butt (2022) and O’Brien (2012).

In *Yorkshire and the Northern Canon...*, I invoked mythologized accounts of the “North” from Ethridge (2017) and Jewell (1994) as enforcing a kind of homogeneousness of northern English identity, which, while considering Spracklen et al’s (2016) finding that “there was nothing essential or necessary about Leeds” (p. 17, see also Spracklen & Spracklen 2018, p. 68) in their participants’ memory of the F Club, the city’s prominent club night in the first post-punk era, I use to explore the relationship between Yorkshire and other northern cities in interviews with Wolfy and Will. Finally, in *“Not From London...”*, I considered specific Yorkshire identity tropes set out in Marshall (2011), including “self-perception and auto-stereotyping” (p. 45), while specifically focusing notions of rivalry and oppositionality that are key to identity construction in English communities (see Colley, 1992; Hewitt and Poole, 2000, p. 118; Marshall, 2011, p. 55; Rawnsley, 2000, p. 10). In Yorkshire identity, this oppositionality, further contextualised by Cohen (1972), is considered in relation to neighbouring Lancashire and the south of England, while among its cities and towns, internally, this is conveyed in dualities of class and the urban and rural.

Because the creation of myth is an essential function of the culture industry and tourism, somewhat contradictorily, is concerned with embodying the authentic experience (see MacCannell, 1973), this thesis aims to better understand the role of authenticity in ethnographic (sub)cultural research. Therefore, the following chapter utilises narratives of authenticity to help understand belonging and considers its implications for researcher positionality.

2. AUTHENTICITY, ETHNOGRAPHY, & BELONGING

i. INTRODUCTION: INSIDER OR IMPOSTER?

I took some time out from this PhD at one stage. Culpable for the delayed return was a touch of 'imposter' syndrome, in which individuals ascribe "accomplishments to luck and contingency rather than individual skill and merit, or find their profession to be a 'bullshit job' that provides little social value." (Bothello & Roulet, 2019, p. 854, also see Morrow, 2020, and Clance & Imes, 1978).

There are a couple of things about this though, which not only reflect running themes throughout this work, but that have also provided the catalyst for my re-entry as a researcher. The imposter syndrome described above is a common adversary in academia for women, ethnic minority, and working-class scholars, and the latter in my case contains enough cause for self-reflection that it constitutes an unworkable paradigm. By academic standards, I am definitively working class. According to Department for Education (2019) statistics, just 14% of state or SEN school students in North Yorkshire entered Higher Education when I did in 2008. Within this group, students were half as likely to have received free school meals, as I did. Behind the data is an existential, attitudinal barrier, best described by Gillian Evans:

working class pride creates the means for dignity; common people fight back defensively with their own values and being common entails, therefore, an inverse snobbery. Posh people are pitied because 'They 'aven't got a clue [about "real" life]'. 'Even with all that education they've got no common sense [no practical skills or understanding about how to deal with common people]' (2007, pp. 31-32).

As a musician, and as a sociologist, I have become used to certain questions over the years: 'What kind of job will [this degree, that degree] get you?', 'When will you get a *proper* job?', 'What's the point?' Moreover, justifying the expense of a degree and what constitutes a 'proper' subject are never far from the fore. But Evans, here reflecting on the perception of her as a scholarly researcher in the eyes of her working-class participants, highlights their embedded distrust of academia. Similarly, throughout the years of my participation in 1919 I have been told variously by Karl that university 'brainwashes' you, or that university is not the place to seek education³², irrespective of how self-led I insisted the experience often was.

...there is often a mistrust of 'book-learning' [within working-class communities]. What good does it do you? Are you any better off (i.e. happier) as a clerk? or as a teacher? (Hoggart, 1957, p.84)

Somewhat inevitably, doubt has infiltrated my consciousness at times during this research. Although I have always been sure of the academic validity of the project, the most powerfully dissenting internal voice asks this: who am I to use working-class voices to further my middle-class career? This is the kind of "cowboy ethnography" that Contreras (2013)

³² This does not appear in my field notes at all. Such an assertion is so unremarkable for me to hear, at least from Karl and I feel certain more broadly in my lifetime, that it has not struck me as important until this point of reflection. This sentiment is validated by Hoggart's observation here, and this level of normalisation is likely proof of the embeddedness of such attitudes in working-class communities. However, this precise normalisation is why I can only offer anecdotal evidence here in support!

admonishes (pp. 26-27), and more than anything represents the importance of a substantively reflexive approach (see Rios, 2011; 2015). As an ethnographic insider I am close to many of the people I am discussing, and though working-class by academic standards, a university education is fundamentally middle-class. In order to overcome such doubts, which my re-entry has helped me to ultimately do, it is important to remember the likes of Richard Hoggart who has been a personal favourite since first reading *The Uses of Literacy* (1957). He recants a story of his younger self sitting next to a miner in his local Working Men's Club, having won a scholarship to a prestigious school:

Whenever he paid for his rum-and-hot milk he passed me a half crown from the change. I tried to refuse: 'Tek it lad, and use it for thee education,' he said. 'Ah'm like all miners. Ah only waste t'bluddy stuff.'³³ (p. 84)

To work for one's class, as Hoggart describes ahead of the above anecdote, is something with inherent virtue. Akin to Kant's "guardians of enlightenment" ([1784] 1984, p.30), for whom enlightenment comes more readily than to others and should therefore (if you are among the more benevolent of them) help guide those less able towards it, an educated working-class individual can be seen to hold this same implicit responsibility. Although this notion has given me some motivation throughout my academic career, to start to think of yourself in these terms is inherently problematic. Not least because its self-aggrandising nature is uncomfortable, but also because it constitutes what Hoggart identifies as a major working-class faux pas: for somebody to give it the big *I am*³⁴. That is, to consider themselves superior to others. This is why Blackman's (2016) work on critical ventriloquy, advocacy, and knowledge co-production in Blackman and Kempson (2021) not only provides an important generalised framework for positionality but could be of specific importance to the research practices of working-class academics, who may have to navigate especially complex relationships with white-collar professions due to entrenched value structures.

Whilst Nietzsche might attribute this attitude of working-class humility to the Christian veneration of mediocrity, propagated to quell the masses and in turn stifling the kind of enlightenment described by Kant ([1794] 1984, pp. 29-34), it is nonetheless a characteristic

³³ Hoggart's written Yorkshire dialect here represents a kind of third way, somewhere in the middle of the dominant styles discussed in the opening part of this chapter. It is not fiction, nor is it a direct transcription, but a written appropriation of something said according to memory (or said variously, as several of the maxims offered in this text are).

It is also important to note that, as examples of speech from working-class communities in 1950s Leeds, this is likely a far more accurate representation of how a number of my participants (most of whom were born in the 1960s) would speak – though being a very traditional working-class dialect certainly not *all* of them, or even most – and especially in comparison with the Victorian models offered in Brontë and Dickens.

Just as significantly, if this were spoken in the same way (as far as it is possible to tell) in one of my interviews, I would have written it slightly differently. For example, where Hoggart quotes: "Ah'm like all miners. Ah only waste t'bluddy stuff", I would write this as: "Am like all miners. I only waste bloody stuff". This does not indicate a difference in pronunciation, though a word such as 'only' could be pronounced as *awn-leh*, *urn-leh*, a more RP style *own-lee*, or some variation of one or other of these depending on geographical origin, formal or informal education, or idiosyncrasy.

³⁴ This is my own example. Hoggart uses a few, including "getting above y'self", as opposed to someone that would "talk to you "just like I'm talking to you now"" (1957, p. 86).

of working-class lived experience. From a personal perspective though, it was a recent tragedy that helped to change the aforesaid problems of endless self-reflection back from a barrier to a reason to write. Kev died in December³⁵. We met at the same time as I met Mick and Karl, and he'd essentially been our only crew member for the 5 years following. With Kev, not only did we lose a friend, but the third member of the 1919 family (after Mark and Steve) since I joined the band and subsequently started this research, and second that I have been pall bearer for.

In addition to re-asserting the delicacy of human testimony – if I had not interviewed, observed, or otherwise interacted with my late friends when I did, it would have been too late – and time-pressure of recording ageing memory, I was able to use my education to the tangible benefit of those around me. I wrote an obituary for Kev which, largely owing to his stint as Leeds United's mascot in the mid-2000s, was published in the local paper (Goldhammer, 2019b) and as a warts-and-all memorial in club fanzine *The Square Ball* (2021a). Not only was I able to then use the skills that I have developed as a writer here, but also the confidence of a white-collar professional to approach the publication with my work in the first place. It meant a lot to Kevs' mum and it means a lot to me too, and to be able to co-produce knowledge with Kev and my other participants is to help cement legacies that would likely otherwise have been overlooked.

In a looser context, Kev's story is one of a roadie and a mascot: roles perennially in the margins of history but which are undeniably present and often overlooked. Much of the history of post-punk, either from a broad historical perspective or a specifically regional one, is usually written in terms of a specific group of stakeholders (in Leeds, for instance, this tends to be Gang of Four, Delta 5, and The Mekons – the aforesaid art-school bands). But part of the original justification of this research was to look just a little bit further into the shadows, where the likes of 1919 had existed. These are stories that deserve to be told, and I'm uniquely placed to do so.

³⁵ Kev was a walking example of contempt for those who considered themselves superior, as exemplified in Goldhammer (2019b), and particularly the stories the newspaper didn't print which are available in the subsequent version (2021a)!

II. THEORISING AUTHENTICITY

Authenticity, as I have suggested, is a diverse and contentious subject. According to the Cambridge dictionary, authenticity is “the quality of being real or true” – a definition that raises more questions than it answers. What is it to be ‘real’? or ‘true’? and in whose eyes do we measure such truth? To begin to understand this it is necessary to start as far back as Plato’s *Republic*, and its subsequent criticism from Aristotle in *Poetics*. Their disagreement over the value of art and its relation to truth provides the basis for much contemporary discourse on authenticity. Art, according to Plato, is perennially at least two steps from truth:

“Well, we’ve got these three beds. First, there’s the real one, and we’d say, I imagine, that it is the product of divine craftsmanship [...] then there’s the one the joiner makes [...] And then there’s the one the painter makes” (Plato, 1993, p. 347).

A painting, in other words, is an imitation of an object, which is an imitation of an idea. Art is necessarily, for Plato, an imitation of an imitation of truth. Aristotle, though accepting a mimetic or representative relationship between art (specifically including poetry and music), and physical reality, considers this to be a good and natural thing. For him, “representation comes naturally to human beings from childhood, and so does the universal pleasure in representations” (Aristotle, 2013, p. 20, also see p. xv). To attempt to define authenticity through an essentialist narrative of truth, then, is at the very least somewhat self-defeating. Moving forward, for a moment, to the Twentieth century, Jean-Paul Sartre, a keen Jazz lover, considered the genre to be an “authentic and politically engaged art” (Matarrese, 2012, p. 57), while Theodor Adorno considered it “mass-produced for mass consumption” (p. 58) like any other popular art form. This subjectivity is fundamental to our contemporary understanding of authenticity.

From ancient Greece to modernity, narratives of authenticity remained intertwined with the evolution of philosophy. Significantly, and perhaps inevitably, Plato’s aforesaid notion of ‘divine craftsmanship’ – in addition to his belief that art constituted a misuse of mental and spiritual resources (Plato, 1993, p. xxxi) – also gives an indication of authenticity’s place in theological discourse, which resonated profoundly throughout the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods that have made a significant contribution to thought. Each of these epochs are often considered in relation to humanism or secularism (King, 2003, p. x), and at least in terms of the Enlightenment this is handily surmised by Kant (1784), who states that “Statutes and formulas [...] are the fetters of [the individual’s] everlasting tutelage” (p. 30). To live according to prescription or dogma, according to Kant, is the antithesis of intellectual and spiritual freedom.

Regarding the Renaissance, and without wishing to propagate an essentialist definition – it is an area outside of my expertise, and one without even a universally accepted beginning and end (King, 2003, p. viii) – it is somewhat conventionally considered that the period concerns a revival of classical antiquity (p. ix). Although this means an emphasis on pre-Christian thought, this does not require Renaissance art or philosophy – or that of subsequent humanism – to be necessarily secular. What is nonetheless prevalent is a fundamental attention to the relationship between the divine and the self, either through an individual stylistic approach to iconography, self-portrait, or at times the union of the two (Nagel, 2011, p. 35). Once again, I should assert that it is not my intention to gratuitously simplify the Renaissance. However, by simply scratching the surface in this way it is

possible to see the ubiquity of this interplay between the divine and the self, in philosophy, from antiquity to modernity.

It is the manifestation of these two interwoven concepts into a moral framework that provides the basis for understanding authenticity. In the early 4th and 5th centuries, St. Augustine's work formed the basis for Christian morality across numerous denominations (Pratt, 1903, p. 222; Markus, 1988, p. 67). In short, whilst a secularist reading of Kant might discern organised religion to be a barrier to individual enlightenment, an Augustinian reading considers the opposite, that service to God and spiritual or intellectual advancement are identical:

God is righteousness itself; that which He does is right and that is right which He does. Obedience to his will, moreover, is the criterion of right for all His creatures. But Augustine does not stop there as so many theologians do. He adds, It is our duty to do the will of God because His will is our deepest will too (Pratt, 1903, p. 222).

Considerations of liberty and morality are intertwined with any contemporary understanding of authenticity, and it is not necessary to wait until the age of enlightenment to determine a secular position in this context. In pre-Christian philosophy we have already examined the Platonian narrative of separation from divine truth, but some of the more potent ethical contemplations come from Aristotle's discourse on virtue. For Aristotle, virtue is a "habit, accompanied with deliberate preference, in the relative mean, defined by reason, and as the prudent man would define it" (Aristotle, 1889, p.45), and he compares this "mean" state to a work of art in which any more or less would detract from its excellence (p.44). In other words, a virtuous person would do 'good' things because it was their inclination to do so (p. vii, Kosman, 2014, p. 62, also see McManus, 2019, p.1193)³⁶.

Alongside this process of inclination and action is a vital third component: justification. That is, in order to discern authenticity of action, not only must we consider whether an individual is acting according to their natural inclination, but also *why* one is so inclined. Fundamentally, this equates to a binary question of whether one acts for the sake of the deed itself, or through fearing the consequences of acting otherwise. St. Augustine (1993) summed this up neatly:

What I'm saying [...] is that charity fulfils the law. Fear of punishment makes a person do the works of the law, but still in a servile manner (p. 292).

This, he states, is the difference between servile and chaste virtue, and "charity is the gift of the Holy Spirit" (p. 292). With God's will as "our deepest will too" (Pratt, 1903, p. 222), this means a virtuous person is someone who acts upon their desire to do good things³⁷, because good things are their natural inclination and are inherently worthwhile. It is on this philosophical basis that we understand much of what it means to be authentic. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Polonius states: "This above all: to thine own self be true, And it must follow, as the night the day" (Shakespeare, 2005, p. 29), and the endurance of such a maxim for near half a millennium is some indication of the importance of authenticity in ontology. However, as we have seen from even a limited venture into renaissance and

³⁶ This is also reflected in Kant's work on autonomy (Klemme, 2019, p. 11).

³⁷ Or, indeed, think good thoughts (Kosman, 2014, p. 66).

enlightenment-era thought, and despite even pre-Christian philosophy alluding in some sense to a concept of deiform truth (such as in Plato's notion of divine craftsmanship), the fulcrum of ontological authenticity remains the self, and what Aristotle (1889) refers to as the "mean" state (p. 43). Whether the mean of an individual – that is, their natural inclination – is innate or constructed, however, must also be considered.

Moving into this narrative of the constructed self, we can begin by acknowledging the notion that an individual must be self-aware. Heidegger, who, according to Amjad and Kazemifar (2014), "considers the Being-question, *Seinsfrage*, the most fundamental question in philosophy" (p.63) is a useful starting point here. Drawing from Dreyfus (1995), Gelven (1989), Inwood (1999), and Heidegger (2001), they further state:

We have a vague awareness of our own existence, but this vague awareness should be made explicit. He uses the term *Dasein* (Da (here/there) and Sein (to be)) for a being which can inquire into its own Being (p. 64).

As McManus (2015) explains, however, a Heideggerian reading requires a further contextual thought regarding *Dasein*; namely, whether such a self-aware being is, or should be considered, either a necessarily individualised or socialised entity (p. 2). This social dynamic is crucial to understanding authenticity in a contemporary context and forms a significant part of the nexus of authenticity to social sciences including political theory and psychology. Alongside this socialised understanding of the self – where, ultimately, we begin to uncover notions of the *public* and *private* self as distinct phenomena in coexistence – comes a sense that the private self is inherently curtailed in public life (Schlenker, 1986, p. 21).

This is, of course, of great significance to political theorists, and Grant (1997) subsequently draws together Machiavelli and Rousseau to consider whether authenticity and politics are mutually exclusive. A mixture of "purity and [...] pragmatism" (p. 61), she concludes, is something towards an authentic political agent (Wingrove, 2001, p. 105): something reminiscent of Matthew Arnold's (1971) assertion that a "man of culture is in politics one of the poorest mortals alive" (p. 39). However, at base level, this negotiation is perhaps best understood in Freudian terms. For Freud (1995[1923]), the self is a perennial negotiation of Ego, Superego, and Id, with the latter representing the subconscious' perpetual lust (p. 636). The tension resulting from mitigating such desire is, for Freud, "the price we have to pay to live in a civilized society" (Ştefan, 2016, p. 54), and echoes the authentic-community dichotomy of Rousseau's "Social Contract"³⁸ (Marks, 2005, p. 119).

To deepen the theoretical context for proponents of a resolute philosophical individualism it's important to also pay attention to Kierkegaard (McMullin, 2019 p. 67), who, according to Vaškovic (2019), is considered a pioneering existentialist alongside Dostoevsky. Although, Vaškovic states, the two offer distinct voices in fundamentally different contexts (p. 82), both have a propensity to demonstrate "what each of them believes to be the 'ordinary', yet inauthentic or deficient state of the human self" (p. 83), and ultimately "set forth a basic outline of a process through which this fragmented self can transform into an authentically Christian self" (p. 82). It is therefore not so farfetched to suggest some similarities between

³⁸ For Rousseau, however, Freud's description of a "civilized" society is a little too flattering. He considered modern societies to be the root of all unhappiness and advocated instead for a "return to nature" (Golomb, 1990, p. 244, Garrard, 2012, p. 70).

the aforesaid pair and Freud, all of whom require the authentic self to be realised through external stimulus. For Freud, this means sexual fulfilment. For Kierkegaard (also see McMullin, 2019, p. 168) and Dostoevsky, meanwhile, the authentic self is realised only through an alignment with God.

One of the most distinct voices in moral individualism is Nietzsche. However, much of his work is in direct opposition to the likes of Rousseau or Kierkegaard. Most simply, in addition to a clearly established secularism – for Nietzsche, “transcendental entities or supra-natural powers do not exist; there is no ‘pure reason,’ no other world...” (Golomb, 1990, p. 243) – is embedded a firm rejection of any kind of innate self; the kind of “crude naturalism” (p.244) supported by Rousseau. Golomb continues: “To become ‘what we are’ is not to live according to our innate nature but to create ourselves freely” (p. 244, Nietzsche, 1997 p. 128). In other words, our authentic self is a self-construct³⁹. There is some agreement with Rousseau though, particularly concerning the potential intellectual and spiritual limitations of socialisation:

According to Nietzsche, one should therefore judge (or create value) without determination of the judgment through the experience or contamination of others’ thinking. What we could call an escape of the tyranny of our biographical context (Donzé, 2018, p. 200).

Durkheim, like Nietzsche, ascribes to the idea of the self as a construct. Unlike Rousseau, however, Durkheim (1933) considers the ability to navigate collective consciousness as a necessary step towards individual self-realisation (pp. 283-284; Allen, 2005, pp. 108-109). Furthermore, where Rousseau considers socialisation an impedance to the realisation of the authentic Christian self, Nietzsche speaks – somewhat inevitably – in more practical terms. In this case, the tyranny of our biographical context is akin to the Derridean discourse on Western metaphysics ([1967] 1976) encountered briefly in the previous section, that one is “governed by the system” they knowingly occupy (p. 158). Therefore, in a way that furthermore echoes Kant’s prescription to achieve enlightenment by breaking free from “self-incurred tutelage” ([1794] 1984, p. 29), it is possible in a Nietzschean or Durkheimian sense to act authentically even within systems of moral and philosophical coercion, so long as the individual is able to acknowledge and overcome such coercive forces.

Authenticity, as is evident from the range of perspectives introduced thus far, is a diverse and somewhat contentious subject. Up to this point we have variously considered the authentic self to be the default state of an individual – either conscious or subconscious, affirmed by religion or sexual gratification, and either ordained by God, innate to our character, or constructed within a societal framework that can either be seen as useful or destructive. Though not offering a specific thesis of his own (Wain, 1973, p. 179), Lionel Trilling (1972) helps us to further contextualise some of these key theoretical perspectives. In the case of Freud, for example, he offers an analysis of opposition from the pages of Sartre (1969), who considers psychoanalysis itself to have an “inherent inauthenticity” (Trilling, 1972, p. 148). Principally, Sartre disputes that suppression of the Id can be an unconscious process (p. 146) – something Freud himself began to revise in the latter stages

³⁹ The best construction of the self, which breaks the shackles of biography in this way, could be considered the *Übermensch* (Overman): “Man is something that shall be overcome” (Nietzsche, 1954, p. 3).

of his career (p. 147). This development could even be considered supportive of the Nietzschean, Kantian, Durkheimian, and Derridean dialectics approached above, insofar as it re-affirms the potential for agency both in individual self-realisation, and the relationship between the self and society which the likes of Rousseau would consider to be necessarily destructive. In this respect Trilling draws us to Rousseau's criticism of Molière's *Le Misanthrope*, in which he considers the avowed sincerity of Alceste, one of the play's principal characters, to be an exercise in "self-deception" (Trilling, 1972, p. 17). For Rousseau, Trilling states, this kind of sincerity that appeals to popular consciousness in favour of a purely personal spiritual endeavour, "represents a 'false good' which is more dangerous than actual evil" (p. 18). In short, it is impossible to operate authentically within an inauthentic framework.

As we work towards completion of the theoretical framework for authenticity – that is, whilst completion is something of an overstatement, at least in terms of painting as full a picture of the moving parts involved in such discourse as viable without straying too far from my own research objectives – we arrive at two final important considerations: the context and perception of authenticity. In the case of the former, this recent discussion of Rousseau also returns us neatly to the dispute between Sartre and Adorno cited at the start of this chapter, in Matarrese (2012, pp. 57-58, also see Adorno, 1991, pp. 9, 71), on the authenticity of Jazz. In the case of the latter we will consider, with reference to Berger and Benjamin, what can be considered a kind of existential authenticity: that for something to be perceived as authentic is far more of an active component than previous accounts of authenticity, which overall have been more concerned with a predetermination for the conditions of the authentic, have suggested. In defining the aforesaid context of authenticity, this is less of an exercise in breaking new ground than it is of building on themes recently discussed. Where we have Rousseau, for example, admonishing the communitarian influence on the pursuit of authentic individual self-realisation, we conversely have the Marxist consideration that "the working out of the historical process, and therefore the essential life of man, could take place only in cities" (Trilling, 1972, p. 20). Most of our considerations to this point have existed within this polarized framework, that speculates whether authenticity is possible or not in any given circumstance.

the worth of what a man thinks about God and the objects of religion depends on what the man is; and what the man is, depends upon his having more or less reached the measure of a perfect and total man (Arnold, 1971, p. 30).

In terms of individual triumph over circumstance, Arnold's paraphrasing of Luther here is comparable to Kant's guardians of Enlightenment, Derrida's exorcists of Western metaphysics, or Nietzsche's *Übermenschen*. Through Arnold though, we can also start to see some of the more tangible elements that could be required to reach this elevated status. Culture, for him, as for Adorno later, is key to achieving this personal advancement; to break free from what Kant ([1794] 1984) described as the "yoke of tutelage" (p. 29). But inescapable in the history of cultural studies – literally meaning, in this case, the study of culture – is a binary narrative of cultural pursuit: on one hand what Arnold describes as "sweetness and light" (1971, p. 69), "the best that has been thought and known in the world" (p. 70), commonly described as *high* culture, and *low* or *mass* culture on the other; which he describes as "an intellectual food prepared [...] for the actual condition of the masses" (p. 69).

There is an undeniable class conflict evident in this binary framework. To give Arnold his due, his culture “seeks to do away with classes” (p. 70) and should never be “an engine of social and class distinction” (p. 42). However, if only the *best* music, the *best* art, the *best* literature, and the *best* theatre are conducive to self-advancement – be it in relation to God, over biography, over socialisation, or in any of the guises encountered thus far in this chapter – then authentic self-realisation is in the hands of the arbiters of taste. If opera, for example, is the key to this kind of personal fulfilment, to enlightenment, or any form of intellectual or spiritual advancement, then it is of paramount importance to consider not only how one might access opera, but even why anyone would want to. This is why, in Adorno (1991), the editor surmises that “autonomous art arises fully only in a class society through the exclusion of the working classes” (p. 10). Hoggart (1957) draws attention to the fundamental differences in lived experiences in working and middle-class communities, with one example being that a working-class schoolboy who attends Grammar school via scholarship finds himself ultimately incompatible with both worlds (p. 292; see also Hoggart and Williams, 1960). Bourdieu (1984), moreover, asserts the arbitrary nature of high culture by positing that distinction and pretention are co-dependent. For him, it is the “collaboration of their respective production apparatuses and clients which produces the value of culture and the need to possess it” (p. 250). Ultimately, when Arnold states that the pursuit of perfection should not be “an engine of social and class distinction” (1971, p. 42), it is because the reality is precisely that.

Returning to Adorno, then, it is clear that cultural production and the prescribed value of cultural artefacts are intrinsic to cultural hegemony (see also Gramsci, 1971, pp. 245-246, 303), and therefore that “Cultural production is an integrated component of the capitalist economy as a whole” (Adorno, 1991, p. 9; p. 43). It is for this reason that, contrary to Sartre (Matarrese 2012, pp. 57-58; see also Adorno, 1991, pp. 9, 71), Adorno considers Jazz to be indistinguishable from any other artefact of mass culture. Simply put, under cultural hegemony, authentic art cannot exist; and therefore Adorno describes a paradox of authentic context: “Art really only exists as long as it is impossible by virtue of the order which it transcends” (1991, pp. 78, 10; see also p. Frith, 1981, p. 164). It is for this reason that the perception of authenticity, and the existential authenticity of an experience, provides the crucial final part of this theoretical framework.

Although existential authenticity is fundamentally rooted in individual perception, it is not enough to say these terms are interchangeable. Fundamentally, just as authentic realisation for Rousseau or Freud requires a kind of external-internal resolution, existential authenticity requires a negotiation. The specific term – ‘existential authenticity’ – emanates from studies in Leisure and Tourism, and principally from Wang⁴⁰ (1999), who goes as far as stating that existential authenticity has “nothing to do with the issue of whether toured objects are real” (p. 359, see also Rickly-Boyd, 2013, p. 682). This is somewhat in opposition to MacCannell (1973, p. 595, 1976), a seminal scholar of authenticity in tourism studies (Yi, Lin, Jin, & Luo, 2017, p. 1032), who asserted that authenticity in tourism is largely staged (see Rickly-Boyd, 2013, p. 680). Indeed, for Wang, “existential authenticity is a state of mind that enables an individual to feel free, within certain environments” (Yi et al., 2017, p. 1033). This means

⁴⁰ Wang stresses the rich ontological and political tradition of the concept before the term itself was coined (1999, p. 358).

that something could be considered authentic so long as it generates an authentic experience.

There are, of course, connections between this kind of *existential* authenticity and the so-called “objective” authenticity of specific artefacts and locations (Kim & Jamal, 2007, Yi et al., 2017, p. 1034), insofar as the former can be encouraged by the latter. Moreover, it is not accurate to say that MacCannell, in asserting the performative nature of tourism, rules out authenticity in this context in the same way Adorno denies the possibility of authentic art within the culture industry. In fact, for MacCannell (1973), the pursuit of authenticity is at the heart of tourism. These are the conditions in which Berger (1972) wrote that “Works of art are discussed and presented as if they were holy relics...” (p. 21). However, MacCannell also discusses the interplay between the tourist, who is “motivated by [their] desire for authentic experiences” (p. 597), and an industry that commoditises the fulfilment of such desires. Although tourism, therefore, is quite overtly part of the culture industry that Adorno describes with such great suspicion, the value of authenticity to tourism cannot be ignored. Just as an inauthentic mass culture is a tool of hegemony in a Gramscian and Adornoian sense, so too must an authentic cultural experience be viewed as a powerful commodity, and therefore also as a means of consolidating economic hegemony. As MacCannell further states, “the commercial advantages of appearing to be honest and aboveboard can outweigh [...] having to organize little shows of honesty” (1973, p. 597). If the purpose of tourism, therefore, is economic gain, then it is as much a business of selling authenticity as it is asserting it. Or, as Rickly-Boyd (2012) puts it: “Because symbolic authenticity is not based on an exact, discoverable original, it allows tourists to determine what is authentic” (p. 272; see also Wang, 1999, p. 217, Culler, 1981). The question becomes, at this point, whether authenticity can be at all manufactured. DeLillo’s *White Noise* (1985) gives some insight into this process. Here, two characters travel to a tourist attraction known as “the most photographed barn in America” (p. 12):

“No one sees the barn,” [Murray] said finally.

A long silence followed.

“Once you’ve seen the signs about the barn, it becomes impossible to see the barn.” He fell silent once more. People with cameras left the elevated site, replaced at once by others.

“We’re not here to capture an image, we’re here to maintain one. Every photograph reinforces the aura [...] They are taking pictures of taking pictures” he said (pp. 12-13).

This notion of aura comes from Benjamin (1935), who claimed the “authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning” (p. 4; see also Allen & Handley, 2018, pp. 365-385). In a sense, our theoretical framework comes full circle here; Benjamin’s further claim, that the quality of an encounter with an artefact “is always depreciated” (1935, p. 4) in mechanical reproduction (see also Rickly-Boyd, 2012, p. 270) – such as a photograph or audio recording – has clear parallels with Plato’s consideration of a painting, which would necessarily remain at least two steps removed from the divine concept (1993, p. 347). However, a picture of a picture is not automatically indicative of an essential truth. Indeed, as Baudrillard explains, “present-day simulators try to make the real, all the real, coincide with their simulation models” (1994, p. 2). In other words, authenticity is often posited in terms of realities that are equally fallible. Both Baudrillard and Eco (1986) use the example of Disney World to represent the construct of hyperreality, and here, according to

Wang (1999) the traditional notions of real and false have no relevance “since there is no original that can be used as a reference” (p. 356; Rickly-Boyd, 2012, p. 273). Therefore, not only is existential or symbolic authenticity a negotiation between the individual and the artefact before them, but between the individual, the artefact, and the forces that brought them together. In terms of how the aura is constructed, Berger (1972) provides the following example:

the visitor to the National Gallery would be encouraged by nearly everything he might have heard and read about the painting to feel something like this: [...] If I look at this painting hard enough, I should somehow be able to feel its authenticity. The Virgin of the Rocks by Leonardo Da Vinci: it is authentic and therefore it is beautiful (p. 21).

That authenticity requires this multitude of negotiation (Wang, 1999, p. 351; Cohen, 1998; Salamone, 1997) leads us, finally, to consider two theoretical positions set out by Roland Barthes. Firstly, as is considered elsewhere in this thesis, Barthes (1957, 1967) asserts that language is arbitrary (1957, p. 126). This is because a single mental concept can be reached through interchangeable signifiers such as different languages. Furthermore, analogous to the aforesaid narratives of hyperreality, our lives are subject to constant pervasion by myth, which in turn is sinister particularly because of its organic appearance. If signs – “parole” and “langue” (1967, p. 14) are systems of difference and loose understanding, they may also carry with them influence from outside themselves. It is because linguistic signs also carry the power of connotation, for instance that the word *Lion* signifies courage, pride, etc., beyond simply a large exotic cat, that the bourgeoisie are able to manipulate signs for a variety of reasons: to sell a product, or maintain hegemony. This is an important philosophical context in which to consider, for example, Berger’s previous depiction of a visitor to the national gallery. As we have already discerned from Adorno, Bourdieu, and Gramsci, the prescribed value of high culture is essential to intellectual and political hegemony.

The second perspective offered by Barthes is in the *grain of the voice* (see also Frith, 1996, p. 210) is central to the consideration of essential authenticity: whether it exists, is constructed, can be accurately identified, or successfully captured. The grain “is the body in the voice as it sings, the hand as it writes, the limb as it performs” (Barthes, 1972, p. 188). “...not [merely] its timbre” (p. 185), but maybe also (as the French term *mélodie* describes) a “practical reflection on the language” (p. 186). So, just as constructivism “provides for ‘emergent authenticity’, that an inauthentic object or site may become authentic over time” (Rickly-Boyd, 2012, pp. 272-273; Cohen, 1988, Graburn, 1976), the grain of the voice can be considered from the Benjaminian perspective that authenticity is “transmissible from its beginning” (1935, p. 4). However, existential authenticity does not negate the coercive impulses of the culture industry, nor the hegemony of bourgeois mythmaking. It has become clear that myth, and consequently aura, is most successfully transmitted by artefacts or sites which have some sort of historical authenticity. It is not clear, however, how such a historical authenticity is objectively verifiable. In terms of an authentic self-realisation, then, essential truth, even in the context of divinity, is subjective. Authenticity is not as much a matter of *truth* as it is of *true enough*.

III. "BRADFORD OR SORT-OF BRADFORD: TO CLAIM, TO BE CLAIMED, AND A TALE FROM THE HEART OF THE CULTURE INDUSTRY

Field Note - 03/06/2018

After soundcheck there's news from Mick that Aki might be coming along tonight. Apparently he lives in London these days. I didn't see him until after we'd finished but he said he'd broken down along the way and missed most of it! Still it was nice to meet him and for him to come down. He said "I'm always up for supporting Bradford music, or sort-of-Bradford" which was true in our case, but I'm not sure if he means now with Sam and me in the band or because the band was more Shipley than central Bradford to begin with.

As this field note, from a 1919 gig in Brixton, suggests, authentic *enough* can be enough for authentic self-realisation. Aki Nawaz is a favourite son of Bradford: the founding drummer for *The Southern Death Cult*⁴¹, and later the notorious fusion group *Fun-Da-Mental*⁴², and yet the authenticity of 1919's Bradfordness, whilst acknowledged, appears to be of secondary concern in this brief statement. Of course, as I did not consider myself at the time, in London, for something to be *sort-of* Bradford is far more likely to be Bradford *enough* than if it were in Bradford itself, or even in neighbouring Leeds or Huddersfield. Indeed, the historic members of 1919 were primarily from Shipley, in the Bradford region, but also from the Kirklees town of Dewsbury. All that is certain, in this case, is that an individual who identifies as Bradfordian is demonstrating support for a group that also identifies in this way. For Aki, as somebody whose authentic self-identity includes advocacy for Bradford music, to lend support to 1919 in this way, is a symbiotic authentication of the self and an authentication of 1919's Bradfordness. It may even be possible to suggest that his caveat, "sort-of" Bradford, is a further reinforcement of his own Bradfordness. Indeed, the nuances that may or may not qualify 1919 as Bradford or not would surely be indistinguishable to a non-Bradfordian⁴³. Nonetheless, this negotiation, of claiming and being claimed, is an intersection of the Nietzschean framework of self-construction, and the self-realisation via external stimulus of Kierkegaard, Rousseau, and Freud. Seemingly, this can be enough for a kind of authentic experience for those concerned.

There has been a plethora of musical genres throughout history, such as Jazz, Blues, or Grime, that have carried the label of 'authentic'. In Rock music, to be a 'poser' is a cardinal sin. It's what separates us from the pop bands: the boy-girl groups manufactured by major labels to perform prescribed works and maximize chart success. Echoed in the aforesaid discussion of Jazz between Sartre and Adorno, and beyond the hegemonic power struggle elsewhere described by the latter, is the desire of the individual to identify with something *real*. In music production, for example, for a record to be considered authentic "becomes a badge of artistic honour despite the numerous aesthetic and technological contradictions" (p. 19). According to Frith (1986), authenticity is central to rock's core identity (p. 266; 1987, p. 136; Tetzlaff, 1994, p. 98). But, for Grossberg (1992), punk upended rock's claim to *realness*:

⁴¹ The band are revered in their own right but are also recognised as forebearers to the chart-topping band *The Cult*.

⁴² Dubbed the "Asian Public Enemy" (Hesmondhalgh & Melville, 2001, p. 95).

⁴³ Freud (1995[1930]) used the English and the Scottish as examples of communities whose differences are unrecognisable in this way, to an outsider (p. 751).

The sensibility of postmodernity defines a logic of 'ironic nihilism' or 'authentic inauthenticity' (not to be confused with inauthentic authenticity) [...] Within this logic, a cultural practice renounces both its claim to represent reality and its place in a representational economy; its value is no longer that of the real or the imaginable (p. 224).

Punk, as Dettmar and Richey explain, is for Grossberg the musical manifestation of postmodernism. Consequently, within punk, all identity is artificial (p. 8; see also Frith, 1983, p. 160; Tetzlaff, 1994, p. 97). Regionalisation, however, which is the focus of the next chapter of this thesis (see Goldhammer, 2019a), is also one of the important characteristics of the punk movement. The ironic interplay of identity in punk is empowered by groups who share a purpose (see Bestley, 2012, pp. 42, 70). Simply put, punk is able to reject its own authenticity because it is first considered to be authentic. Returning, however, to matters of claiming and being claimed, the following field note comes from a 1919 gig in Bradford's 1-in-12 club:

Field Note - 05/05/2018

... it's a particularly well-dressed crowd! A lot of people I recognise from the Leeds events, but something about the alleyway covered in tab ends and broken glass makes things feel a lot more like Germany when filled with goths and punks. The regular venue in Leeds is a student pub so it's a bit cleaner and there's a beer garden, but noticeably there isn't that spill of normals from the main room. It's still warm as fuck so everyone's just drinking outside and sitting on the floor.

I've just met Gary Cavanagh for the first time. Karl pointed him out to us. He's the one who did the Noise of the Valleys books on Bradford music, so I've told him how Steve [Madden] gave me his copy of the one with 1919 in it. I also tell him that I've just sent a chapter of my PhD work to be published, which references his book, and we've ended up just chatting for ages. He has these kind of family trees for bands, and I tell him that 1919 could link to Cradle of Filth via Ship of Fools, as well as to all the Peaceville doom lot. "I thought 1919 were a Shipley band?" He says, which is true, but I tell him about the Dewsbury connection. A little later he tells us the Kaiser Chiefs are technically a Bradford band because they formed in Menston, which I hadn't realised!

The specific discourse of Bradfordness, in terms of the relationship of the city itself and the wider metropolitan area (Shipley, Keighley, etc.), is again something that will be considered more specifically in the next chapter (Goldhammer, 2019a). However, as an independent historian of Bradford music (see Cavanagh, 2009), it is interesting to note that Cavanagh both specifically identifies 1919 as a Shipley band, and also asserts the Bradfordness of its provinces. Most importantly in this context, however, is the unrequited claim to the Kaiser Chiefs on behalf of Bradford. For some historical context here, Kaiser Chiefs emerged as part of the post-punk 'revival' period (see Kravitz, 2012) in the early-to-mid 2000s. Specifically, they were at the forefront of what music journalists at the time referred to as the 'New Yorkshire' movement (see Bassett, 2020). Geographically speaking, the claim is

not unfounded, although it should be also stressed how fluid the municipal boundaries are in England.



FIGURE 13 – WITH GARY CAVANAGH IN BRADFORD (GALLAGHER, 2018)

Although the town has a Leeds postcode, and a small portion falls under the jurisdiction of Leeds City Council, the majority is part of the Bradford Metropolitan area and the town is represented by the MP for Shipley. As is clear from the song “Highroyds” (Kaiser Chiefs, 2007), named after Menston’s listed High Royds Hospital building, the band do not reject their roots in the town. Instead, where the relationship between the band and Bradford becomes one-way is because, in popular culture, they are virtually synonymous with Leeds. The following is the opening verse to their breakthrough single, “I Predict a Riot”:

Watching the people get lairy
it's not very pretty I tell thee
walking through town is quite scary
it's not very sensible either

A friend of a friend he got beaten
he looked the wrong way at a policeman
would never have happened to Smeaton
an old Leodensian (Kaiser Chiefs, 2004).

Firstly, in terms of a sense of place, it is important to highlight that the band invoke Yorkshire dialect. This was a quintessential trope of traditional Yorkshire folk music (i.e. the standard, *Wheear 'as ta bin sin ah saw thee // On Ilkla Moor baht 'at?!'*) and is highly uncommon in popular music. More specifically though, “Smeaton // an old Leodensian” refers to John Smeaton, whose name adorns a number of public buildings in Leeds, and the word ‘Leodensian’ is itself an archaic term for an inhabitant of the city. Above all, the group’s

name comes from the South African football club *Kaizer Chiefs*: the original team of the iconic Leeds United Football Club captain Lucas Radebe. When Bourdieu (1973) spoke of cultural capital, it was in specific reference to the normalisation of “high” culture as desirable and valuable (p. 56), which, in turn, propagates the hegemony of the bourgeoisie as members of society with access to such capital (through finances, education, etc.) This is the context in which we asked earlier, in relation to the Arnoldian pursuit of culture via the very ‘best’ that humanity can offer, why opera might be considered desirable and how it could be accessed.

In subcultural studies, however, cultural capital is used both to unify a community outside of mainstream culture – what Williams (2014) described as a kind of “collective, class-based resistance to cultural hegemony” (p. 116) – as well as to determine complex internal hierarchies (Thornton, 1995, p. 14; Allaste, 2015, p. 124). It is through these displays of cultural capital that Kaiser Chiefs have become a signifier for Leeds in the same way ‘lion’ signifies courage or ‘snake’ signifies duplicity. In more recent years, that Leeds’ newly established ice hockey team took the name *Leeds Chiefs* is testament to the word’s significance to the city. For Benjamin, “the authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning” (1935, p. 4). However, it is not as simple as looking at the chronology, from the South African football team, to Radebe – whose nickname was also “Chief” – to the indie band, and finally to the ice hockey team, to discern the authenticity of a link between the term ‘Chief’ and the city of Leeds. Although, as Plato discussed, there is a mimetic quality in clear evidence here, it would seem harsh to suggest each representation was increasingly removed from truth in the way that he describes a bed and a painting of it (Plato, 1993, p. 347). Indeed, whilst it’s difficult to know for certain whether the ice hockey team would have arrived at its name without the prominence of the eponymous musical group, it’s certain the latter has worked symbiotically with the mythology of Radebe to establish the signification of the term and the place.

Kaiser Chiefs have achieved mainstream success, as well as an abundance of cultural capital in Leeds’ identity of place. To illustrate this, in 2019 the band headlined Leeds United’s centenary concert in front of 16000 fans at the club’s Elland Road stadium (*Centenary concert success with Kaiser Chiefs*, 2019). The stadium has been used intermittently for concerts in its history, and as an idea of scale, the kind of acts to have performed there include U2, Queen, and Rod Stewart. Moreover, the band also featured the previous year in what can accurately be described as a festival of Leeds cultural capital: the IBF world title boxing match between Lee Selby and Josh Warrington. Warrington, wearing not only the Leeds United colours, but also adorned with the same sponsor as the team’s shirts, won his inaugural world title here. But, owing to the venue itself, to the Kaiser Chiefs’ live performance, and to the boxer’s accompaniment to the ring by legendary Leeds United footballers Vinnie Jones, Jermaine Beckford, and Lucas Radebe himself (*Lucas Radebe to walk out Josh Warrington*, 2018), the city and people of Leeds were the real stars of the show.

It is important also to note that it is difficult – arguably impossible – to achieve the kind of mainstream capital earned by the Kaiser Chiefs whilst maintaining that of a music subculture. As Frith (1996) describes, authenticity and commerce are often described as antithetical, particularly in conventional rock n roll wisdom (p. 42). To reflect on my own experience of Kaiser Chiefs in particular, as a teenage fan I lost interest in the group fairly rapidly as their popularity exploded. It would be a mistake to attribute this, though, to their

commercial success alone. My favourite group had always been Manic Street Preachers, who had gained their second number one single at the start of 2000. Furthermore, as the kind of indie music played by Kaiser Chiefs, as well as the other 'New Yorkshire' bands, grew in popularity, I was drawn to bands such as Motörhead and Guns n Roses. These are bands which, whilst less popular among my peers at the time, were still considerably more mainstream globally than the British post-punk revival groups. One of the more telling signs that we can use to interpret this kind of behaviour on my part, which also sheds light on the fluctuating value of cultural capital to subcultural participants, is contained in the field note from 1919's performance in Bradford. Here, concerning the change in venue from Leeds to Bradford, I write, "noticeably there isn't that spill of normals from the main room" (5/5/2018). This isn't something that was highlighted in the discussion originally, but it's interesting to note the parallels in my outlook at 28 and my attitudes towards Kaiser Chiefs at the age of 14. There is a clear othering of 'normals' – those who do not belong to a discernible subculture, and an overt awareness of their proximity to subcultural space. O'Brien (2012) depicts an analogous environment in the late 1970s and early 1980s, in which the "politics of punk and football in Leeds was affected by Eddy Morrison's BNP and the far right" (p. 32), and a "belligerent, confrontational stance" in which Leeds football fans "harassed Anti-Nazi League demonstrators" (p. 35). Although a particularly extreme example, it does illustrate a conflict between subcultural participants and who I describe as "normals", or who O'Brien refers to as "Tetley Bittermen⁴⁴" (p. 32).

To consider this in the context of Frith and rock authenticity, part of the resistance of subcultural participants to commercially successful artists could be attributed then, not to commercial success itself, but to the saturation of cultural space by those who identify with a group's secondary signifiers – such as place – rather than their musical tropes (see also Lefebvre, 1971, p. 113; Hebdige, 1979, p. 17). This is evident even when the relationship between the groups is far more benign than the violent hostility of bygone eras. In a Barthesian sense it is also clear that, in the case of Kaiser Chiefs, the sign-signifier relationship between the group and the city of Leeds has developed successfully. What is not clear, however, is the extent to which this can be considered a bourgeois manipulation in the style of high cultural hegemony, or simply an organic consequence of a sincere and likeable musical group. I interviewed Will Jackson as part of my research, the owner of Leeds' Soundworks studios, and an early producer for Kaiser Chiefs in addition to a host of New Yorkshire bands. Here, we reflect on the group's use of Yorkshire dialect in their lyrics:

Will: Nick was the main writer for the Kaisers an e's really clever with words. I think, knowing his background which is quite well brought up, y'know, blah blah... [the regional dialect sung] was tongue-in-cheek. But e's obviously learnt from is culture that that's what some people say, "thee", "thou", or whatever [...]

Rio: Do you think that was then parta the reason they wo tranna place themselves as definitely a Leeds, definitely a kinda working class band almost? Do you think it was deliberate in that [marketing sense]? Cos if you had a band from [say]

⁴⁴ It is also worth noting that, as a Leeds United fan myself, I feel a sense of guilt for not liking Kaiser Chiefs in the way that a proud Leodensian should. I appreciate them in a kind of dutiful civic way, but I do not own any of their records.

Harrogate, who people knew were from Harrogate, it wouldn't attract as many die-hard fans, right?

Will: [...] Yeah, the marketing was good, and they were kinda sold as a band of the people, y'know? Which is not really what they are. But I mean, Jagger had a middle-class accountancy background! (Will, interview, August 21, 2018).

There are a few observations here to make, specifically concerning the perception of authenticity. Although the inclusion of traditional dialect is a seemingly conscious one, this does not make it a bourgeois manipulation of signs on its own. Whilst traditional dialect is much more likely to be used amongst working-class communities, they are nonetheless part of the collective conscious of a place. Building on the Durkheimian notion of collective consciousness (see Durkheim, 1933, pp. 283-284; Allen, 2005, pp. 108-109), Gramsci considers collective identity as a form of resistance to bourgeois hegemony (Filippini, 2017, pp. 58-59). This kind of oppositionality is prominent in theories of subculture, as it represents an inversion of the "folk devil" narrative, in which burgeoning youth cultures are scapegoated for the moral ills of wider society (Cohen, 2002, pp. viii, 2, 160). Crucially, in this context, it is possible to view Kaiser Chiefs as entirely consistent with punk and post-punk tradition. This is evident both in the sense that post-punk, as we have alluded to in reference to Bestley (2012) and Goldhammer (2019a) (see also Hebdige, 1979, p. 112) above, emboldened provincial UK regions in an otherwise Londoncentric pop-cultural landscape, and also because narratives of identity and place within punk culture are often engrained with ironic self-awareness that we have seen in Grossberg (1992) and Frith (1983). The latter example can be clearly identified in Jackson's description of Kaiser Chiefs' use of Yorkshire dialect as "tongue-in-cheek", and can therefore indicate a reemphasis of subcultural capital on the part of the group. Of course, this does not mean there is no inauthentic manipulation of signs at play. As we saw consistently through Adorno in the previous section, within the culture industry, this kind of activity is pervasive in an endless pursuit of commodity and capital. In the music industry specifically, an example of this bourgeois manipulation can be found in this account from Motörhead frontman Lemmy Kilmister (2003), in the iconic rocker's autobiography. Here, he sets out to debunk what he sees as a pervasive myth of the Beatles' and the Stones' respective class backgrounds:

the Beatles were hard men too. Brian Epstein cleaned them up for mass consumption, but they were anything but sissies. They were from Liverpool, which is like Hamburg or Norfolk, Virginia – a hard, sea-farin' town, all these dockers and sailors around all the time who would beat the piss out of you if you so much as winked at them. Ringo's from the Dingle, which is like the fucking Bronx. The Rolling Stones were the mummy's boys – they were all college students from the outskirts of London. They went to starve in London, but it was by choice, to give themselves some sort of aura of disrespectability (p. 28).

That the reputation of the artists in question were either consciously cleaned or dirtied, to target specific markets, is a clear example of the culture industry at work. It is worth noting that the mention of Rolling Stones' Mick Jagger, both here by Lemmy and in the above extract from my interview with Jackson, is somewhat contrary to the assertion in Frith (1983), that:

The assumption that rock stars were, by definition, dumb prole puppets was so common that during the beat boom of the mid-1960s, Paul McCartney's high school exam successes and Mick Jagger's time at the London School of Economics provoked repeated news comment" (p. 64)

However, this does not detract from the Adornoian or Gramscian narrative that the culture industry, by definition, sanitises and commoditises everything within its grasp. As Hebdige explains, "as soon as the original innovations which signify 'subculture' are translated into commodities and made generally available, they become 'frozen'" (p. 96), or, for Adorno (1991), "the work of art has fallen into the hands of competing specialists, [...] whose hegemony it tries to challenge" (pp. 87-88). Rock n roll, whose associated subcultures had been synonymous with the kind of moral panic described by Cohen (2002), needed to be absorbed, as punk later would be, into mainstream culture, in order both to suppress its challenge to hegemony and, ultimately, monetize it. For this to occur, some kind of "aura of disrespectability", as Lemmy put it above, needs to be maintained. For the working-class, northern Beatles, there may be enough residual authenticity to maintain the interests of the rock n roll purists⁴⁵, irrespective of how much their image is "cleaned up for mass consumption". For the Stones, at least from this limited amount of evidence, the opposite takes place, but the endpoint for each is identical.

It is not correct to say that the dynamic of art and authenticity within the cultural industry is as simple as follows: art is authentic, and commerce is corrupting. As we have already touched upon, Frith (1996) describes this perspective as underpinning the received wisdom of rock n roll, however, he goes on to state that "what the history actually reveals is a commercial musical form continually being recuperated in the name of art and subculture" (p. 42). Fundamentally, we can see that whilst neither is definitively true, there is a clear negotiation of authenticity, between artist, art, and commerce. To return briefly to what I have described as Leeds' festival of cultural capital, in Josh Warrington's world title fight at Leeds United's Elland Road stadium in 2018, we can see this negotiation very clearly in progress. Much of the publicity for the bout was framed around the boxer's quest to become Leeds' "first" world champion (*Josh Warrington beats Lee Selby...*, 2018). In fact, by some distance, this accolade belongs to Michelle Sutcliffe, and some news outlets subsequently clarified Warrington was Leeds' first *male* world champion (see ITV News Calendar, 2018). Why this is important is because, although the boxer may be considered an authentic focal point for a festival of Leeds cultural capital, and although it is his authentic Leedsness that enables the success of such an event, it is also clear that the successful commoditisation of this Leedsness is of greater significance than the truth. My interview with Paul Gilmartin, from Barnsley group The Danse Society, captures this negotiation in real-time:

[The producers] made us a perfect pop song. Then fuckin Jazz [Summers] came, n I thought... well look, plan was we need to get some control back, n if it means gerrin an it single n compromising, sellin out a bit, let's do it, n then when we're back in a position o power we can fuckin av a rethink. But e came in, Summers, manager, says "this isn't fackin Danse Society, you need to arden it up." You know, so we got a mishmash [...]

⁴⁵ Or, otherwise, to justify a liking of the group for rock subcultural participants.

I didn't expect to play on this record by the way. It was brilliant when they said "oh, can you play one – see what you're like". I expected a drum machine n keep Paul. But they kept me – sacked Paul [Nash]! (Paul, interview, March 17, 2018).

There are so many important considerations in this short interview extract alone that, truly, it can most accurately be described as a tale from the very heart of the culture industry. As a northern, working-class group, The Danse Society had been pulled from their touring schedule and been instructed to "write a hit" (see Appendix iii), and subsequently found themselves in London with Stock, Aitken, and Waterman: the production team that would go on to produce over 100 top-10 hits in the 1980s and 1990s (Hanley, 2018). Having made the decision to acquiesce in order to regain some control of their destiny, the group had acknowledged and accepted the fundamental dishonesty that Adorno ascribes to all mass produced and marketed art in the culture industry. Such is Paul's resignation to the Adornoian inauthenticity of commercial music production, he expected to be replaced on the record by a machine; yet still, in the form of his manager, Jazz Summers, he met an insistence that authenticity must be retained in some discernible or symbolic form. Scholars of tourism have told us, in the form of Wang, (1999), Culler (1981), MacCannell (1973), and Rickly-Boyd (2012), that authenticity is of significant value to tourists, even if "symbolic authenticity is not based on an exact, discoverable original" (Rickly-Boyd, 2012, p. 272). This does not prove the existence of an essential authenticity. However, it *does* suggest – rather convincingly – that the *idea* of an essential authenticity is powerful enough to be exploited for commercial and ultimately hegemonic success.

In terms of negotiating the creation of art in a fundamentally dishonest framework, finally, we return to Derrida ([1967] 1976), and the idea that one is "governed by the system" they knowingly occupy (p. 158). Although the authentic artefact and the authentic experience are intertwined, it does not mean the two are synonymous. Instead, the culture industry demands a construction of authenticity from an otherwise unmythologized artefact. It is no surprise, therefore, that an agent such as Paul, attempting to negotiate his freedom from the culture industry – or at least to form a space to create authentic art within it – is quick to reject the implication that his authentic self is aligned with the system he inhabits. As he himself puts it: "You're bothered about us being "Danse Society"? We sold us soul! We're wi Stock, Aitken, n Waterman ya fuckin idiot" (March 17, 2018).

IV. THE ACCIDENTAL AMBASSADOR: REFLEXIVITY AND PRAXIS

In ethnography, the question of authenticity permeates the research process long before its theoretical framework is drawn. This is evident in the reflexivity of Bourdeau (2004, p. 18; 1990b, p.11), its application in Rose (2020, p. 451), Reyes (2020, p. 228-230), and Savin-Baden and Major (2013, p. 71), and in the explicit assertion of Atkinson (1990) that all ethnography “claims authenticity and authority” (1990, p. 9). The extent to which the researcher is viewed as authentic by their participants is essential to the collection of quality testimony. Moreover, it is fair to suggest, especially in communities who, as Hoggart (1957, p. 84) and Evans (2007, pp. 31-32) note, may have a natural scepticism of higher education, that a significant function of ethnography is to deformalize the process of data collection. It is therefore natural that reflexivity should feature prominently in the analysis of the researcher, and that the authenticity of the researcher can be under constant scrutiny from their participants – something that Blackman and Kempson (2021) seek to overcome through developing the subcultural imagination in research methodology, “through seriousness, humour and pleasure” (p. 67). Evans, for example, highlighted that one participant knew ‘posh people don't live on council estates so I can't be that posh and yet I'm obviously not common either’ (2007, p. 24). However, for a cultural insider, this can have a further dimension. In my case, not only had I been dropped ‘into’ a culture, but I'd been dropped right to the front. I have become an ambassador for a 1980 Yorkshire post-punk group, despite having been born in London in 1990.

The following field note, from a 1919 performance in Berlin, provides an important final consideration. Here, we can see both objectivist and constructivist authenticities at work:

Field Note - 07/09/2017

There's a bar at one end and we pile the gear up at the opposite one. The smell of beer and fags⁴⁶ hangs in the air from the night before, while one or two people stack the empties for recycling. This guy, who looks like he's just woken up, has started banging on the wall where the insulation is caving in. The whole wall is like a saloon door made of asbestos. Then he picks up this giant fucking steel bar. There are two brackets about 12 feet apart, and this bar is going across to keep the big insulation door thingy closed... fuck knows, it might be keeping the roof up. This place is mental. I love it!

We've just finished the sweatiest fucking gig ever. It really was like a big living room. I was basically doubling up as a barrier as well as a singer – the cymbals grazing my back with every beat. It was so much fun. Just the whole room singing along to Dream... Fucking sweat and thick smoke. I'm in the back room now. Totenwald are here – they're local. And bits of Blood Bitch and Second Still who played earlier. So is Alex who runs the post-punk online thing. Mick and Kev are just going on about the old days being like tonight: ‘This is what it wo' like int' 70s'. Everyone's fucking beamin! I'm out selling some merch and this guy's just accused me of being the original singer. How old do I fucking look!? But I laugh and he just says it's cos my

⁴⁶ I should clarify, for the benefit of an international audience, that ‘fag’ is a British colloquialism for a cigarette. ‘Cig’, and (at least in the north) ‘tab’ are also common, but ‘fag’ is the oldest and still seemingly the most widely used.

voice sounds like the record. That's a pretty nice compliment actually. I thank him. I'm trying in German but I'm just fucking wired man (Figure 14).

Here, we have a kind of affirmation of what some would call a divine truth. If indeed, as Benjamin put it, 'The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning' ([1935] 1969, p. 4), then the benchmark for authenticity in post-punk is England in the late 1970s and early 1980s.



FIGURE 14 – 1919 PERFORM IN BERLIN (DJ CYBERPAGAN, 2017)

There are a number of contributing factors to the authentic experience enjoyed here by Mick and Kev. The venue itself, a squat that saw the end of its 30-year occupation in 2020, played a significant part in this – virtually frozen in time from the point of occupation. And certainly, the cigarette smoke, crackling PA system, and claustrophobia are also contributors. It is notable too that no other night during my research evoked this kind of response from the older members of the band, even those at comparable leftist cooperatives in Leeds, Bradford, and Mülheim. These were either bereft of smoke, much larger venues, and were in many cases much slicker operations than Berlin. This latter point suggests an importance, not just of the DIY culture in post-punk, but also of the performative requirement for authenticity. To invoke this kind of response from Mick and Kev, it is not enough, as in the case of several other venues on this tour, to simply *be* DIY, but DIY must also be performed⁴⁷. It is true that Berlin's Liebig 34 also had an 'aura' in a Benjaminian sense: that it remained the vanguard of a once-thriving Friedrichshain counterculture. In this sense, it is a case of 'lightning in a bottle', and it is difficult to know if these conditions could ever be successfully synthesised. Given that the signifiers of authenticity were at least partially comprised of structural decay, it is hard to see how this could ever be achieved.

⁴⁷ We can see parallels here with the testimony regarding the Danse Society: irrespective of who actually writes, produces, or performs the music, the commodifiable authenticity of the group is in their presentation.

Through the fan that asked if I were the original vocalist in 1919, we can see the existential authenticity of the audience experience in this performance. Irrespective of my age, 27 at the time, that I sounded close enough to a 35-year-old recording was sufficient for an individual to question one or the other of these numbers. Returning to the narrative of symbolic authenticity, in which an 'inauthentic object or site may become authentic over time' (Rickly-Boyd 2012, pp. 272-273; Cohen, 1988; Graburn, 1976), we can potentially see this process take place in my involvement with 1919. Certainly, I am not an authentic post-punk of its first wave, because I was not born then. I could, however, be considered an authentic symbol of Yorkshire post-punk, which carries with it the second-order signifier of Thatcher-era northern England. But this is perhaps truer in an international context than it is at home.

Returning to sport for a moment, and reflecting on the festival of Leeds cultural capital that was Josh Warrington's inaugural world title fight (see above), it is important to note the participation of three former Leeds United footballers contributed to the felt-to-be-authentic Leedsness of the event. The 'iconic' status of Jermaine Beckford, Vinnie Jones, and Lucas Radebe (two Londoners and a Sowetan respectively) within the club suggests that cultural capital of place can be earned as much as it can be innate. Maintaining an awareness, then, of the potency of reciprocity between the claim and the claimant in matters of cultural belonging – that is, a self-declared affinity to a group which its other members would also acknowledge as genuine –, we ultimately return to Barthes' grain of the voice for clarity. Here, that without some residual, tangible authenticity, either in an objective or symbolic form, performative displays of cultural capital are likely doomed. To illustrate this, we can see Hoggart's account here of a working-class academic in the attire of his fellow professionals:

...if I or some of my professional acquaintances who were born into the working-classes put on the sort of flat cap and neckerchief which go with looking 'county', or if we leave our collars open, the sit of the cap and the neckerchief, or the structure of the bones round the neck make us look, not like the sporting middle-classes, but like working-men on a day off (1957, p. 54)

The grain of the voice is perhaps the difference between authentic inauthenticity and inauthentic authenticity. It certainly underlines the extent to which a claim to authenticity, like Cavanagh's claim to Kaiser Chiefs on behalf of Bradford, is futile if the group themselves claim no affinity to the town. Simply, to claim somebody to be as part of a group against their will is as unlikely to end in success as a tourist claiming to be a local. Subsequently, it would also seem impossible for the band, or their labels, management, or PR officers, to successfully establish their mythology in Leeds cultural identity if a kind of objective authenticity had not existed at all. However, if these assertions are correct, it could also be impossible for an individual to escape the shackles of biography (see Donzé, 2018) in the way that Nietzsche, or Kant describe. This is why, as we saw from Paul Gilmartin's experience in terms of negotiating authenticity in a commercial framework, the negotiation in question is not so much a denial that independent commercial art is a part of the culture industr, as an insistence that the industry operates on your own terms – at least in a limited context –, and therefore also asserting an awareness of wider cultural hegemony. This can be enough to achieve authentic self-realisation in a Kantian or Nietzschean context.

Why authenticity is significant at all remains a consideration. In a contemporary political context, discussing Frankfurt's *On Bullshit* (2005, p. 65), Gaden and Dumitrica draw the conclusion that 'we are no longer looking for the 'truth', but merely for 'sincerity'' (2014, n.pag; also see Luebke, 2020). In this respect, as we can see from historical considerations of authenticity often emitting from early Christian considerations of virtue, such as in the work of St. Augustine (1993; Pratt, 1903; Markus, 1988), it is clear how authenticity can itself be considered virtuous. But it is possible, too, that even the kind of residual authenticity mandated by Hoggart and Barthes could still be a product of myth. In any case, in researching authenticity as an ethnographer, a successful negotiation with participants is key to collecting worthwhile data (see Bourdieu 1984, p. 169). Authenticity is inseparable from ethnography; to become an insider is an exercise in seeking authenticity, and some of my results as a researcher can provide some justification for my self-declaration as a subcultural insider. In my interview one participant suggested, after talking for an hour, that we 'start' the interview as they had another engagement approaching soon, and they laughed when I said we were already recording. Another stated, mid-way through an anecdote, that they had never shared a particular story with anyone before. In this respect, my position as a cultural insider in my research community is self-evident irrespective of how I got there. More than that though, if this is the case, then my status as an ambassador or gatekeeper is also authentic. Towards the end of the Berlin gig, a final thing occurred that cemented this assertion:

Field Note - 07/09/2017

Mick and Kev have been asleep in the van for most the night. I actually found myself on the door for a weird moment. Like 5am and there's a bang on the main door with no fucker else about. I open the peephole thing and there's this guy asking if we're still partying. I'm not sure what to say but I notice he's got this tiny hammer + sickle pin badge on, so I figure he's cool.

Here I was, not an authentic insider from the beginning, but now a subcultural gatekeeper, no longer just in an abstract sense but a literal one as well. It might be unclear when exactly I acquired symbolic authenticity, and unlikely that I alone could facilitate an existentially authentic experience for a tourist. But here, I was an authentic insider, for no reason other than I had somehow found myself on the inside.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Authenticity is a central aim of ethnography, and an insider researcher is best placed to observe behaviour based on existing trust with their participants. As a participant and scholar of goth, upon embarking on insider-in research, Hodkinson noted his involvement in the scene as becoming 'part of an extensive research project' (2002: 4) after years of participation. Hodkinson's point of entry begs the question: how does someone like me, born in 1990, who although raised in Yorkshire was born in London, become an authentic researcher of 1980s Yorkshire? And not only that, the kind of insider-in researcher as Hodkinson: one who uses their position within a community to observe without the barriers of entry experienced by an outsider anthropologist.

This has not been simple to answer, and the first two parts of this chapter attempted to deliver a wide-ranging theoretical understanding of authenticity, which must be performed, and could be considered either ordained, produced, or co-produced. Moreover, we can see at play the same commoditising tendencies of heritage and tourism in the previous chapter, this time underpinned by Adorno's culture industry (1991, p. 9; p. 43) and Gramscian cultural hegemony (1971, pp. 245-246, 303). It is in Tourism studies that the notion of existential authenticity is introduced, via Wang (1999, p. 359, see also Rickly-Boyd, 2013, p. 682) and ultimately a dichotomy of tourism's fundamental performativity (MacCannell, 1973, p. 595; 1976; see also Rickly-Boyd, 2013, p. 680) and Barthes' transmission of a non-synthesisable truth (Barthes, 1972, p. 188; see also Benjamin, 1935, p.4). In part three I considered the heritagisation of music culture in relation to this complex framework, while *The Accidental Ambassador* sought to use it as a basis from which to understand researcher reflexivity and positionality.

Reflecting on my position as a subcultural insider, at the end of the last chapter, meant navigating some inherent contradictions, and the same can potentially be said for my status as a Yorkshireman. As I established in the context for this study, "the broadly agreed, self image of Yorkshiremen" (Light, 2009, p. 504; Marshall, 2011, p. 50) is implicitly white and working-class (see Fletcher, 2011; 2012; Carrington, 1998; 1999), as well as born within its boundaries (see Hopps, 2010), and the following chapter sets out the terms of a divine Yorkshireness based on some less tangible assumptions. Moreover, while the backdrop of post-punk era Yorkshire, of post-industrial decline and the pervasive violence of the Cold War and, more tangibly, the serial killer Peter Sutcliffe, are woven into its cultural and historical mythology, accounts such as O'Brien (2012) focus on protagonists that fall outside this self image of Yorkshireness. There is, however, a famous image of two of my participants that is equally embedded in cultural memory of this era, and provides us with the opportunity to dissect narratives of place and cultural capital in post-punk Yorkshire through the lens of masculinity. Through an interview with Aky, the coming chapter also challenges this implicit whiteness of Yorkshire and address its implication for micro-local differentiation, before ultimately testing established notions of Yorkshireness in an international context.

3. URBAN MYTHOLOGY & CULTURAL CAPITAL

I. INTRODUCTION: THE DIVINE MYTH

Cleese: We used to live in a tiny, tumbled down old 'ouse, with great 'oles int roof.

Chapman: House? You were lucky to have a *house*! We used to live in one room, twenty-six of us, all there. No furniture, half the floor was missing, n we were all huddled in one corner for fear of falling!

Brooke-Taylor: Room!? You were lucky to have a room! We used to at to live int corridor!

Feldman: Corridor!? Ooh, I used to *dream* of living in a corridor, that woulda been a *palace* to us! We used to live in a water tank ont rubbish tip. Ah, every morning we'd be woke up by having a load of rotting fish dumped on us! *House?* Ha!

Cleese: Well, when I said 'ouse', I mean it wor only hole int ground covered by a coupla foota torn canvass... But it wor 'ouse to *us*! (The Four Yorkshiremen Sketch, 2011, 00:00:55)

The proto-Monty Python sketch *The Four Yorkshiremen* (2011), quoted here, was briefly referenced at the start of chapter 1 (v). One of the enduring caricatures of Yorkshireness, it is both a stereotype utilised by those outside of Yorkshire to depict Yorkshirefolk – none of the writers or performers of this sketch are cultural insiders⁴⁸ –, as well as serving as a trope of Yorkshire self-identification for those within the culture. In chapter 2 (ii), I began the theorization of authenticity with reference to the Platonian notion of “divine craftsmanship” (Plato, 1993, p. 347). In this short introduction to chapter 3, I will suggest that the divine mythology of Yorkshire, which, like Plato’s divine craftsmanship, can be seen as a reference point for all subsequent concepts of truth, is predicated on four characteristics: humour, grit, thrift, and defiance. In my interview with Yorkshire music producer Will Jackson, he stated:

There was more humour [in Yorkshire]. I think London bands tended to take themselves too seriously. Northern bands, they’ve got that kind’ve dry wit going on, n they’re more likely to tek the piss outa themselves [...] I think Liverpool bands tended to take themselves more seriously. I dunno. In the Yorkshire thing, I think it’s quite unique in a way (Will, interview, August 21, 2018).

Of course, the inclination towards defining Yorkshire music in comparison to London or other parts of the north reflects the analysis in chapter 1 (v; vi), and ultimately attempting to separate Yorkshire from the wider north can be seen as a rejection of the kind of northwesterncentric hegemony of northern identity that will be approached in chapter 4. However, in this case, the most important implication is that humour serves as the distinguishing characteristic. Humour is littered throughout the interactions documented in my primary research and, in fact, one particular exchange is a direct reference to the above sketch itself. In my initial interview with (other) members of 1919, Karl responds to Mick’s account of his early employment with a Pythonesque one-upmanship of grit:

⁴⁸ Sheffield-born Michael Palin is Monty Python’s sole Yorkshireman. But although he performed the sketch as part of the group, the *Four Yorkshiremen* predates the public inception of Monty Python by approximately 2 years.

Mick: I worked doin whatever you do. Lowest ot low... whatever anybody needed doin. Diggin or summat...

Karl: With a stick! (1919, interview, January 11, 2017)

Where *The Four Yorkshiremen* (2011) wields such cultural significance is that it is at once a comedy sketch, and one that draws humour from the three other facets of divine Yorkshire mythology. The characters, competing to outdo the respective poverty of their upbringings, not only extoll such conditions, but defiantly proclaim a profound happiness in their experience. Beyond the *Four Yorkshiremen*, one of the most enduring images of Yorkshireness is the iconic 'V' sign of Billy Casper, in *Kes* (Loach, 1969). The cover image for the cited DVD release of the film, it would also become the cover image of Anthony Clavane's *A Yorkshire Tragedy...* (2016), which explores the peaks and troughs of Yorkshire's sporting status. In 2013, Pulp's Jarvis Cocker composed the soundtrack to *The Big Melt* (Wallace and Cocker, 2013): an archival documentary of the steel industry in the South Yorkshire city of Sheffield. In the DVD booklet, as Schofield and Wright (2020) cite, Cocker invokes the defiance of Billy Casper as central to the allure of the footage:

the pivotal scene which crystallized Cocker's commitment to the project was the 1901 footage of a young factory worker who greets the camera's gaze with the same ultimate act of defiance, flicking a "V" sign while queueing outside a steelworks in nearby Rotherham to collect his wage [...] For Cocker it represented, a defining moment in film history, the first person to give two fingers on film and later, in an interview for the *Guardian* newspaper, he described how, "it reminded me a bit of *Kes*, and then I thought that maybe it's not about steel, it's the attitude it made of people, the spirit" (Schofield & Wright, 2020, p. 212; see also Shoard, 2013).

Schofield and Wright subsequently describe Sheffield's identity as a "militant and non-conformist attitude coupled with a working-class industrious insouciance" (2020, p. 212). And yet, the cited characteristics of divine Yorkshireness are part of a working class collective imaginary that has much in common with that of the wider north, in which post-industrial heritage is commonplace. This is why Richard Hoggart (1957), when stating that "the need to 'keep cheerful' is derived [...] from the assumption that life is bound to be materially unrewarding and difficult" (p. 132), while also acknowledging the frugality of the communities in focus, does so with a view to characterising working-class culture in a broader sense, and not necessarily in a way that is limited to the Leeds suburb of Hunslet which provides the setting for his research. Preece (2020) suggests that 'people in post-industrial neighbourhoods actively construct places in order to belong' (p. 828), and noted the way in which one of her participants created very different meanings for two streets in close proximity:

'if you was from a more upper class, you'd look at it and go "they're both dumps"', but she perceived them in very different ways (p. 835).

This is what Preece refers to as the micro-differentiation of space, and is reflected in the process by which Yorkshireness, and its divine mythological characteristics, are performed in the context of a broader working class cultural imaginary. This is why, in Yorkshire self-identity, it is necessary to both extoll mythological virtue and do so in such a way – as I have considered in chapter 1 (vi) – that it juxtaposes cultural identity in other working class

English communities. As this chapter progresses, we will see that gender, 'race', and collective trauma, each contribute variously to the self-identity of participants, as well as to narratives of place that are set in contrast with other regions, towns, and cities.

II. BLACK STONE AND BRUTAL STEEL

As we have seen in the theorization of myths of place emerge from a backdrop of political history, memory, and the built environment. In the introduction to this chapter, we have also begun to see how identities in the post-industrial north are created as part of a working class collective cultural imaginary, which requires an assertion of micro-differentiation in order to take a distinguishable form. Of these contextual considerations – political history, memory, and the built environment – it is the latter that is perhaps most conducive to differentiation. In the case of Leeds, though, the most populous metropole in Yorkshire, arguably the most prominent example of the role of the built environment in post-punk memory and identity comes not from the former industrial prominence of the city, but from its university buildings.

Following O'Brien's (2012) assertion that Leeds' seminal post-punk bands, many of whom were Fine Art students at the city's Universities, produced music that embodied their "stark campus architecture" (p. 29), the role of the University Fine Art department itself should not be overlooked. Indeed, the city's 'art school' bands comprise much of the critical and popular cultural focus for the city (see Butt, 2022)⁴⁹. The faculty at the time included renowned situationists and feminists, such as Griselda Pollock, Tim Clark, and Terry Atkinson, and "Like their tutors, the band took a deconstructivist approach to art, music and, in turn, gender politics" (O'Brien, 2012, p. 29). In the Fine Art department at the Polytechnic⁵⁰, the output of extreme and confrontational works of art had gained national notoriety throughout the 1970s under the tutelage of Jeff Nuttall. Here, work had notably contained "blood, broken glass and body parts" (Whittle, 2016), and Mark Almond's heralding of Nuttall as "an amazing inspiration" (Whittle, 2016) provides a tangible link between the output of the department and the fledgling post-punk era.

The notion of black stone in post-punk era Yorkshire crops up regularly in conversation with participants of the original scene, and did so again in my first interview with 1919 (see Appendix v). Here, Mick recalls the lasting impression of moving to Dewsbury, West Yorkshire, from Liverpool:

the whole city wo buzzin'. And then whoosh, we were off, we were in a little town in Yorkshire all covered in... allt stone in them days wo covered in black (Mick, Interview, 11 January, 2017).

Later on, the theme of darkness emerged, without prompt, and so did potential implications for musical style:

Rio: So when did you think, "this is a scene now"? And do you just mean in Leeds, in Bradford?

Mick: I don't think you decided there worra scene... it's just everybody gravitates towards certain things. And becossut times, everything... it wo getting darker and darker. Are you wimme? Cos it felt dark. It did to me. Me and Andy talked about this a coupla week ago. I think I saw mebbe an even darker side [...]

⁴⁹ This, consequently, is a significant reason why this research aims to explore elsewhere.

⁵⁰ Whittle describes the building as 'Brutalist', which unlike the building at the neighbouring University isn't strictly true. However this in itself is a good example of the desire to link architectural environment directly with works of art produced within them.

Rio: So the darkness you think came from Dewsbury? Rather than-

Mick: -No. I think the darkness came from the times [...] We thought we were gonna get nuked every week. Fuckin nuked! (Mick – interview, January 11, 2017)

This extract is only from one interview, of course, albeit with three people, but it's also a profound example of how these notions of environment feature in the memory of key participants of the Yorkshire post-punk scene. There are some interesting contradictions too, with mythical darkness being invoked alongside a determination to tell it how it was. And furthermore, towns such as Dewsbury are spoken of both distinctly and inseparably from others nearby. Liverpool is both an exciting, bright juxtaposition to West Yorkshire, and somewhere with a similar post-industrial dissatisfaction. There are some certainties though: Brutalist architecture is real, if occasionally misappropriated. Times were dark, as was the music, and there was most likely black stone too. But although the precise relationship between these artefacts can't be understood from these examples alone, they are not the only ones that deepen the mythological ties between Yorkshire post-punk artists and their industrial heritage. In Sheffield, the "steel city" in South Yorkshire, so-called thanks to its synonymity with the British steel industry, Jane Antcliff-Wilson of the group I'm So Hollow states:

"The environmental influences were very strong [...] Industrial and austere – steeped in working-class history. Imagination and vision were left to run wild in this bleak landscape" (Wray, 2019, n.p; Schofield & Wright, 2020, p. 204).

Moreover, within these metropolises of mills and factories, it is even possible to identify a hyperlocality of musical heritage. In Leeds, according to John Hyatt of the Three Johns, a number of notable groups from the city's art school movement can be traced back to a single house:

I used to live next door to the Faversham first, then moved into Cromer house. But the rooms were like twice the size of this, y'know? Massive... so we just used to hang out.

John King lived there, Tom Greenhalgh, me, Julz, Andy Sharp who was singing in the Goys for a bit [with Kitty Lux], who's died recently (see Laing, 2017), again, somebody else who's died... various people. [incomprehensible] used to come round and all that [...] [John] Langford was in Bell Vue House on Bell Vue Road. That was the other, we used to have 2... We used to rehearse at Bell Vue House (John, Interview – September 4, 2018).

The same is true in Bradford, where, according to Southern Death Cult's Aki Nawaz, an array of notable participants would at some stage share a house with New Model Army:

Aki: We knew New Model Army when they were called Hustler Street. They used to be based up at Barkerend road or Leeds Road. They used to live there and we used to know them then. I think one of the guys, Barry [Jepson], used to live in the house as well [...]

Rio: What was the address?

Aki: 12... I think it was Parkside Road. West Bowling... It's still there, the house. Joolz, Justin... Squelz, who used to be an NME [journalist], passed away. He was from Bradford, he was a punk. He went to school wimma brother as well. Little Brother? There was also a couple of other weird artists. And everybody seemed to live there, it was like a little punk/hippie punk commune. I think Barry lived there cos he left home n all that stuff – moved in there (Aki, interview – September 11, 2018).

Myth is pervasive, but although there is some tangible placing of musical heritage here, artists are frequently likely to challenge their own mythology of place. Citing Wilde (1986), Schofield & Wright (2020) quote Pulp's Jarvis Cocker as questioning "just because it's from Sheffield, why does it have to sound like a steel factory?" (p. 204). In my original interview with 1919, Mark and Mick briefly debate the bleakness of the band's origin:

Rio: What was it like bein in a band at the time? You said you were rehearsing in a damp room, in a mill...

Mark: Nah, it want like that. It wasn't bleak.

Mick: Fuckin ell, it wo fer me! It wo cold, I remember that. We were at top of an archway, and I remember at one point we had to put all plastic up, and ont roof he got us a load of industrial plastic sheetin, and we were actually playing inside hung plastic... And I've often said, the reason I drummed so fast in them days, why they got written so fast were cos it wo so fucking cold and it just keeps you fuckin goin! (1919 – Interview, 11 January, 2017).

There is evidence of this in secondary literature, too. Concerned with a broad, aesthetically driven synopsis of the gothic subculture, whose roots are as a subgenre of post-punk (Spracklen & Spracklen, 2018, p. 1), Roberts, Livingstone, and Baxter-Wright (2014) explore the goth movement as "[architecture], a genre of underground rock music and a distinctive visual aesthetic, adopted within both fashion and the visual arts" (p.8). Although the representation of Yorkshire is limited to an interview with Andrew Eldritch, what can be taken from the book is how the relationship between simulacra and truth is evidently self-aware within the subculture. The authors choose to focus, in a wholly brief section, on the conflict between Eldridge's public persona and private character, for example:

'People think I live in a Bavarian castle surrounded by bats.' In fact, he said, he prefers to 'watch suspect Japanese films and listen to cricket all day' (p.159).

Eldridge, here, asserts his own Yorkshireanness in referring to cricket, while also attempting to deconstruct his own gothic musical mystique⁵¹. The author, moreover, while introducing an interview with Bauhaus vocalist Peter Murphy, opens with a paragraph of gothic cliché, "the silence was that of centuries-old tomb. My heart beat like the wings of a giant crow." (p.130), before Murphy provides an anticlimactic, "Oh, right, yeah, the interview [...] I'll be down in a minute, mate" (p. 130). And yet, the reflexivity of those central to enduring myths of music and place play only a small part in the fate of myth itself. No amount of rejection of goth from Andrew Eldridge will separate him from a genre he is widely credited with creating, no debate on the relative bleakness of 1919's early rehearsal space will remove them from

⁵¹ Eldridge has form for rejecting all association the gothic subculture (see Spracklen & Spracklen, 2018, pp. 6, 71).

the northern post-industrial wasteland(s) that spawned post-punk (see also Uskovich, 2009), and no amount of distance placed by Jarvis Cocker between the music of Pulp – who, long before their britpop-era hayday, shared a label with 1919 in York – and the sonic myth of the steel city. Indeed, whether artists and writers embrace or reject their mythology of place, passively or wholeheartedly, myth pervades.

Writing is that neutral, composite, oblique space where our subject slips away, the negative where all identity is lost, starting with the very identity of the body writing (Barthes, 1977, p. 142).

It is therefore appropriate, finally, to consider this summary from Barthes' *Death of the Author*. In literature, just as in art, music, and in this case what Barthes himself might call a bio-mythology, in which "the artist is brought forward as a complete hero, endowed with a discourse" (1977, p. 151), a work that is committed to paper can no longer be bound by the discourse of its writer. After all, as Cocker shows us, any trace of Cabaret Voltaire or Heaven 17⁵² – even on a solo album decades later – emboldens the myth much more readily. As Dalton (2020) put it: "with its smart synths and a passing nod to krautrock [...] the significance of his Sheffield heritage is clear" (n.p; Schofield & Wright, 2020, p. 205).

⁵² Sheffield's seminal synth-punk groups (see Wray, 2019; Schofield & Wright, 2020, p. 202).

III. BEYOND TEKIN PISS: LYNCH MOBS AND MASCULINITY IN THE ERA OF THE RIPPER.

In the previous subchapter, and in chapter 1 (ii), I have relied upon Lucy O'Brien's (2012) work to illustrate the environmental context for Leeds' first wave of post-punk bands. This has so far encapsulated the broad post-industrial atmosphere of northern cities, the brutalist architecture of the University of Leeds campus, and briefly also the existential threat faced by West Yorkshire women in the mid-late 1970s and early 1980s, of the so-called 'Yorkshire Ripper', who was responsible for the murders of 13 women in this period (O'Brien, 2012, p. 28). This section will draw more comprehensively from O'Brien's work as I aim to explore constructed notions of masculinity in the nascent post-punk era, which she describes as a "paranoid atmosphere of gender warfare that played itself out in 'ripper territory'" (p. 28), specifically noting the work of Gang of Four and Delta 5 as exponents of a post-punk feminism that emerged in this period. O'Brien returns regularly to Nicola Ward Jouve, whose seminal book, *The Streetcleaner*, demonstrates both the mythological notion of place, stating "perhaps when you're surrounded by dereliction you feel like inflicting it too?" (1986, p. 24; O'Brien, 2012, p. 34), alongside an invaluable critique of enforced gender roles in the period. She says:

Jouve quotes Andrew Tolson on the construction of masculinity and how sometimes a working-class boy, 'expresses himself, not so much in an inner, competitive struggle for achievement, as through a collective toughness, a masculine "performance", recognized and approved by his "mates" [...] In effect, working-class masculinity becomes a kind of "performance"' (p. 35)

O'Brien further states, "There was a feeling that the macho male society, which spawned Peter Sutcliffe, tacitly condoned his activities." (p.35) For her, the evidence overwhelmingly points to a masculinity that was performed in stark opposition to received femininity, as protectors and victims, weak and strong. Women now were to be perpetually "chaperoned by men after dark" (p. 34). On Monday 5th January 1981, Peter Sutcliffe had been arrested and was due to be charged at Dewsbury Magistrates' court. The following description is from the newsreader Jeremy Thompson's autobiography, *Breaking News* (2017). Around the time of the Sutcliffe murders, Thompson became the BBC's first North of England correspondent (pp. 42-43):

We headed for Dewsbury where the magistrates court in the heart of this old mill town was already besieged by crowds. Word had spread fast. I reckoned there were more than 2000 people spilling across the street. As the white police van drove up to the courthouse around 5pm, the public anger was palpable. People were screaming: 'Die, you bastard, die!' And: "Murdering scum, bring back the gallows!" It felt like a lynch mob. The police had their hands full holding back the crowd as a man covered by a blanket was led into the building (2017, p. 46).

It is this notion of the "lynch mob" though that led me to focus on this specific event. In terms of a mythologised narrative of place, it serves as a convenient journalistic tool to capture the imagination of the public. As Thompson himself admitted at the end of the chapter:

Not for the first time or last in my career, I reflected later how a journalist often gained from the misery and misfortune of others. Five years reporting on the Ripper had undoubtedly raised my profile as a TV correspondent (p. 50).

But there was a particular image from the day that compelled me to look even further though. In the Peter Sutcliffe photo archive at the Huddersfield Daily Examiner, they include this photo with the caption, “A lynch mob gathers outside court during Peter Sutcliffe's hearing for the murder of Jacqueline Hill” (Figure 15, below).



FIGURE 15 – A “LYNCH MOB” GATHERS... (MIRRORPIX, 1981)

I was surprised to see two of my mates staring back at me!⁵³ Holding the sign is Mick, by band's drummer, and with the noose is his long-time friend Paul (aka Sputnik), who played synth in the band's early days:

Mick: Yeah it wor up Chapeltown in Leeds, I peeled it off... There wo loads of em up, there wor about 20 on a wall so I want doin any arm. I peeled it off, brought it back, dried it out, n then we eard the ripper wo comin obviously. N at the time, like any young man I ad a job ont side... I wo probably signing ont dole at time... But I ad a job windowcleanin. And I decided not to go windowcleanin, get me poster, write “hang im” on it as well, and me n Sputnik went down, stood outside all day basically. E made a noose up out of a piece of rope we found [laughs]. One thing I will tell ya is we wo there all day, yeah, tekkin piss in a way... Just tryin a get on television, which we did! All over world, photographers everywhere... (Mick – Interview (December 4, 2017)).

⁵³ The image is an enduring one and is included elsewhere in popular cultural accounts of the period. A video of the scene was featured more recently in a Netflix series on Sutcliffe ('Out of the Shadows', 2020).

Paul: ...when e got caught n brought to Dewsbury, it was very exciting!

Rio: I suppose not much else appened?

Paul: Nothin appened. Margaret Thatcher once came and we jeered er. We wo just waiting for someone else to come so we could jeer em! [...] the people that kinda knew us... They saw us two there wi cameras on us, so they came over!

Rio: Oh yeah!? So what about the young kids?

Paul: They were just there all excited cos, y'know, there's these two guys there, one with a rope, n the cameras were all on us! Like I said, everybody's laughing! It says in all the papers, "angry mob" [...] I'm tryin to look like Sid Vicious! Trying to be all [does the Sid snarl] – I think I just did that in the frame before it (Paul, interview, October 19, 2017).

In May of that year, by the time Sutcliffe's trial had started at the Old Bailey, my two friends were at Maida Vale recording 1919's first Peel session. 18 months later, in late 1982, the narrative of the "lynch mob" had caught the imagination of a band from Surrey. The band, Fallout, released their second EP in early 1983, titled "Salami Tactics". The first B-side from it was called Peter Sutcliffe, and contained the lyrics:

Thousands mobbed / they wanted him dead
outside the courtroom with a bag over his head
they would have stoned him to death
in the name of humanity / innocent until proven guilty... (Fallout, 1983)

Neither Mick nor Paul had heard of the band, but I was interested to know what they thought of the song. Paul was quite complimentary:

It's good that they ad that kind've insight, y'know? To realise that we'd all been manipulated... and they could turn that on anyone, like the eye of Sauron from Lord of the rings! [laughs] They could turn it on anyone, and demonise them, and have a lynch mob ready to tear them to pieces. I think they're right! I mean they're wrong in the sense that we weren't this lynch mob who wanted to tear im to pieces. We were just silly kids who wanted to get on TV! I don't resent it, I mean I brought it on myself really! If you turn up to something like that with a noose, yknow, you're asking to be misrepresented (Paul, interview, October 19, 2017).

I managed to contact Rob, who'd played bass and sung on the Fallout record. I asked if he was familiar with the photo of Mick and Paul from The Examiner, and whether perhaps they'd have felt differently if they'd been from West Yorkshire. He replied:

well, i think you can guess - that image sums up everything Charlie and us others involved in Fallout / 6 MW were appalled by, mob idiocy of the tabloid mindset, for want of a way to put it, hopefully without sounding too pompous - not to excuse Sutcliffe and certainly not glorify him like some bands, i dunno, it's emotive and confusing, to state the blatantly obvious.

have never seen that photo before btw (Rob, personal communication, December 5, 2017).

The mentioning of the “tabloid mindset” was an interesting one. Paul has alluded to the same thing:

now, I'd have a thousand perspectives on it. But back then it's like, y'know, if someone's done a heinous thing and robbed somebody of their life... A really terrible thing that you can't imagine any justification for, and that if they're in this world all they're gonna do is cause harm and rob people of their lives, then what do you do with them? And I didn't know any better. If somebody says, “well yeah, they don't deserve to live”, it's like “yeah you're right, they don't. Whatever.” But it was never a conversation that any of us ad. We'd just kinda be swept along. It's a Sun reader mentality, innit? It'd been in all the tabloids, “Bring back the [unclear], bring back the rope, hang 'em...” N you'd get sucked into it misrepresented (Paul, interview, October 19, 2017).

I'd begun to think at one stage that I might be able to counter the convenient journalistic narrative of the lynch mob with a convenient narrative of my own, that some kids messing around had been the entire source of the mob media fallacy. But this wouldn't be totally honest either. When I put the Fallout record to Mick, it seemed to hit a nerve:

Well they're [...] If they lived up here n their mothers were shittin emselves, scared allt time, doors locked, women, livin in terror, they they'd be angry. But they don't, they live in fuckin Cotswolds or wherever (Mick – Interview (December 4, 2017)).

There are two key things to highlight here: first is the entrenchment of a north-south divide and the conflict of insider and outsider experiences of a heavily fraught period. Returning to Thompson's testimony, we can also see these themes play out internally at the BBC, the British state broadcaster, as he begins his role as North of England correspondent:

High on my agenda were the Ripper murders, but seemingly not on London's. It wasn't long before I was having heated debates with news editors in London. They didn't rate the story. ‘This man's already slaughtered six women that we know of,’ I remember arguing. ‘He's a serial killer.’ The news desk response: ‘Yes, but it still feels like a rather regional story, old boy.’ How bloody metropolitan! ‘Well, how many women does he need to kill before you take this story seriously?’ I came back, blazing with indignation. ‘If he'd murdered half that number in London you'd be leading the Nine O'Clock News with it’ (Thompson, 2017, p. 43).

At this point, then, we can see both a reporter attempting to assert the cultural capital of the north in a Londoncentric media landscape, and Mick's clear aversion to the thought of being judged by an outsider – a southerner – on one of the most fraught and damaging periods in modern Yorkshire cultural history. Mick's memory of the court date, moreover, had some differences to Paul's, and though he'd acknowledged the element of ‘tekkin piss’, he was also keen to assert their earnestness. When I'd asked him to look back at the newspaper photograph, Mick's initial response was:

I remember one thing, that everybody's mother... every woman in the area wo terrified. N that really worked up a lot of dislike for this character. I mean, Sputnik [Paul] n I used to walk his mother to bingo... 2-3 nights a week, that wor our job. Walk er down, walk er ome. If she won on bingo we got chips! [laughs] Chips n gravy [...] But one thing I do remember is the moment that they got im out, and e walked

past us (obviously I was right at the front – the very front)... the hatred. In the crowd. I've never seen that... If they'd've got their hands on me they'da lynched me. That was proper hatred [...] I was burnin' all day, me. You can see it in posters. Y'know it was horrible. Me and me was wound up. Me and me was wound up. Everybody was wound up about it. He's somebody that people despised me. A stalker, a murderer... and women, y'know? Doesn't get any lower does it? Maybe young children... All was takin' their lives from (Mick – Interview (December 4, 2017)).

There is no concrete narrative running through the testimony, but each is remembered through nearly four decades of reflection, both inward and in relation to popular myth. There are a couple of definitive truths in it all though: both Mick and Paul are opposed to the death penalty, and for Paul especially this is an ardent principal. Another notable absence in their testimony was any kind of differentiation between sex workers and non sex workers, which was cited both by Rob, and as a huge paradigm shift for public attention in the early reporting career of Jeremy Thompson, who stated that police had referred to Jayne MacDonald as “the Ripper’s first non-prostitute murder or ‘innocent victim’, as they described it in their rather unfeeling parlance” (p. 55-56).

I take your point about locals feeling differently. Also there was the shift of feeling once he “moved on” from working girls (still vulnerable human beings) to “innocents” - something I very much find unpleasant and hypocritical (Rob, personal communication, December 5, 2017).

If there had been any assumption from Rob, or other critical outsiders, that the ordinary people of Yorkshire were as keen to distinguish between Sutcliffe’s victims on the basis of their profession as the BBC had been at the time, I’m happy here to be able to pour water on the narrative. From the accounts of Thompson, as well as my participants, it appears that the process of othering – whether as a northerner or a sex worker – was much likelier driven by the bourgeois Londoncentrism of state media during the 1970s and 1980s, and furthermore – owing to other accounts of the time – by a clunky and bureaucratic Police service (see ‘Out of the Shadows’, 2020). But this does not explain the disparity in memory of my participants, who were about as close in age, class, identity, and proximity as possible at the time of the photograph in question. Joanna Davis (2006) explored the negotiation of identity for ageing punks and cites Kaufman’s assertion that identity is a cumulative process (2000). For Thompson’s career in journalism, for the young northern punks with directionless boredom and genuine anger, and the southern punks with a distant gaze, the same event has served to shape their identities in different ways and likely been reshaped itself in the process. For masculinity, class, and local identity, the signifiers are ultimately benign. Especially in Paul’s testimony, we return regularly to a theme of “we just didn’t question it” until he discovered punk. Most people went down the pits or in the army, and he figured he’d end up there too, until punk came along. With the tabloid mentality they’d just go along with it, but punk set the wheels in motion to question it in adulthood.

I’d been especially interested to hear that, before meeting his current girlfriend, his last long-term relationship was with a man. He said that he was surprised himself initially, but didn’t see it as a big deal to expand his horizons. The relationship lasted for 10 years and I’d wondered if there had been any clues earlier in life. In the original punk scene, he said, they were “red blooded northern males” and didn’t really think about these things. I wondered if such a formative viewpoint could be problematic for him, and he was happy when they were

alone together, he said, but never fully comfortable in public. He supposes that was a hang-up from his upbringing, from which we can never truly escape, but that these things simply weren't talked about. Indeed, the faint surprise I had felt can only be attributed to the fact that nobody had mentioned Paul's sexuality to me previously, although I'd heard so much about him from his friends that I felt we knew each other already⁵⁴. For Mick, though, his reaction to the *Fallout* record put me in mind of Russ Bestley (2012), where he described punk content as an:

often ironic or satirical reflection on the group's immediate environment, together with a reliance on support networks close to home [as seen in liner notes] and a sense of pride in their local identity (p. 70).

Mick had recounted me with an anecdote from some time in the year prior to the picture being taken (see Appendix vi), in which there had been screams coming from outside the band's practice room (not far, it emerged, from Sutcliffe's place of work). They'd rushed outside to see a car pinning a sex worker into a corner, screeching backwards and forwards to run her down. He started stomping on the car door, which then sped away, and they brought the woman inside to phone the police. For men in their formative years at this time, or for these ones at least, their masculinity was performed as Mick had said earlier. "Sputnik n I used to walk his mother to bingo... 2-3 nights a week, that wor our job." Their job – they didn't question it. However it's hard to ignore the differences in their testimony when so much of their experience was shared. These are down to the negotiations of identity cited in Davis (2006) and Kauffman (2000), and is perhaps best summed up by Loveday (2014), who stated that "male participants in my research have fashioned class-based identities for themselves in the present, through recourse to the past" (p. 722). As a result, Paul is more focused on moving past the less astute, less questioning aspects of his younger self while Mick, now a father and grandfather, is keener to stress the sincerity of emotion of his younger self beyond the piss-tekkín.

⁵⁴ Of course, there are a few ways that this could be interpreted, and Paul alludes to a couple himself. Perhaps, in what he called a hang-up from his upbringing, this is something that simply isn't discussed by working class men of his generation. Perhaps, also, for those with a rebellious or open-minded nature, it's simply unremarkable; in which case, why would anyone feel the need to mention it? My estimation is that the truth lies somewhere between these two.

IV. “NOT YOU, YOU’RE ALRIGHT”: “RACE”, SUBCULTURE, AND SANCTUARY

Suddenly you find yourself in a movement that’s inclusive. Its members can be found in all walks of life, but predominantly the types of people you were told to keep away from or avoid: like the gays, the blacks, the Irish, the immigrants, and the outsiders from continents far and wide as well as the curiously-minded indigenous population, the Brits. This new movement was unifying: it was androgynous, classless, you didn’t need money to get involved... (#MyBradford - Johna’s Punk History of Bradford, 2016, 00:00:09)

With this utopian memory of the punk movement, Johna Johnson introduces his interview with Aki Nawaz. An important (dare I say *fundamental*⁵⁵) contributor to the city’s post-punk scene as both a live promoter and drummer for *Southern Death Cult*, Nawaz is among Bradford’s most celebrated punks, and as such this chapter will refer regularly to his experiences through various primary and secondary sources. As a first-generation British-Pakistani, Nawaz is a central character in the interwoven realities of “race”, punk, and Yorkshireanness playing out in this late 1970s-early 1980s era in Britain. Or, as he himself put it, “I feel I’m probably a symbol of integration, and also of a kind of rebelliousness... against that integration.” (*Cultural Jihad* - Aki Nawaz, 2011, 00:03:47).

Of these dual theoretical lenses, “race” and punk, and “race” and Yorkshireanness (along with their embedded narratives of class), the former has been a subject of academic discourse near enough since its dawn, with the seminal Hebdige (1979) referring to a “construction of a music which was emphatically white” (p. 66). Another key text, Duncombe & Tremblay’s *White Riot* (2011), focuses on punk and hardcore in the US in the later period of the late 1980s and 1990s. The book’s forward sets out a binary choice between ethnic and subcultural identities, referring regularly to a young mixed ethnicity punk’s repeated challenges to choose between being punk and being black. One of the handiest summaries of this essentialism comes from Pardue’s review of *White Riot*, and particularly because the author opens the review with an autoethnographic reflection of his own. He states:

Like many of the punkers described in *White Riot*, I failed to reflect on race and punk. I saw it as simple; punk is anti-establishment and thus anti-racist from an assumed idea of whiteness. End of story (Pardue, 2012, p. 1).

Sabin (1999) went as far as to unpick the romantic mythology of punk, exemplified by Johnson’s utopian account at this chapter’s onset, by surmising that punk was not inherently antiracist at all:

Attempts to forge a link between early British punk and antiracist organizations such as Rock against Racism created a persistent myth according to which punk is inherently antiracist. This practice of ideological mythmaking has enabled commentators “to co-opt punk into a more long-term tradition of countercultural—left wing—dissent” (Sabin 1999). However, critical examination reveals that this identification rests on unsound footing, especially with regard to first-wave punk. (Ambrosch, 2018, p. 919; see Sabin, 1999, p. 199)

⁵⁵ “Fun Da mental” is the name of one of Nawaz’s later musical projects, which mixed a punk ethos with dance beats and traditional Asian influences.

There are parallels here with Fletcher's analysis of sporting culture (2011), in which, he states, there are "jaded perceptions of [the industry's] colour-blindness, and thus, they are reluctant to confront the fact that racism is endemic" (p. 9). Indeed, when entering a new community, it is not only the endemic racism of a given industry to contend with, but the nuanced cultural anxieties of the time and place. For Aki, this was 1970s Yorkshire, and Fletcher describes a less-than amenable destination for a south Asian immigrant:

Yorkshire people aren't that open-minded to difference ... Yorkshire is renowned for being a hard place to crack. Traditional mining communities where I would bet, for the first half of their lives, most people probably never saw an Asian person. So ... when they did start to interact with Asian people there probably was a bit of a, 'who the fuck are you? What you doing here?' kind of attitude (2012, p. 70).

Ambrosch (2018) provides two key theorizations in his paper that refer to his 2016 paper on gender, stating that the same is true for both non-white and non-male groups. Firstly, that "members of marginalized ethnic minorities have claimed punk as a means of self-empowerment" (p. 916), and secondly that punk having "reproduced in microcosm the white hegemony that characterizes Western society is one of its main contradictions" (p. 918). Within this hegemony, he states, "self-marginalization is a white privilege" (p. 918), and this contradiction is the framework within which we can discuss the punk subculture in terms of a sanctuary. Ambrosch continues:

Despite all its shortcomings, punk has been a source and a means of self-empowerment for people of virtually all ethnicities, not just white people (2018, p. 919).

Indeed, for Aki, to rebel against the norms of his nuclear family was, as an immigrant, also to risk alienating his sole support network. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that punk offered, to him at least, a form of sanctuary outside of the family unit in the manner that Ambrosch suggests above. However, it is also true that if, as Ambrosch further suggests, self-marginalization is indeed a white privilege, then an immigrant or non-white punk is capable of a much deeper – or higher stakes – self-marginalization. Within this, of course, is also an interplay between white and non-white immigrants which, in my interview with Aki, was also a source of familiarity which I had not anticipated initially. I attribute this to two reasons: namely, that my point of entry into this research has focused on punk and Yorkshire, and also that our backgrounds – first generation Pakistani and third generation Polish Ashkenazi – are very different. Nonetheless, as Gilroy (1993) highlights when discussing the relationship between black and Jewish diasporas, certain ideas "link the mentalities of these differently dispersed peoples [...] The condition of exile, forced separation from the homeland..." (p. 208).

Aki: [My dad] was brought up in [British colonial rule]. To then get transferred from that to here, where do we stand? We don't belong to anything. But we do know that the biggest aspiration for our parents was... and maybe this was an echo of colonialism, why did they want us to get educated? They must've seen the British people [...] white folks driving around in cars [...] "oh, this is what we can get if we get educated!" [...] [they'd seen] the educated class, the colonial educated class, controlling the illiterate peasants. So when we came here all they said is that, you know, we need to earn money, educate ourselves, and hold some money back...

Rio: My grandad was exactly the same.

Aki: Yeah! It's all immigration, the true story of immigration. The Irish went through all that. Everybody goes through it. (Aki, interview, September 11, 2018).

As I described in the introduction to this chapter, Aki is well-known among Bradford punks, and his journey from Colonial India (prior to Pakistan's independence) into punk prominence represents not only the idea that the subculture represents a kind of multiculturalist vanguard, but does so in a way that can be seen as quintessentially Bradford: a city with a notably prominent south Asian diaspora, which for those of Pakistani origin is today the largest in the UK (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council, 2017).



FIGURE 16 – AKI WITH 1919 IN BRIXTON (HOLROYD, 2018)

A few months before I interviewed Aki in Bradford, we'd met after a 1919 show in London (Figure 16). Karl, a young fan at the time that Aki and Mick were performing their early gigs, was particularly excited by his attendance even though he had missed the show itself thanks to some car trouble:

Field Note - 03/06/2018

In the back of the van on the way home, Karl's still buzzing that Aki came down. He's a couple of years younger than Mick so was still a young teenager when he first saw Southern Death Cult and Psykik Volts. He recalls the first time he and his mates from Cleck saw Aki at a club [aged 13 or 14] excited to observe: "there's Pakis ere!" Then proudly:

"They wo protected though. You used to get punks from London n skinheads trying to start agro, but no one could lay a finger on im n is kid. Allt Bradford punks stuck up for em."
"What do they call his kid?" I replied. "Dunno... Our kid! Aki n our kid⁵⁶..."

There is an important observation here to be made about Bradfordness, and it somewhat reinforces Sabin's (1999) notion that the inherent antiracism of punk is likely a myth (p. 199; Ambrosch, 2018, p. 919). In Karl's testimony it is apparent that, where Aki and his brother were concerned, it was up to Bradford punks specifically to defend their friends from the racism of punks from elsewhere. On the experience of British Asians in this period, Ambrosch (2018) invokes Sabin further, paraphrasing that "punk's biggest failure in the political sphere was its almost total neglect of the plight of Britain's Asians" (p. 904). He continues:

it had been forgotten over time that the focus of attention for the far right in the late 1970s was directed primarily at them, and not, as most accounts assume, at British Afro-Caribbeans (p. 904).

However, this doesn't tell the full story. Although it is very much possible that Asians, as the newer immigrant group in Britain, received specific attention from the far right during the late 1970s, it is also the case that, in the eyes of racists, there is little to distinguish between non-white groups. In the following interview extract, which retains great importance despite its significant length, Aki refers to a number of racial slurs which he was subjected to in this period. Only one of these slurs is specifically used towards Asians, and indeed the others appear to be more commonly associated with black people:

Aki: I like that you're hanging around with so many different sorts of people from all different parts of the world, or just English people... normal white people, n a lot of them there wasn't an element of colour or racism. We wor all great with each other, n a find maself a richness from that.

Rio: Karl'd mentioned after you came to our gig, the Brixton one, he was sayin [sometimes you'd get skinheads up from London or whatever n they'd try n hassle you or ya brother, but everyone'd protect you. So you say there's no colour, but was it a Bradford thing that really solidified that? Did you ave trouble with people from outside?

Aki: No... In Bradford, we... I mean maybe I'm lying, but in Bradford if anybody, skinheads, tried to pick on me or my brother, or there was a couple of other Asian

⁵⁶ 'Our kid' is a colloquial term in parts of West Yorkshire and North-West England, meaning 'my brother'.

punks or Afro-Caribbean punks, all the white kids – the white punks'd protect ya. I'd get smacked a few times ere n there, but with that came the onslaught of the rest of the punks. And little known to me were at that particular time [...] was that some of the white kids were actually eastern European. They were from Ukraine, the Balkans, from wherever, but we didn't... everybody had punk names!

[...] They all stuck up for us. When we went out with *Violation* n *Southern Death Cult* gigs, skinheads would turn up n try to go for me, or go for us or whatever [...] I can recall being frightened a few times but I can never recall getting a good beating. They'd always protect me, they'd always come up in front. I do remember always bein a bit scared when a went to *Leeds*... We used to go to the F Club n there used to be a lotta skinheads goin in there. But we'd always go with our mates.

Rio: So do you think there was a big difference *between* Leeds n Bradford?

Aki: Oh yeah. There was a big national front contingent in Leeds . Even some of the punks were a bit more, y'know... Nazi. There was a band called, was it *The Dentists*? They wo like a Fascist thing... We used to go to Huddersfield [...] there was this guy who was a Sikh, a Punjabi guy from Birmingham who was this crazy punk rocker. He'd come up wi this skinhead, like a proper big skinhead... almost like a posterboy for skinheads! I don't drink, don't take drugs... don't n never did, whereas everybody else did, so I could drive a car.

Well this skinhead was with this guy, this Indian guy, n e said "aw I need to go to Huddersfield. You mind tekkin us? I'll pay for petrol" etc. I said "yeah fine". So me, this guy, n a couple of other Asian punks went with im to Huddersfield. I remember walking into a pub n It wo like a scene out of a film. We went in n all I could see was this sea of skinheads, n they all stopped dead. They all looked around n I thought "what the *fuck!*?" We used to go play in Huddersfield, n every time we played Huddersfield we used to end up in fights wi skinheads...n summow av ended up in this pub where all the skinheads used to come up from to smack us!

We sat there in the corner, sat with this skinhead, n this skinhead was there to see some other skinheads... Within a matter of seconds someone'd come up n said, "can we ave a word with you?" Took im away... I was shittin ma pants n so was the other guy. We were gonna get *killed*. It was almost to them like we wo challengin em, cos we'd come in, but we didn't know it was a skinhead pub! E came back n I said "what appened?" He said they wanted to kick the shit outa ya, n wanted to know what I was doin wiya. "I said you can kick the shit out've em, but first you ave to kick the shit outa me." The irony was, he was actually like a Birmingham *racist* skinhead! *He* was. He used to hang out wi *Combat 18*⁵⁷ n stuff like that. And e'd say it, "I don't like pakis, I don't like wogs, I don't like niggers, but I like you lot. *You're* alright.

We wo too young to be able to understand how to deal with that. As far as we were concerned we *were* just, to a lot of people, black bastards... niggers, wogs, pakis, or whatever. And we were targets... But he protected us, these are the kinda rich experiences that I had n it was weird. I think a coupla times I went out with a coupla

⁵⁷ The Neo-Nazi group 'Combat 18' was founded in 1992. It is possible that this event took place after this date, but more likely that its usage in this case refers to earlier groups of a similar nature.

girls who *hated* black people! Then they went out wimpey it was like “you’re alright Aki”! [...] There are no straight lines in any of this (Aki, interview, September 11, 2018).

There is a lot to unpack here. Phil Cohen (1972) cites Levi-Strauss in definition of an “imaginary class belonging, and the process of bricolage through which particular social contradictions were magically resolved in different cultural codes or styles” (p. 71), and it is highly likely that this kind of magic resolution is at play when the neo-Nazi skinhead in Aki’s testimony takes a liking to him and his friends. A psychologist might consider this person as the alpha in the group, and perhaps there is a point to be made about an aspiring fascist and the likelihood that a group’s leader would be bound by the same rules as their underlings. But even remaining firmly within a sociological framework there seems a certain breach of the collective consciousness portrayed by Durkheim (1933, p. 283) and Gramsci (1971, pp. 254-246; see also Filippini, 2017, pp. 58-59), even if the focus of the latter pertains principally to liberalism. There is furthermore the possibility that, as a punk, and even one with far-right political beliefs, there is an innate appeal in social transgressiveness. Although the enduring nature of the social and attitudinal characteristics of punk will be discussed more closely in chapter 5 of this thesis, for now, it is enough to say that the same transgressive allure of a purportedly deviant group (see Cohen, 2002, pp. 1-2) could inspire at least some of its participants towards a kind of postmodernism: to transgress the values of the transgressive group itself. But even within the ideological constraints of the subcultural groups in question, the truth in this case may simply be that the cultural capital of being a punk, in the eyes of our skinhead protagonist, surpasses the stigma of being non-white, and this might also be said for the girlfriend described later in the interview excerpt. On the part of the skinhead, perhaps, there is even a perverse affection on his part towards an Asian punk, as someone who has marginalised himself from the culture of far-right ire.

There is something to be gained here, both from my above exchange with Aki and from the preceding field note, in considering belonging as it relates to white privilege and the use of nicknames. Having referred to white English people as ‘normal’, he later reveals that a number of their social circle were eastern European, but that he didn’t realise this at the time. Part of this is down to the use of ‘punk names’, which, aside from maybe a person’s accent, would be the only distinguishing characteristic of a white immigrant. Reflecting on the experiences of my Grandfather, beyond the abhorrent conditions that saw our family – like countless others – exiled from Poland and Austria in the early 1940s, who, as an orphan refugee who spoke only Polish and Russian, started school in Australia at the age of 12. In this respect, this initial period of settlement may have been more of a challenge for him and others like him than for black and brown migrants from English-speaking British colonies and former colonies in south Asia and the Caribbean. However, where white privilege starts to manifest, is in subsequent years. By the time my grandfather moved to England, he was a white Australian with only our last name to suggest otherwise. The only other member of my family to make it to England as a Goldhammer, my great uncle Feliks, chose the Anglicised name ‘Gray’ soon after naturalisation, and my grandfather endured similar self-erasure. Although the leap from Artur Bronislaw to Arthur Brian Goldhammer seems more subtle with the surname intact, the more profound observation comes from his military service and naturalisation records. Here, likely at the behest of my great aunt Hella, who herself made it to Australia and became my grandfather’s guardian, the words ‘Jew’ and ‘Jewish’ on each application was replaced by an ink square and the word ‘none’, something

which is only evident through the wonders of digitisation and backlit computer screens. Nonetheless, whilst this need, or perceived need, for self-erasure is tragic in its own right, it remains that this kind of rapid assimilation is inaccessible to non-white people, whose families will wear their immigrant status often for generations beyond the living memory of their settlement.

Within a subculture, existing, as it often might, as a self-contained organism within a wider societal context, it certainly seems possible that some of the more toxic elements of mainstream society might be mitigated by membership of the group. For this to happen, though, the group in question must resist internalising such behaviours, as punk is often considered to have done in the cases of racism and sexism (for the most part). It is by no means utopian, but nor is it fallacy, and in order to have been mythologised in such utopian terms as Johna's opening quote, there must also be fertile ground for such memories to be formed. It is unclear, for example, whether the 'punk names' used by the Eastern European punks were self-attributed, and further unclear as to whether 'our kid'⁵⁸, in specific reference to Aki's brother, was any kind of conscious attempt to Bradfordize the pair, multilaterally or otherwise. What *could* give some kind of credence, though, to the perceived 'colourlessness' of Bradford punk, is the potential connotation of a kind of year zero: once you are Bradfordian, once you are punk, the past is of no consequence.

To identify subcultural sanctuary, then, is not to deal in such absolutes, but is more likely a matter of marginal respite. When Hall et al. (1978) applied Cohen's notion of folk devils, it was in the context of fearmongering over black Britons in the popular media. In this respect, to self-marginalise via fashion or music taste is definitively, as Ambrosch (2018) put it, a white privilege (p. 918). But self-marginalised groups are nonetheless marginalised, and it would be unfair to castigate all as *simply* voluntary folk devils. An example of this nuance, albeit an extreme one, can be found in the case of 'Los Frikis' (the freaks) in Cuba, which can tell us something about the shared consequences of the voluntarily and involuntarily marginalised. During the HIV crisis, which began in the mid-1980s, patients in Cuba were sent to the Los Cocos: a remote sanatorium that opened in 1986 (Scheper-Hughes, 2020, p. 22). With rock 'n' roll music banned on the island, ostensibly as a kind of US imperial propaganda, its punks and metalheads soon began to identify Los Cocos as a sanctuary from police oppression, and sought entry the only way they could think of:

Beyond the rum, free love and forbidden rock 'n' roll music, they took their rebellion a stage further: infecting themselves [with HIV] in order to get into the relative safety and comfort of a state AIDS clinic ('Los Frikis': The Cuban punks who deliberately infected themselves with HIV, 2017, n. p).

This does not mean, of course, that every self-marginalisation, or any involvement in a diverse or deviant group can be seen as a gesture of solidarity. Nor, indeed, that all punks were necessarily marginalised at all, either by their familial support network or by wider society. But it is possible that placing too much emphasis on the self-marginalised, who may have reached their destination through solidarity, circumstance, or sheer naivety, could give

⁵⁸ Again, this is a common term, but Karl uses it more frequently than anyone I can think of. Largely this is down to having a close relationship with his brother, who is of a similar age, and whom I recall Mick asking his name years after we'd started working together. It's possible that this is an individual quirk rather than anything specifically noteworthy, and very possibly a combination of the two.

an unfortunate expectation for white immigrants to self-erase. For example, that for my grandfather to keep our surname, or had 'Jew' and 'Jewish' remained on his documents, that this could represent a kind of tacit self-marginalisation. Moreover, and I accept the fact that I write this as someone who identifies with the punk subculture, there is the implication that accepting the dominant cultural order, irrespective of personal taste, would be the only acceptable alternative to privileged self-marginalisation. Each of these outcomes, surely, would represent a grave mistake. Fundamentally, though, in the limited field of subculture, we are for the most part talking about the cultural and leisure pursuits of young people, and it seems possible that such engagement could be overanalysed. For example, as another of my participants stated:

then I was in the Wizards of Oi... (laughs) We fell out cos I discovered they were all racists. I thought we wo like a surreal pisstake an we wo laughing at racists. But really I was writing these parodies that became like skinhead anthems! (Dave, Interview, November 14, 2017).

But, as Aki put it, there are "no straight lines in any of this", and as such there is plenty of space to explore.

V. YORKSHIRE INTO THE UNIVERSE

For a touring band, live shows serve a purpose far beyond the performance itself. Indeed, as any number of music business texts would attest to (for example see Weissman, 2017, p. 359), it provides the opportunity to network, sell merchandise, meet fans, plan future events, and any peripheral roles required for an artist or group to be an active member of their respective scene. In reality this “drinking and talking” is exactly this, and the following field note, from just after a 1919 show in Mülheim, reveals two distinct promotional narratives concerning the mythology and cultural capital of Leeds.

Field Note - 29/09/2017

Back upstairs and it's just drinking and talking until bed time. Managed to score some cool points off Boris... Turns out he's an Art History student and knows Griselda Pollock's work quite well. "She was one of my lecturers at Leeds", I say. Bohemian as fuck!

Firstly this is to assert the cultural significance of the city itself, through its universities, their respective art departments, and the strong history of bands that emerged from them (Gang of Four, The Three Johns, March Violets, The Mekons, etc.) Secondly, such a statement, “scoring some cool points” is to implicitly associate 1919 with this history⁵⁹. The two are of course symbiotic in nature, as a more profound mythology of Leeds⁶⁰ is as beneficial to the profile of 1919 as vice-versa. In this sense of a quasi-ambassadorial role though, of representing Yorkshire in an international context, there is inevitably the problem that what one perceives to be an eschewal of fundamental Yorkshireness is taken to be a more general characteristic of Englishness or Britishness. Furthermore, to use a Freudian term, there is likely a narcissism of small differences at play here too (Freud, 1995[1930]) as distinctions between these cultural identities (Yorkshireness-Northernness-Englishness-Britishness) are magnified by proximity and potentially indistinguishable to an outsider (p. 751; see also Preece, 2020, p. 827). Earlier this same night in Mülheim, the group are definitely exhibiting some more traditionally British tendencies:

Field Note - 29/09/2017

Mick and Kev have got the brews on the go. Beer is always plentiful but you're unlikely to find a kettle in a venue this side of the channel, so they're using the camping stove which we always have in the van to boil water. Various, people are impressed by our resourcefulness and amused by our Britishness. "My boyfriend is from Scotland – he is always drinking tea!", I've just overheard someone say to Mick.

Dialect though, offering a much more profound regional specificity, provided a surprising new perspective on Yorkshireness in an international context. A year after Mülheim, in Helsinki, came this exchange:

Field Note - 28/09/2018

⁵⁹ At least since my own involvement with the band.

⁶⁰ Or Bradford, in most other cases, however the distinction between the two is far less pronounced in the context of an international audience.

There are quite a few people in here but someone's exclaiming this quite loudly to Mick and Kev from across the room: "Everyone here learns English from watching TV, but nobody speaks it like you do. It's so cool!"

Again, in an international context, Mick and Kev's Yorkshire dialect translated simply into a "cool", authentic Englishness, in which Yorkshire is inconsequential. Furthermore, the following night in Stockholm:

Field Note - 29/09/2018

Soundcheck is done and we're just hanging about now. Hanna's just asked me a funny question too: "You're not English, are you?"

"I am!"

"You sound different to the others"

"Mick and Karl have a very traditional Yorkshire accent. Mine's quite a bit softer. That's why you can understand me!"

She laughs and Karl's just overheard:

"You don't talk proper! Broad we are... that's what they call it. But of course I'm speaking in my very poshest voice for you" (Hanna), and he's putting on an overblown RP-style voice. "Thank you!" She replies. Then he turns to me:

"Nar then, areyt?"

Me: "Aye"

Hanna: "What!?"

There is, quite objectively, international cultural capital in the punk and post-punk eras of Britain, and the fact that a relatively obscure band like 1919 – and many of my other participants – have international audiences is proof. In chapter 2 (iv), I stated that the benchmark for authenticity in post-punk is England in the late 1970s and early 1980s (see also Goldhammer, 2021b), and this constitutes something like the divine myth asserted for Yorkshireness at the start of this chapter. But, where the nuances of capital in British post-punk have formed significant parts of my analyses so far, such as in narratives of place, class, and the art school prominence explored in chapter 1 (v, vi), there is no such nuance internationally. Instead, the signs of Yorkshire-England-Britain are interchangeable, and for Yorkshire, which as we have seen in chapter 1 (v) incorporates a determined differentiation from the south and greater north (at least), that means the possibility for it to exist as a distinct cultural entity in these circumstances is perhaps fatally diminished.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The start of this chapter built on fundamental aspects of Yorkshireness identified in Marshall (2011) by utilising more contemporary popular cultural examples. This led to a construction of a kind of “divine” Yorkshireness, borrowing from Plato’s notion of divine craftsmanship, which can be identified in a number of the examples used. *In Black Stone and Brutal Steel*, there is attention paid to the physical characteristics that have contributed to myths of place, with particular reference to Sheffield, Dewsbury, and Leeds. *In Beyond Tekkin Piss*, I use the backdrop of the atmosphere of “gender warfare” set out by O’Brien (2012), in order to explore masculinity during the era of the Yorkshire Ripper through interviews with Mick and Paul. Furthermore, there is an account of responses to outsider critique of cultural responses to the ‘Ripper’ during his Dewsbury trial.

In “*Not You, You’re alright*”, Aki’s testimony provides us with both a complex negation of identity he considers to be both a symbol of, and rebellion against the experience of migration and integration into Bradford, a city that, in the next chapter, is considered alongside both the wider Yorkshireness and the fragmented make-up of its modern metropolitan makeup: something that underpins the final chapter on competing hegemonies of cultural capital of towns and cities in Yorkshire and the wider North. In *Yorkshire into the universe* I draw from experiences of constructed capital in an international context, characterised as both a homage to a mythologised ideal – of post-punk-era northern England – as well as interpretations of Yorkshire accent and dialect among non-English listeners.

In an important turn for answering whether it is indeed to be both an effective myth-maker and ethnographer of myth, I also capture a moment of myth-creation at odds with my own critical attempts to distinguish Yorkshireness from wider narratives of the north: namely, the erosion of specificity of place in pursuit of cultural capital. The following chapter analyses this phenomenon as what I describe as metro-hegemony, a biproduct of neoliberal culture industry practices that has the potential to exponentially diminish local and regional differentiation.

4. METRO-HEGEMONY: CITY SOUNDS AND SUBURBAN ESCAPE

i. INTRODUCING METRO HEGEMONY

For lack of a better term which directly refers to the assumption of regional identity by large cities on behalf of smaller neighbouring towns, this chapter will utilise the term *metro-hegemony*. This neologism builds on two existing terms, the descriptive phrase *metropolitan hegemony* (Sharma, 2004; Connell et al, 2018) from Tourism Studies, and the notion of the *Urbanormative* (Bates, 2016; Davies, 2014) in Urban and Regional Studies. Both frames are useful in understanding the socio-geographic relations of regional identity.

For Sharma (2004) the notion of metropolitan hegemony provides a mechanism of globalised neoliberalism, in which urban spaces are re-imagined – and often physically rebuilt (Coan, 2017) – as nexus hubs for facilitating global trade⁶¹. It is important to consider the neoliberal framework of metro-hegemony in analysing contemporary northern cities. Davies (2014) invokes Gramsci and Foucault in demonstrating that neoliberal history “shows that the deployment of coercive power has had considerable efficacy, fostering conditions in which new habits and norms emerge” (p. 3223). Neoliberalism, at least in this Gramscian view, maintains hegemony through normalising its values: it is most successful when agents are complicit in their own oppression, and in fact this is a necessary exchange for neoliberalism to affect policy.

This transfer from material to cultural regeneration, from the construction of neoliberal cities to the internalised value of public-private capital exchange (Penpecioglu, 2013, p. 165), is an important contributor towards uncovering metro-hegemony in configurations of regional identity. Once identities of self are entwined with a commitment to urban expansion in cities (see Davies, 2014, p. 3217; The Independent, 2013, for examples), the cultural identities of neighbouring smaller towns are as vulnerable to assimilation into those cities as their economic stability (or geopolitical autonomy, as in the example of Keighley and the City of Bradford Metropolitan Area).

In neoliberal capitalism, cultural and monetary capital are equally exploitable (Lawhon, Silver, Ernstson, and Pierce, 2016, p. 1612; Fulkerson and Thomas, 2013, p. 21; Connell, Pearce, Collyer, Maia, and Morrell, 2018, p. 42), and ultimately manifest in “the cultural hegemony of urban ideals of sophistication, cosmopolitanism, and refinement” (Bates, 2016, p. 161). In their comparative study of local government in Leeds and Johannesburg, Davies and Msengana-Ndlela (2015) consider the consequences of enshrined neoliberal urbanormativity for political agency at a local level. Despite concluding that “city leaders in Leeds and Johannesburg possessed and exercised” agency (2015, p. 137), they also question “what kinds of individual and collective agency might be capable” (p. 137) of making substantive change when the default position from leaders was that “we cannot battle government or business” (p. 136). In other words, neoliberalism is here, at least for now, to stay⁶². Therefore, as a theoretical framework for understanding constructions of identity, metro-hegemony must consider the entrenched neoliberalism of metropolitan hegemony alongside the essentialist rural-urban dichotomy of Bates’ urbanormativity.

⁶¹ Dubai, for example, or the “commuter town” model of Milton Keynes.

⁶² Although the sci-fi writer Ursula K. LeGuin said, more positively, “we live in capitalism, its power seems inescapable – but then, so did the divine right of kings. Any human power can be resisted and changed by human beings” (2014).

II. ESCAPE THE VILLAGE – INVENT THE CITY

Mick Reed is the founding drummer of 1919 and, since the death of guitarist Mark Tighe in January 2017, the sole-surviving full-time original member of the group (formed in 1980). In a March 2018 interview for *Ascension Magazine*, Mick was asked about the geographical origins of the band:

Interviewer (Alex): Bradford at the dawn of the eighties! 1919, Southern Death Cult, and New Model Army, just to name a few: The post-punk scene of Bradford—although no one remembers it like Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool or London—has given birth to excellent bands that have remained until today. What happened to Bradford in those years? What was the scene of your city like?

Mick: What happened? There were good venues... Downstairs bar at St. George's, there were some great gigs there. [Ian] Astbury was at Bradford college (though Scouse-born I believe). Everyone used to practise at Music Ground. [Sex] Pistols had done a gig in Keighley... They did quite a few gigs up north so everybody did the punk thing, then once the groove came in – and that was post-punk! There were a lot of bands. Skeletals [Skeletal Family] too, a little later. You have to realise just how close some of these places are. Leeds and Bradford are neighbours, and Manchester is just across the hills. There was a lot of crossover. But Mark, Ian, Steve – they were Bradford boys. I was the only one from the village!⁶³ (Mick, interview, March 12, 2018)

Mick here is answering what is a fairly typical opening question from journalists, and especially from overseas fans of the first wave post-punk scene (1978-1984) in the north of England. The scene has taken on something of a mythical legacy thanks to the varying cult status of bands, such as those noted (above) by the interviewer. However, the most notable comment in Mick's response is his allusion to an overall interconnectedness of place.

1919's founding members were from smaller districts of what became the City of Bradford Metropolitan District in 1974, except Mick, who was from Dewsbury (a small, ex-"mill town" in the West Yorkshire Metropolitan Borough of Kirklees). Gary Cavanagh's (2009) *Bradford's Noise of the Valleys* is seemingly unique in specifically noting the band's origins as Shipley (p. 124), a town 3km north of Bradford itself, though as he also notes: "Bradford is in some ways still a small town, surrounded by a number of smaller townships that all merge into the city" (p. v), (see Figure 17). Mick also places the band Skeletal Family in the Bradford scene. Like the others mentioned (1919, Southern Death Cult, New Model Army), Cavanagh includes Skeletal Family in his Bradford book (2009, p. 161); however, unlike the others, Skeletal Family members do not refer to Bradford in their own stated origins. Instead, they offer themselves as the only Keighley group of note in the early 1980s (Skeletal Family, 2018).

Proximity to Bradford itself is an obvious possibility for explaining this difference. As Figure 17 shows, Keighley is around three times as far from the city as Shipley. But the assimilation of Keighley into the (then) new Metropolitan District of Bradford was also a contentious issue for residents at the time of the band's inception, or as the local newspaper put it: "the powers

⁶³ Conversely, Mark had said previously: "Me mum n dad were from Baildon. I was never from Bradford, I was born in Shipley" (Mark, interview, January 11, 2017).

of the burghers of the town were taken away and handed to the greater geographical monolith of Bradford” (Keighley News, 2001)⁶⁴.

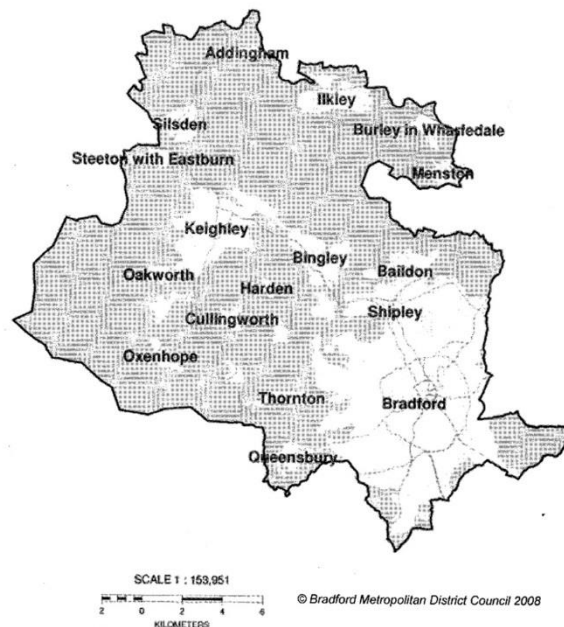


FIGURE 17 - BRADFORD METROPOLITAN AREA (BRADFORD METROPOLITAN DISTRICT COUNCIL, 2008)

Whilst Keighleyites like Skeletal Family resisted urbannormativity and the allure of Bradford, for Mick it was the more familiar narrative of escaping the village: “I’d left village, ya see... I’d left Dewsbury an’ gone to Bradford to join a band. It worra’ long way in them days, ya see!” (Mick, interview, January 11, 2017). Earlier in the interview he’d recounted his experience of moving the other way, from the city to the ‘village’:

I came over to West Yorkshire in 1970, from Liverpool to Dewsbury, because me father got a job there. [...] I remember Beatlemania in Liverpool wimme mother, in ’66, going around saying “that’s Beatles”: there were Beatles drumkits, Beatles basses, Beatles Guitars, all in these shops and the whole city wo’ buzzin’. And then whoosh, we were off, we were in a little town in Yorkshire all covered in... allt’ stone in them days wo’ covered in black, wannit? And I just thought, “where have you brought me? Why have you brought me here!?” (Mick, interview, January 11, 2017).

This notion of moving *to* the city in search of promise, in this case to join a band, is a well-trodden one in popular music consciousness (Cohen, 2007). The mythic pull of big cities, with “promises of economic prosperity, freedom and happiness have fuelled the imagination of generations [...] who have flocked to cities in search of a better life” (Cardoso, Meijers, van Ham, Burger, and de Vos, 2017, p. 3). As Jansson (2013) explains in his analysis of Sweden, “the urban/rural divide is a well-established interpretative framework” (p. 89), historically involving some sort of movement from the rural toward the urban. Jansson adds a further observation which is useful when discussing towns such as Keighley, Dewsbury, and Shipley: all of these places, whilst provincial, are only quasi-rural and in some cases

⁶⁴ A year after this scathing indictment, Keighley had again established its own Town Council (Telegraph & Argus, 2002).

are – or were – fully industrial. This had the potential to undermine the urban-rural dichotomy as an effective model in this context of industrial or quasi-industrial provincial towns. However, he writes:

Suburbs, small towns, and other kinds of in-betweens are effectively annihilated from the dominant media and consumer phantasmagoria, together with certain (nonprofitable) forms of urbanity and rurality. In a globalized media society, these landscapes seem to be the real “other places”. (Jansson, 2013, p. 89)

This places provincial Yorkshire towns firmly in the realms of the rural “other”, whether they are in fact specifically rural or not. But Keighley and Dewsbury seem to be at odds insofar as requiring an escape, at least according to Skeletal Family’s vocalist Anne-Marie Hirst:

We are all from Keighley. Keighley had its own [scene] with a large percentage of young people all into the same sort of music. (Anne-Marie, personal communication, April 24, 2018)

Other towns didn’t inspire this sense of belonging though. For example, Harrogate, an ostensibly genteel and historic spa town is just 18km north of Leeds, which neighbours Bradford, and for New Model Army’s Joolz Denby (2017) was a place to escape from as early as possible. This sentiment was echoed by Dave Dowson, who cites Joolz as an early influence for his becoming a performer – initially as a “punk poet”. Dave was part of a group of fans called the God Squad, who followed early Sisters of Mercy⁶⁵ gigs (see appendix iv.), and he later adopted this name for his band. Originally from Bradford, Dave moved to Harrogate at a young age. He tried moving to London, as many do, to make a start in music:

I went to London... Took these songs ‘n’ then 33 days is all it lasted! (laughs) 33 days I come back... I think the only conversation I had was “you got any cigarettes?” or a packet a’ Rizlas from’ shop. I couldn’t manage to hook up with anybody the whole time I was there.

Went down there ‘n’ came back! I din’t realise it was such a big place... All the people I knew wo’ like 12 miles away! It wo’ like walking to Harewood!⁶⁶ I thought it’d be like goin’ into town. Just totally ‘adn’t really thought it through. I didn’t ‘ave any other musicians to play with, then I thought it might’ve been an advantage to take some recordings, y’know? (Dave, interview, November 14, 2017)

This is a particularly insightful extract with a distinct poetic merit. It’s the classic narrative of the northern boy, the rural, the “other”, heading to the city in search of a new life. But he underestimates the sheer size of London, fails to take any recordings of his work with him, and returns home after 33 days without having had a single conversation. After coming back home, Dave tried to forge a scene in Harrogate through various pop-up gigs and club nights, with fleeting success. He also tried taking coach-loads of Harrogatonians to God Squad gigs in nearby cities, but their “redneck” [sic] temperament meant this was ultimately fruitless too.

III. NO PLACE LIKE HOME?

⁶⁵ A gothic rock band formed in Leeds in 1980.

⁶⁶ Harewood is a rural suburb of Leeds, roughly half way between the centres of Leeds and Harrogate.

Karl Donner has been 1919's bass player since their 2015 reunion. A few years younger than Mick and Mark, Karl was a young punk in the local scene during the band's first incarnation. He is from Scholes, Cleckheaton, a village in the greater Bradford Metropolitan District, and travelled throughout the area to attend concerts in his formative years. During an interview, he recalled memories of Mick's first band, Psykik Volts, a Dewsbury band whose first and only single had caused a stir in the village.

Karl: Psykik Volts on John Peel!⁶⁷ And then a friend of mine bought it and that's where I first saw the name Mick Reed - written on the thing. And then the thing about it was, we were all really into it 'cos it wo' recorded in Heckmondwike, which is just a few miles away!

Rio: That's amazing innit?

Karl: We thought all bands were from London, simple as that! We thought it was the hub of everything. Which it was, of course, but the novelty was "aw, they're just down the road from us" so it wo' like, it's realistic. We just thought, "we can't do stuff like that 'cos we don't live in London". That's how we thought. It may have been naïve, I don't know. But that was the novelty: it wo' recorded in Heckmondwike and we couldn't get over that!

Rio: Did you ever feel like it was becoming a "thing"? Did you think that it was the exception, some of these bands that weren't from London, or like that this was gonna be "it"?

Karl: I think the way we saw it worrit wor accessible, to be a part of it. Not just in the audience, you could get in bands an' that. If a band can record in 'eckmondwike and get played on the John Peel show then, well, so can we. Know what I mean? Everybody I knew were gettin' in bands an' that. Although I was still at school then. I'm not as old as Mick! (Karl, interview, January 11, 2017)

Although often referring to Dewsbury as "the village", Mick's affection for the town is always clear. Anecdotally, before the first scheduled gig of the reformed 1919 (in the French town of Angoulême, in October 2015) with a re-united Mick and Mark, we'd performed a warm-up show in a Dewsbury pub. Mick spoke of wanting to "shine a light on the town", and indeed his career in music has always done so to a degree. From driving to 1919's first Peel Session in a van borrowed from a Dewsbury window cleaner (Mick, interview, March 12, 2018), through to his post-1919 band Ship of Fools' releases on Peaceville Records (Halmshaw, 2016) which ultimately became Dewsbury's most – and arguably only – notable label. Karl's testimony suggests that this is likewise true of Psykik Volts, also a Dewsbury band, that for him made post-punk accessible from even the most provincial nearby villages (specifically Heckmondwike).

Bestley (2012) argued that the relations "between space, place and identity" (pp. 42) were as prominent for punk as they were for Mississippi blues, and furthermore, after its London-centric inception in 1976-1977, the movement empowered young aspiring musicians in cities and provinces throughout the UK. Before Psykik Volts or 1919 emerged, both Mick

⁶⁷ Peel (1939-2004) was a BBC disc jockey known for playing music seen, either initially or enduringly, as outside the mainstream.

and Mark cited the Sex Pistols' West Yorkshire shows as pivotal to this regional empowerment. As the Mark stated, "we didn't know we could do it until the Sex Pistols told us really" (interview, January 11, 2017).

In terms of a longing for home there are few examples more striking, or geographically extreme, than in Marquis H.K's (2016) autobiographical account of Australia's underground punk and metal scenes. Although the book is rooted in Brisbane, where the author's family relocated early in his life, it begins in Dewsbury along with his introduction to punk rock:

Thursday night was youth-club night at Banksfield, an old building located in the Earlsheaton High School grounds [...] All the kids would turn up from Moore Park Gardens, Bywell and the rough housing commission suburb, Chickenly [sic]⁶⁸, which produced many aspiring young thugs... (p. 7)

After discovering punk via the familiar route of listening to John Peel, and buying and listening to records with likeminded school-friends, this highly specific narrative of place is ultimately integral to H.K.'s musical identity. Having moved to Australia at the age of 12, he writes of his new classmates: "I found them immature. Compared to the rough and ready kids of Dewsbury [...] Give me the Chickenly [sic] thugs any day" (p. 11). Furthermore, he notes "being surrounded by KISS fans made me feel alienated. I came from a working-class background and all the bands I was into reflected that attitude" (p. 11).

The paradox of rebelling against your roots as well as identifying firmly within them is a common theme throughout the testimony of Yorkshire punks gathered in this research. Wilkinson (2014) gives the example that "The Fall felt alienated not only from the world of higher education [...] but also from the determinations of their working-class background" (p. 69). Moreover, in addition to H.K's experience, God Squad's Dave referred to his younger self as "part thug, part freak" (interview, November 14, 2017), while 1919's early synth player, Paul, who himself is from the notorious Chickenley township of Dewsbury, discussed trying to escape the limitations of his upbringing whilst remaining ultimately shackled to its values, something that was touched upon in chapter 1 (iv):

These things never really go away. Although you can obviously suppress them, and you can recognise that it's a nonsense, that it's not who you are and it's not who you have to be. I suppose it's like being brought up as a Catholic, I imagine. I'm not a Catholic, but I've read that a lot and heard that about people who were brought up as Catholics – you can't ever escape it (Paul D, interview, October 19, 2017).

Paul also seems to describe the same youth club as H.K, though he's 7 or 8 years older than the latter and it's unclear if they would have attended at the same time at any point:

The youth clubs were... the Parish I think it wo' called, in Dewsbury near the bus station. The new bus station. Bankfield of course, youth club which wo' very close to where Mick lived with 'is parents. Next to... in the school grounds (interview, October 19, 2017).

⁶⁸ Chickenley is a large village east of Dewsbury.

Finally, another Paul, this time from Barnsley's gothic rock band The Danse Society (formed in 1980), spoke of chart success, expensive residences in New York hotels, and returning to drink in his home town:

Paul: It's how I grew up. From bein' 15 'n' startin' goin' in town, y'know? And that's the mentality of Barnsley, that's what everybody does! You go in town, you get drunk on weekends. It worra northern town!

Rio: Was it different to being in like Sheffield or Leeds?

Paul: Yeah 'cos Barnsley dunt 'ave that safety net of like a student part where Leeds does – a “cultured” part. [...] We wo' the cultured ones!⁶⁹ Or thought we wo' (Paul G., interview, March 17, 2018).

For H.K, having moved about as far away from Dewsbury as geographically possible, it was punk music that held him close to his working-class roots. For Paul, with music having become a job that allowed him to experience overseas opulence, it was the humble Barnsley pub where he reconnected with his sense of belonging. Even for the punk and post-punk rebels, the place called “home” was ingrained, and often, as Paul Drake put it, inescapable.

IV. RETHINKING PROVINCIAL CAPITAL

There are a number of points through which towns, cities, music, and identity intersect, and from the interview narratives included here it's possible to start to draw some broader conclusions. One significant point is Pierre Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital as cited by Bates (2016), and the “cultural hegemony of urban ideals of sophistication, cosmopolitanism, and refinement” (p. 161). In this context, Paul G's assertion that a distinction between Barnsley and Leeds (or Sheffield) – or even *the* difference, when asked – was the lack of a student area, a “cultured” area, is a significant one. Simply, under this hegemony of metropolitan neoliberalism, Barnsley has no discernible value.

Furthermore, Mick's childhood experience of moving from Liverpool to Dewsbury and his expressed displeasure about this move, seems similarly symptomatic of the neoliberal fantasy. Having moved from an urban to a rural area as a boy, he now refers regularly to having moved the other way to start a band. But he also stressed the close proximity of northern English towns and cities (interview, March 12, 2018), and, alongside Paul G here, blurs some of the lines between some of the more notable post-punk scenes. When asked about a “distinct” Barnsley scene, Paul replied:

No. Lucky thing about Barnsley, 'cos it's in the middle we could go to the F-club, the Leeds scene – Warehouse, or we could do the Sheffield one. But we wo' classed as a Sheffield band for a while, which wor OK 'cos there wor Artery, I'm So Hollow⁷⁰, there worra good scene (Paul G, interview, March 17, 2018).

⁶⁹ It is worth noting that prominent Leeds bands of the time such as The Mekons, Delta 5, Gang of Four, Scritti Politti) formed at University, as opposed to their Bradford, Dewsbury, and Barnsley-native contemporaries.

⁷⁰Post-punk bands, formed in Sheffield in 1978.

In Davies' (2014) Gramscian terms, it is possible to view the experiences of Mick and Paul here as a kind of complicity in provincial subversion. That is, both Mick's youthful dissatisfaction with leaving the metropolis for "the village", and Paul's willingness to be assimilated into the scenes of nearby cities represent the internalising of neoliberal values. The latter especially could, in this context, also render Barnsley as something of a cultural commuter city, as in Sharma's (2004) and Coan's (2017) utilitarian mould, and it certainly brings into question whether Keighley could have survived as an independent "scene" without its close proximity to Bradford and Leeds.

Whether to escape *to*, or escape *from*, a town or city, is dependent on a negotiation of material and cultural capital. Certainly, for Skeletal Family, there was capital in asserting themselves as Keighley's "only" group of their time, whether this was enhanced by the geographical location of Keighley or not. However, Harrogate shares a close proximity with the same major metropolitan hubs and appears to have no such capital. For Dave, this was down to a lack of any coherent scene whatsoever and, ultimately, class:

I think it was the middle-classness of Harrogate in them days, y'know, [music] was just summat people did for a bit while they wo' seventeen. To me it was my life, but that's why I stopped because it wasn't anybody else's life 'n' it used to do my head in [...] I used to go to Leeds every weekend or Bradford just to hang about, just to go to a record shop, just to go to a café where people 'ad good haircuts. 'Cos 'arrogate was just dead, there was nothing (interview, November 14, 2017).

With Bestley's assertion that "much punk from the early 1980s onward remains a resolutely, and self-consciously, 'working class' form of expression" (2012, p. 43), there is little surprise that a scene might fail to gain traction in a town of relative middle-classness. The cultural capital (or lack thereof) for those from working-class homes also helps to explain the evolution of Chickenley in the eyes of Marquis H.K, from a spectre of violence to a point of nostalgic reverence. Ultimately, this transference of working-classness—the rural "otherness" in this case embodied by Dewsbury's Chickenley district—into capital is fundamental to the success of metro-hegemony. Jansson's moral geographic analysis also deploys Raymond Williams' (1977) re-assertion of a rural-urban duality in which the former is reimagined in the terms of the latter: "residual culture may then be translated and incorporated within the dominant culture" (Jansson, 2013, p. 100). For Bestley (2012), this was recognisable in Jazz culture in the transformation of band photos from organic to crafted (p. 42) following a commoditisation of musicians' rural origins, and for Kiszely in the commoditised legacy of Factory Records and the Hacienda in Manchester: "According to M. Savage et al., the club helped stimulate a 'culture of authenticity' and a 'preference for the natural', which resulted 'in a tendency to live in converted mill properties' and 'innovative' developments by architecturally pioneering developers" (2002, p. 109; Kiszely, 2013, p. 29). In other words, Manchester's post-punk history became a central tenant of the city's neoliberal commercial development, the success of which would cement its metro-hegemony of culture and identity over its wider region(s).

It is useful to contemplate again the question from the Italian magazine interviewer, Alex, with specific reference to the idea that Bradford isn't remembered "like Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool or London" (Mick, interview, March 12, 2018). If Bradford is, as Cavanagh (2009, p. v) wrote, "still a small town" in many ways, then it is possible that its legacy has fallen victim to the metro-hegemony of neighbouring Leeds, becoming the kind of cultural

commuter-town that Barnsley might be to Sheffield. Cavanagh's attempt to put Bradford's distinct scene on the map has meant including townships such as Keighley, and perhaps therefore also positioning it as a cultural commuter-town of Bradford.

It is worth considering the idea that a broader metro-hegemony may also exist, within which Yorkshire cities take a backseat to those in the north-west of England in northern music studies. In post-punk a greater amount of kudos accrues to, and there is certainly a greater amount of literature available on, Joy Division, The Fall, Factory Records and the Hacienda than their Yorkshire counterparts (Crossley, 2015). Artery's Mark Gouldthorpe went as far as to equate Manchester with the urbanormative mecca of London, stating: "we weren't based in London or Manchester – that's where the interest was" (*Artery get blood pumping once more...*, 2008), and furthermore leaving a number of questions to ask about Yorkshire cultural capital inside and out. In Mazierska's (2018) account, Sheffield is largely discussed in relation to Leeds (p. 56), and Dave's testimony describes a feeling of apathy towards performing outside of Yorkshire having returned from London (interview, November 14, 2017). As with the ongoing devolution debate, it would conform to Yorkshire myth to suggest that Yorkshire towns and cities were far more concerned with competing against one-another than with anywhere else, however there is little evidence of Yorkshire mythology being fostered in the musical output of participants in the 1978-1984 period discussed, at least beyond the general themes of urban decay that are equally applicable to post-industrial northern towns and cities outside of Yorkshire.

Not only do these latter suppositions remain unclear at this point in my research, it is necessary also to remember some simple truths that exist alongside this analytical framework of metro-hegemony, identity, and cultural capital. Firstly, that a band such as Skeletal Family will find it convenient to self-identify as a specifically Keighley band because all of its members are from Keighley, whereas for a band like 1919 whose founders were from Shipley and Dewsbury, "Bradford" represents a certain convenience. Moreover, God Squad's difficulty in managing the limited class-capital of Harrogate may have proved less important had they managed to release a record at any point. Based on the interviews I have collected so far though, this remains a worthwhile lens with which to view and dissect the interplay of cities and towns in the construction of post-punk heritage in Yorkshire.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The notion of moving to the city in search of promise is a well-trodden one in popular consciousness (Cohen, 2007), and musicians represent a familiar migrant group within this narrative. The original punk movement, through its DIY-orientated form of decentralized production, is cited as having empowered the UK provinces in a formerly Londoncentric landscape (Bestley, 2012). However, within the seemingly relentless structure of neoliberal commodity and capital value, there is an intrinsic risk that the musical contributions of rural and quasi-rural provinces may be, or have been, absorbed into the memoryscapes of nearby metropolitan cities. Indeed, this absorption pays no deference to regional borders, and in the macro context of post-punk heritage there is, by extension, also the risk that even larger Yorkshire metropolises can become consumed by narratives of a homogenous “North”.

This chapter, using the lenses of metro-hegemony and urbanormativity against this neoliberal framework, analysed the post-punk scenes and legacies of provincial West Yorkshire towns in and around Bradford, Barnsley, and Dewsbury, the cultural identities of some of their key participants, and, through their testimony, their relationship with nearby cities. Oppositionality, to the south and to its northern counterparts, has been established as a key facet of Yorkshireness, and we can see this operating in micro-terms within Yorkshire towns and cities such as the aforesaid. However, the tendency to generate and assert cultural capital – something that is especially pronounced within the culture industry – also, through an unintended propagation of metro-hegemony, suppresses this oppositionality, and perhaps therefore innate Yorkshireness too. This is a dichotomy that comes to a head in *Something in the water...*, while in the next, and penultimate, chapter, we see the enduring power of (sub)cultural capital of post-punk among participants of this research.

5. AFTER POST-PUNK

I. ONCE A PUNK, ALWAYS A PUNK

As I touched upon in chapter 1 (iv), there is a general lack of cultural capital evident for my participants in matters concerning paid employment. As Bourdieu (1986) explained, this refers to value ascribed to phenomena that cannot be quantified or is otherwise immaterial (pp. 15-16). In subcultural studies Albert Cohen (1955) and others focus on an internal value system set apart from the dominant culture (Hebdige, 1979, p. 76), while Hebdige often focuses on subcultural dress as an assertive embodiment of such values (see p. 114 for examples in punk and skinhead culture). In this respect it is worth mentioning, albeit briefly, some of the subcultural affectations in the respective appearances each of my participants. Although none turned up to be interviewed in the full leather-and-studs regalia that may spring to mind as indicative of punk subculture, there were in all cases a distinctive remnant or signifier of a youth spent in such dress. This was usually as singular as coloured or quiffed hair, of understated Dr Marten boots or shoes, a general panache – at times incorporating a waistcoat or scarf – that could allow the participant to walk onto a stage as easily as into a pub or a café, or a general unkemptness that represented a withdrawal from the workplace expectations of mainstream adult life. However, I have chosen to focus here on my participants' relationships to paid employment because, while the assertion of value may be significantly tied to subcultural style in studies of youth culture, employment history can indicate a more comprehensive worldview among older subcultural participants.

I've always had a problem with authority, hence getting expelled from school. But not for being anything other than a refusenik. Just, "no I'm not gonna do that. Why should I do that?" (Paul D, interview, October 19, 2017).

Where there was any work outside the music industry discussed with my participants, it tended to be – for those that were not university students during the fledgling post-punk era – in terms of the simple necessity to sustain themselves and fund their music. Certainly, in terms of aspiration, gainful employment has not played a part in any of the interviews carried out, and this is perhaps best exemplified by Mick here:

there want any jobs [in Dewsbury]. I remember dole queues that looked like people goin in tut pictures for a big film. And there was jobs, but there want any decent jobs. So that's where you end up joinin a band an putting your dreams round that. Seems like a lot better way a spendin your time, dunnit? And that became a habit for me, for life, did that. Like fuck the job, where's the band? (interview, January 11, 2017)

Of course it is perhaps only natural, in interviews ostensibly focusing on the period between 1979 and 1984, that participants would limit their accounts of employment to their experiences in this era. But it is still notable for two reasons: because the open structure of the interviews tended to result in a mishmash of conversations covering anything from pre-punk to present-day, and furthermore because there was no such reluctance to discuss professional activity in other areas in the arts. Rosie, for example, is a writer and poet; and John Hyatt, although we didn't talk specifically about his role as a Professor of Art and

Design^{71 72}, is one of only two participants interviewed in their place of work, with the other being Will at his Soundworks recording studio. Undoubtedly, in any case, there was more joy in accounts of transgression such as Paul's opening statement above, and Wolfy's anecdote about Gerard here:

[Gerard] learned to play all the Killing Joke stuff in his bedroom and had a CB radio, and would play it down the CB radio – is guitar, mic is guitar amp up – to CB truckers, just to annoy the shit out of 'em (Wolfy, interview, February 13, 2018).

Paul D is a particularly notable case, though, as he not only retains an avowed opposition to coerced employment – either through class expectation or capitalist erosion of social security⁷³ – but has (in appendix viii) also specifically contended with both the rejection and entrenchment of social class in the testimony used in chapters 1 (iv) and 4 (iii). His working-class West Yorkshire upbringing, which Hoggart (1957) suggests “may impede an inclination in any of its members to make a change, to leave the group, to be different” (p. 84), is considered by Paul to have inescapable qualities. From the examples I have given so far, in this final subchapter and on occasions throughout this thesis in discussions of class, identity, and belongingness, it seems to me that any inescapable impulses of class are often mirrored in punk. Although there is a certain classlessness ascribed to punk (see Hebdige, 1979, p. 120), even if this may provoke narratives of self-marginalisation encountered in chapter 3 (iv), to seek to transgress the shackles of biography illustrated in chapter 2 (ii, iv) is no simple task, but an ongoing reflexive negotiation of self. But, with post-punk itself very conceivably a reflexive continuation of punk in a similar vein (see chapter 1, iv), it seems, too, that *after* post-punk, many of my participants are still very much intertwined with the value structure and the social and cultural capital felt in their first encounters with punk, which the examples in this section of style, employment, and transgression are able to illustrate.

⁷¹ At Liverpool John Moores University.

⁷² With reference to the discussion in chapter 1 (iv), whether you read this as a hegemonic absorption of punk or as a punk infiltration of bourgeois intellectualism, his position certainly underlines the ascent of punk and post-punk in academic discourse.

⁷³ I mean this not specifically in the sense of state monetary support, but in the broader binary of employment or destitution that constitutes what Paul refers to as wage slavery (see appendix viii).

II. LEAVING THE FIELD

Roberta Iveson (2009) posits that, although justifiable attention is paid to entering the field in ethnography, there is still relatively little focus on disengagement (p. 10; see also Lofland and Lofland, 1995, pp. 62-63). Significantly, for me as an ostensible cultural ‘insider’, although the point at which I entered the field has been clearly defined, there is no such neatness for the conclusion of my research. Indeed, where leaving the field is concerned, my experience is far closer to this example from Iveson:

A different reality, however, surfaced in an email from one of the Philadelphia ethnographers in late November 2006 – more than three years after the official end of the research – that revealed continued contact with one of the families: ‘I have kept up with [study participant] (2009, p. 11).

Save for the fact that my formal data collection began in January 2017 and ended in October 2018, it is possible that I may never *leave* the field as such. Because 8 years after answering an advert from Mark in September 2014, this is my life, and the majority of my participants are either bandmates, friends, or both. Four individuals, who have either contributed directly or have otherwise featured in this research, have died since it began. I was a pall bearer for two of them, and for one I wrote the obituary in the local paper that formed a large part of his eulogy. One participant I represented as a Mackenzie friend⁷⁴ in an intellectual property tribunal, and for one participant I have started early collaboration on their autobiography. Others, who I had not previously collaborated with musically, I have done so subsequently, and I can say with certainty that my life, and the lives of some of my participants, will continue to be variously intertwined.

With that in mind, there are still question marks over my cultural insider status in two key respects: that I did not exist during 1919’s epochal origin, and that I was not born in Yorkshire, which we have seen from the former Yorkshire cricket captain Andrew Gayle (in Hopps, 2010) in section iii of the introduction, and can see further in Carrington (1998, p. 289) and in appendix i and ii, is still an established metric for Yorkshireanness. In this respect, we can draw some comparisons from Carrington’s (1999) account of a white member of a Caribbean Cricket Club:

Shaun’s position here is very reflexive as he is aware that his presence in certain circumstances maybe construed almost as voyeuristic if he is not partaking in any discussions, yet the fact that he felt ‘accepted in the club’ meant he was able to leave such situations without feeling that his right to still be a part of the club was therefore undermined (p. 23).

This is an important example for my position, and is especially relevant because I am, in fact, also a white member of the very cricket club in question and can identify precisely with Shaun. But there are parallels here, too, in my relationship with 1919 and Yorkshire. I am, quite objectively, a ‘member’ of 1919. Fairly regularly I am asked to sign records, CDs, or other items – such as set lists – and on occasion, when fans want to have their records of the 1980s material signed, they will only want a signature from Mick⁷⁵ (and previously Mark). This does not undermine my membership of the group, though, and instead fans that have

⁷⁴ A lay-representative.

⁷⁵ A specific example of this was at an Italian festival in 2018 with the Membranes and Pink Turns Blue (see EVIL FEST..., 2018).

asked me to autograph one record and not the other can be seen to be effectively endorsing my role in the group in the present day. But my belonging to Yorkshire is more complicated, as there is no formal 'membership' to the culture in the same way there is to, say, a sports or social club, or a musical group. Instead, we must rely on the various narratives of constructed Yorkshireness that have been detailed in this thesis in which birthright is still, unfortunately, prominent, with the most explicit encounter I have had with this kind of gatekeeping detailed in appendix i and ii (and summarised in the introductory note).

Fortunately, just as with any unwritten rule, there is nothing binding in constructions of Yorkshireness by birthright. In fact, several my participants were not born in Yorkshire either. Paul D, who is from a military family, was born in Folkstone; Joolz Denby, who Dave referred to as being from Harrogate (see appendix iv) and came from somewhere down south originally, is a member of the Bradford Hall of Fame. Indeed, the eligibility in this case is defined as "people who were either born in the Bradford district, or made a huge name through an association to the city" (Bradford Hall of Fame..., 2021). As we can see from chapter 4 and particularly the prominence of Leeds' university bands (see also Butt, 2022), these parameters tend to be far looser when there is cultural capital to be gained from embracing prominent individuals as 'belonging' to a certain place. Regardless, such is the strength of my affinity with the region I have spent my life in, I am able to reject any narratives of place that would exclude me. Although this is a privilege that would be less attainable for those who fall foul of other unwritten constructions of Yorkshireness – i.e what Light (2009) calls "the broadly agreed, self image of Yorkshiremen" (p. 504; Marshall, 2011, p. 50) that is encapsulated by cricket, and its implicit whiteness (see Fletcher, 2011; 2012; Carrington, 1998; 1999), it also means that Yorkshire, too, is a field that I can never leave.

6. CONCLUSIONS:

I. SOMETHING IN THE WATER? CONFLICTS IN OBJECTIVITY AND SELF-PROMOTION

As an active insider, a working musician, I find myself occasionally propagating the same myths that I am attempting to unpick as a researcher. On the occasion shown below, drunk, in Madrid, I had just brushed over differences in regional northernness as if there were none, all in the name of self-promotion.

Field Note - 20/10/2018

It's some ungodly time in the morning at the afterparty. I'm just chatting away to people, trying to drink through until it's time to head to the airport. This guy Miguel asked me where I was from:

"Leeds"

"Who are some other bands from Leeds?"

"Erm, all sorts... Sisters, March Violets, Gang of Four. 1919 is from Bradford, so you had The Cult, NMA..."

"Wow!"

"Yeah it's pretty cool! Down the road there was Danse Society, Pulp, Human League... And Manchester's nearby: The Fall, Joy Division, New Order"

"You've just listed all my favourite bands! We say there must be something in the water!"

In a manner akin to the existential authenticity of experience in tourism (see chapter 2), this predisposition to romance is a wonderful convenience for promoting music. Miguel, in this exchange, has also provided the ideal analogy for it. If one is inclined to believe that there is something in the water, or some other magic that makes the bands of a particular region so great, then my role in this moment is to confirm that such water exists and that furthermore I have drunk it. Because in this moment I am not a researcher. I am a performer tasked with giving his audience what they want to hear, an ambassador for my band, and to a lesser extent for Yorkshire and its music. For context here, we can look to Maykut and Morehouse (1994), who state:

the qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others—to indwell—and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand (p. 123)

My research resumes once I step away to make a note of this exchange, and later to analyse it. However, for all the validity of insider-in research, in this precise moment the two roles cannot be reconciled. Indeed, bending the facts around the myth can be considered an act of delivering an existentially authentic tourist experience, as we can perhaps derive from Aki here:

Aki: I think I read somewhere... you can check this art I dunno if it's true... but they always say that a lotta the dissenting movement, back decades n decades ago or whatever [...] started from Bradford. There wo something in the water in Bradford, something to do with the unions n rebellion n things like that. Yorkshire, and especially this side of Yorkshire, there were a lot of mavericks and eccentrics – people who just didn't like being controlled.

Rio: So do you think Yorkshire bands av... have something?

Aki: I think Bradford has *something*. I think Bradford had a different identity to Leeds. I think Leeds was, forgive me, but I think Leeds was more sophisticated...

Rio: How dare you! (Aki, interview, September 11, 2018).

Aki's account here can be added to the list of dual or multi-role actors or positions explored throughout this work. As an interviewee, with due awareness of the relative limitations of the platform afforded by my work, his role could be seen as one of a historical narrator. But, as an ambassador for Bradford, which might also be intensified due to now residing in London, such a differentiation from Leeds can also be expected. This is in spite of the fact that Leeds and Bradford are neighbouring cities, sharing an airport and some overlapping suburbs and with just 10 miles between city centres. It is in spite of the fact that Spracklen et al's participants (2016) saw nothing "essential or necessary about Leeds" (p. 17) in memories of its notable F Club, or the fact that Will suggested there was nothing "significantly different" about Leeds to Manchester (interview, August 21, 2018), even when in different counties and separated by four times the distance of Leeds and Bradford.

In chapter 1(iii), citing both the 1919 interview that I had written alone in the style of multiple band members, and the Sisters of Mercy merchandise signed multiple times by a single member, I sought to highlight the potential that dual or multi-role actors have in the creation of mythology. I have variously referred to John Robb during this thesis: in chapter 1(ii) as a reference point for the mythology of post-industrial darkness, the "real shadows" (2016, p. 54) that saw the inception of Leeds' post-punk scene, and in chapter 1(v) as an example of Mancunian – or perhaps north-western – exceptionalism⁷⁶. Furthermore, his 2010 book, which begins its title with *The North Will Rise Again...* but is focused on Manchester, can be seen as asserting a Mancunian hegemony of northernness that is addressed in chapter 1(v) and more thoroughly in chapter 4. However, I do not wish to be regarded as overly critical of Robb himself (and not just because I like him!) The main reason for the continued referencing is owed to his multiplicity of roles: as a writer, as an artist, and as an ambassador for Manchester, which not only provide reference points for this research in several philosophical contexts but in fact most closely mirror my own multiplicity of roles. As a writer, artist, and ambassador for Yorkshire myself, any criticism of Robb is justifiably levelled also at me, and, given that my written work is of scholarly nature, perhaps more so.

In chapter 1(iii), I referred to Hillary Clinton's evocation of Harriet Tubman, in which the 2008 US Presidential hopeful sought to align her public political persona with that of the famous abolitionist (see Sernett, 2007, p. 2; Washington, 2010, p. 366). For Clinton, I said, the rationale was to both enforce the myth of Tubman and to assert herself as heir to it. And while I have not asserted myself as heir to anything necessarily – although this is a notion that will appear in the final part of this chapter, and perhaps it is fundamentally implicit in any of my contribution to a musical group with such a legacy as 1919 – the field note that introduces this section is unmistakable as an example of propagating myth for the purposes of self-promotion. If, therefore, as Barthes (1977) puts it, 'in ethnographic societies [...] the mastery of the narrative code - may possibly be admired but never his 'genius' (Barthes,

⁷⁶The initial quote from Robb (2016), which states that Leeds' "post industrial malaise [was] not as bleak as Manchester or Liverpool" (p. 54) can also be seen as an example of this.

1977, p. 142), it is possible there could be a fatal epistemological flaw in this research. In ethnography, perhaps self-promotion cannot be reconciled.

II. TO THINE OWN MYTH BE TRUE...

Rio: All sorts of stuff gets written about the Mekons, Delta 5, and Cult n Sisters n all that, [but] summa the real character of the Yorkshire post-punk from that era is bands like 1919, Expelaires, March Violets, Skeletal Family-

Wolfy: -bands that didn't make it, you mean!? [laughs]

Rio: Bands that didn't quite make it, but are still well-woven into the fabric... (Wolfy, interview, February 13, 2018).

Though the focus of this work has tended to be on bands that had not quite 'made it', at least in comparison to the commercially or critically successful that tend to dominate discourse on Yorkshire's punk and post-punk heritage – including, but not limited to the likes of Leeds' art school bands that have provided points of reference at various stages throughout this thesis – the fact that we are able to revisit these bands for critical analysis, or indeed that a number have re-formed to play for new audiences some 40 years after their inception, relies on a certain level of documented activity. These come in the forms of commercial musical releases, gig listings and tour posters, or in the highly (sub)culturally valuable recordings of 'Peel Sessions': the live recorded sessions of the late Radio 1 DJ John Peel, which ran from 1967 until his death in 2004 (see 'Keeping it Peel', n.d). Although the definition of 'making it' in music is quite subjective, what cannot be denied is the reality that heritagisation is necessarily tied to the successful documentation of music and musicians, which can be somewhat arbitrary: owed often to degrees of luck or circumstance.

A good example of this is God Squad, who, according to Dave, flirted with but ultimately ruined their own chances of a record deal. Their music, though, is actually very good. Or, more objectively, would have at least stood a chance of receiving support from John Peel, who had already given airtime to a low-quality demo submitted by Dave's early Oi project (see appendix iv). However, recorded versions of God Squad only exist in similarly low-fi rehearsal room cassette recordings. Without a record deal, the band had made recordings with Will Jackson, but Dave is noted as having been unsatisfied with the band's performance at the time and vetoing any subsequent release. When I asked Will, around the time of our interview in 2018, if any of the recordings had survived, it transpired that they had done so until the flooding of his basement-level studio in 2015 (see '2015 Leeds floods...', 2017), which required him to rebuild Soundworks in an adjacent unit at Leeds' Eiger Studios (the location of our interview). When Wolfy told me the story of John Keenan's loss of footage, also in a flood, of his seminal Futurama festivals (see appendix vii), it underlined for me the precariousness of archival study in works that had not been widely commercially distributed. In addition to the passing of some of my participants, the various battles with cancer that have been documented in this research (also the cause of death for each of the aforesaid), and the unavoidable ageing of first and second-wave punks and post-punks in general, this thesis largely represents a capturing of otherwise unrecorded testimony and activity from participants which, in some cases, can never be repeated or revisited. It is therefore vital, for the ontology punk and post-punk, that these stories and the stories of others continue to be recorded and recanted until it is no longer possible.

One of the key philosophical pursuits of this thesis has been a reflexive autoethnography, and it is appropriate at this point to refer to Goldhammer (2017): my first academic

publication and the one that helped me to win funding for this research. One of the main discussions of the article was about the capital of the old guard in heavy metal music: bands such as Kiss and Iron Maiden who are relied upon year-upon-year to sell enough tickets to ensure the viability of the largest music festivals. At the time of writing, there was some lamentation of this hegemony of nostalgia that had frustrated my years as an obscure underground musician, but I was also about to move to the next stage in my career – musically and ultimately academically – by drawing capital from this very same nostalgia (albeit on a much smaller scale). Most importantly, though, members of both Kiss and Iron Maiden have recently expressed a desire to be replaced individually in order to ensure the continuity of the band as an entity (see Stevenson, 2022; BRUCE DICKINSON Wants IRON MAIDEN To 'Replace' Him..., 2022).

There have been a number of members of 1919, but since Mark's death only Mick remains from the original line-up. On occasion, he expresses a desire to follow suit when the time comes: to choose his replacement, retreat to a studio-only role in the band, and hand me "the keys to the family business". Indeed, any of these examples have significant implications for authenticity, especially if we are to return to chapter 2 (iv) and Benjamin's assertion that 'all that is transmissible from its beginning' ([1935]1969, p. 4). In a broader sense, whether a band constitutes more than its parts represents the paradox of the ship of Theseus (see Scaltsas, 1980), which in British popular culture is best exemplified in the long-running sitcom *Only Fools and Horses* (1996), where the perennially lovable fool Trigger at one point states: "this old broom has had 17 new heads and 14 new handles in its time" (Trigger's Broom, 2014, 00:00:58). So, whether the authenticity of a group relies solely on the presence of its founders, whether an 'inauthentic object or site [that] may become authentic over time' (Rickly-Boyd, 2012, pp. 272-273; Cohen, 1988, Graburn, 1976) creates a symbolic authenticity, and irrespective of whether 1919 as an entity outlasts all of its founders or not, there is the possibility that once *all* first and second wave punks and post-punks have suffered their inevitable mortality, that my time with them may render me among the most authentic voices of the culture in subsequent years (along with the other 'new' members of 'old' groups). In any of these circumstances, there is immeasurable value in authenticity, which is itself a component of mythology.

In my analysis of Adorno in chapter 2 (ii), I stated that cultural production and the prescribed value of cultural artefacts are intrinsic to cultural hegemony (see also Gramsci, 1971, pp. 245-246, 303). But more so, in the culture industry, each participant is also competing for hegemony of mythology, and this is supported by the requirements of mass cultural production and distribution for heritagisation to take place. Here, myth is prescribed, then reclaimed and used defiantly (such as the absorption of punk in chapter 1, iv), and this defiance in turn is usurped and commoditized. This goes on in perpetuity, and in this respect the notion of divine mythology, which I explored in chapters 1 and 3, and all subsequent notions of an 'original' or a 'beginning' are just individual components in constructivist mythology. To use the example of the Berlin venue in chapter 2 (iv), which better invoked the memory of the authentic, or divine, first-wave era of British post-punk than any British venue that we had experienced together. The venue, or perhaps more accurately the wider international post-punk movement, is created in the image of this divine original. But this has nothing to do with the realities of Britain, either in the late 1970s, early 1980s, or present day, but is a construct of a reflection of myth, indicative of the abyss of mythological Yorkshireness.

Performing with 1919 has two distinct ontological purposes: for an older audience, it represents a sign that reinforces the aura of a divine memory – of youth, and a celebration of cultural capital (in this case that their own youth (sub)culture is demonstrably valuable). For those younger, it is an existentially authentic experience of a time before theirs. With each member of the original that departs or dies, as is true for any reformed or reunited group that came of age in a bygone era, the group takes a step closer to simulacra. It is not inauthentic, but the original will ultimately exist in an endless reflection. Ageing bands are perpetually moving towards the hyperreal.

As we have already seen, autonomous art arises fully only in a class society through the exclusion of the working classes. The purposelessness of pure works of art, which denies the utility and instrumentality that reign in the world outside art, is premised on commodity production (Adorno, 1991, p. 10)

This research is in some sense an example of this: post punk bands, once fringe, have been venerated, and I have an avowed focus on the *un*-venerated. But for what purpose? Is it because Trilling (1972) stated that “inferior art, commercial, popular art, has always been thought corrupting” (p.67)? Is it to ultimately venerate my participants, and in the process elevate the mythology of my own band? Or am I still a teenage indie fan, diligently seeking out the unpopular?

As far as my own insider status as both a Yorkshireman and representative of first-wave post-punk, there are some examples in my data collection that confer this position: once, where Paul D launches into a personal anecdote that he revealed he had not disclosed to anyone before⁷⁷, and another, after talking to Rosie for an hour, where she suggests the interview should formally begin due to time constraints (interview, July 10, 2018). But still, such insider credentials are likely to hinge on a kind of magic resolution of “certain socio-economic contradictions” (Thornton, 1995, p. 116). For Thornton, this referred to the replacing of the hierarchical value system of dominant culture with a similarly hierarchical subcultural system, which ultimately benefitted from the former. In my case, I am clearly using my position as a cultural insider to collect data whilst constructing a theoretical framework that denies such a position, which is made possible by some clear notions of belongingness in both Yorkshire and post-punk that would place me outside. Certainly, this is true of my relationship to first-wave post-punk, though perhaps, given much of my analysis of authenticity has focused on my own relationship to Yorkshire, which is the only home I have ever known, it is possible to suggest that its identity is so defined by opposition to outsiders as to have obscured any potential for a definitive belongingness. But still, as mythology of place is used for the commoditisation of music, and music mythology for the commoditisation of place, in the way that I have expressed in section ii of this chapter I am almost certainly a contributor, in some sense, to each (though whether I am an authentic one is open to interpretation). Whether there can be an authentic punk voice in academia may itself rely on a magic resolution of contradictory terms, especially given its reliance on the cultural capital of transgression as a concept. But perhaps, in academia, punk does not need to be revolutionary to be authentic. Perhaps it just needs to be punk, which is so simple, and yet so impossible, to truly place.

⁷⁷ I have omitted the details of my own accord due to their sensitivity and general unimportance to my research aims.

III. OUTRO

If I have one regret from this PhD research, it is the decision not to try to contact Delta 5 for an interview. Sadly, vocalist and guitarist Julz Sale passed away in 2021, with drummer Kelvin Knight having succumbed to a similar fate in 2015, shortly before the research begun. This is the inversion of some of the more important successes of this thesis, which include the interviews with Mark and John, as although the deeper inclusion of Delta 5 would not have necessarily widened the critical lens, there has nonetheless arisen an increasingly urgent need to collect data from key contributors to popular culture – across all disciplines and genres – while there is still the opportunity to do so. As for the stated aims of this project, there are some key observations that have been made:

In distinguishing Yorkshire from the wider North, there are clear characteristics evident that have contributed to constructed Yorkshireness from over the last century. As I have shown, a number of these – such as sporting prowess, “self-perception and auto-stereotyping” (Marshall, 2011), humour, and adversity, are widely reflected in contemporary popular culture. However, the cultural capital signified by post-industrial sociopolitical angst and rebellion, which post-punk’s own capital is drawn from (see Haddon, 2020; Sabin, 1999), is virtually indistinguishable from the wider north of England. So, to be a Yorkshire post-punk, there is a necessity not only to engage with some of the aforesaid tropes that constitute the divine Yorkshireness of the third chapter, but perhaps most importantly to engage in oppositionality. Ironically, though, this method of asserting Yorkshireness is not specific to Yorkshire and is equally applicable to the towns and regions positioned as its “others”.

The second irony is that, while the cultural legacies of northern English cities draw capital from narratives of defiance towards damaging neoliberal policies, they are perennially engaged in competing hegemonies of regional identity. Though perhaps not by choice, decades of neoliberal orthodoxy has fostered a need to commoditise cultural history in the name of economic survival, and this is no different for Yorkshire’s post-punk heritage. That said, this is not a new phenomenon, and the seminal post-punk bands of Leeds’ university students – in and outside of the art schools – already represented a magic resolution of contradictions (see Cohen, 1972) in order to be considered ‘Yorkshire’ bands, which is evident through their range of non-Yorkshire accents and origins. These bands, arguably, received the cultural capital associated with northern cities in exchange for their contribution(s) towards a monetizable musical heritage. The only difference between the two is whether such a heritage is “self-authorised” or “official authorised” heritage (Strong, 2022, pp. 332-333), which depends on whose interests are being monetised.

As to whether it is possible to be both an effective myth-maker and ethnographer of myth, certainly the two are possible in isolation. Though, while they may appear to be contradictory in nature, in *To thine own myth be true*... I also identified an element that is possibly only achievable if the researcher performs such contradictory roles in tandem: that is, to remove the divide between researcher and subject in myth-making communities, which in these final references to Paul and Rosie, has been demonstrably successful. The question, then, of the role of authenticity in (sub)cultural research, is therefore an extension of this. There are both the existential questions of authenticity within the culture industry, including tourism and any commercialised art, something Gigi underlined in his testimony in chapter 2 (see appendix 3). Authentic? “*We’re wi Stock, Aitken, n Waterman ya fuckin idiot.*”

Nonetheless, in (sub)cultural research, the notion of authenticity is inescapable, and though respective fields may themselves be located in myth-making – *inauthentic* – context, the practice of reflexivity, the understanding and empathy of participants, and especially the co-production of knowledge cannot be performed inauthentically. At least not if it is to succeed. And neither can commonality with research participants. In this respect, it seems reasonable to suggest Barthes' *grain of the voice*, "the body in the voice as it sings, the hand as it writes, the limb as it performs" (Barthes, 1972, p. 188) "...not [merely] its timbre" (p. 185), but maybe also (as the French term *mélodie* describes) a "practical reflection on the language" (p. 186), may be an appropriate reflection of the subcultural imagination in research methodology, which builds rapport "through seriousness, humour and pleasure" (Blackman and Kempson, 2021, p. 67).

There are a few distinct possibilities for the development of research presented in this thesis. Firstly, having set out to diverge from the Leeds art-school focus of O'Brien (2012) and Butt (2022) I have consequently focused on an area separate to the radical feminism characterised by the artists in that group. It would therefore be worthwhile for future research to consider narratives of feminism in specifically non art-school bands, particularly as there are a number of notable female performers within that definition. Secondly, while I have carried out a qualitative assignment, it would be worthwhile to pursue a detailed musicology of the artists cited, which may or may not focus on the core themes of class, authenticity, and place that have characterised my own research.

Finally, it may be possible to conclude that the best way to discuss post-punk in Yorkshire is not to discuss it in terms of a music subculture of place, but in terms of the interplay between the subcultures of post-punk *and* of Yorkshire. Because Yorkshire, based on its magical resolution of conflict, embedded oppositionality, (see Cohen, 1972), and mythologised "idealization of the past" (Spracklen, Henderson, & Procter, 2016, p. 159), is perhaps best described as a subculture itself.

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Artist	Year Formed	City	Genre
1919	1980*	Bradford	Post-Punk
Arctic Monkeys	2002	Sheffield	Indie/Post-Punk (Revival)
Artery	1978	Sheffield	Post-Punk
Cabaret Voltaire	1973	Sheffield	Industrial
Cribs, The	2001	Wakefield	Indie/Post-Punk (Revival)
Cult, The	1984**	Bradford	Gothic Rock
Dance Chapter	1979	Leeds	Post-Punk
Danse Society, The	1980	Barnsley	Post-Punk/New Wave
Delta 5	1979	Leeds	Post-Punk
Expelaires	1977	Leeds	Post-Punk
Gang of Four	1977	Leeds	Post-Punk
God Squad	circa1982	Harrogate	Post-Punk/New Wave
Heaven 17 (a)	1980	Sheffield	Electronic
Heaven 17 (b)	1978	Bradford	Post-Punk
Hill Bandits, The	1985	Leeds	Indie/Country
Human League, The	1977	Sheffield	New Wave
I'm So Hollow	1978	Sheffield	Post-Punk
Kaiser Chiefs	2003	Leeds	Indie/Post-Punk (Revival)
March Violets	1981	Leeds	Post-Punk/Gothic Rock
Mekons, The	1976	Leeds	Post-Punk
Mission, The	1986	Leeds	Gothic Rock
Negatives, The	1978	Bradford	Punk
New Model Army	1980	Bradford	Post-Punk
Paddingtons, The	2002	Hull	Indie/Post-Punk (Revival)
Pop-Tones	1979	Dewsbury	Punk/New Wave
Psykik Volts	1977	Dewsbury	Punk
Pulp	1978	Sheffield	Indie/Alternative
Red Lorry Yellow Lorry	1981	Leeds	Post-Punk
Salvation	1983	Leeds	Post-Punk/Gothic Rock
Scritti Politti	1977	Leeds	Post-Punk/New Wave
Siiiiii	1983	Sheffield	Post-Punk/Gothic Rock
Sisters of Mercy, The	1980	Leeds	Post-Punk/Gothic Rock
Skeletal Family	1982	Bradford/Keighley	Post-Punk
Soft Cell	1978	Leeds	New Wave/Electronic
Southern Death Cult	1981	Bradford	Post-Punk
Three Johns, The	1981	Leeds	Post-Punk
Throbbing Gristle	1975	Hull	Industrial/Experimental
Vaynes, The	1987***	Leeds	Rock/Punk
Wedding Present, The	1985	Leeds	Indie/Post-Punk
Yard Act	2019	Leeds	Post-Punk (Revival)
Zodiac Mindwarp	1985	Bradford	Rock

FIGURE 18: TABLE OF YORKSHIRE ARTISTS' ORIGINS AND GENRE(S)

* Formed from Heaven 17(b)

** Formed from Southern Death Cult and Death Cult

*** Formed from the Dead Vaynes

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SELECT FIELD NOTES

04/09/2017

After a couple of nights at Christian's, we're making the long drive from western Germany to Warsaw. It's been 9 or 10 hours in total, but now we're entering the outskirts of the city as the sun sets.

Suddenly there's a large thud and Mick's just swerved to keep control of the van. There was a van pulling up beside us on the left, dark blue or black, and containing a group of lads looking like they're on their way to a night out. They've tried to pull into our lane, in front of us, but they've cut across too early and clipped the front of our van. If tiredness was beginning to set in a few minutes ago, everyone's bolt upright now and pretty shaken.

What the fuck do they want? The other van is in front of us and driving really erratically – stopping and starting suddenly, and we're still on the motorway! Eventually they signal right and pull into a sliproad, gesturing and shouting in our direction. Fuck that, just keep going. Nutters.

A few miles down the road, just as we're recovering from the shock of the collision, the van is lit up by the glow of police sirens. Looks like the night isn't over yet! The cops pull us over and come to the window, one old and one young, with the van full of lads just behind them. My Polish is terrible. I'll have to call Tomek to translate.

Mick's out of the van. He's been gone a while. If he kicks off we're fucked! Thank god for Kev keeping calm: "Mick's good in these situations!" He's back now, smiling. The lads wanted to blame it on us but Mick's drawn the old copper a picture and he's checked out the marks on the side of the van. Apparently he wasn't happy with the youngsters trying to pull the wool over his eyes. Thank fuck for old guy camaraderie! We're good to go except he wants 200 Zloty off us, and all we have is Euros. I offer him 50, which is about the same, and thankfully he's ok with it.

We're on our way and Mick's laughing: "that's how it works out here – few quid in his pocket!" I say I'm pretty sure it's a fine for driving away from an incident. But I don't think anyone can be bothered to dwell on such things. Just can't wait to get to Tomek's.

05/09/2017

Bless Tomek for taking us out today. We don't always get to look around the places we're staying but today's been cool. We saw the Palace, Stalin's gift to Warsaw, which he says was called the Paris of the East. One of the best bits has actually been this milk bar we've come to eat in: a bit of a communist throwback, where the community can come together and eat affordably. I keep thinking it'd do well in Leeds, though it'd be tough to keep the prices this low and that's the whole point. We're talking pennies rather than pounds for a lot of stuff! But there are more hipstery milk bars, Tomek says. Some vegan ones, for example, more kind of youth-oriented. He's deliberately taken us to a traditional place though.

A bit later I catch part of a conversation between Mick and Tomek: "I was out here in the late 80s – I know it's a tough life". "Maybe 20 years ago" says Tomek, "but not so much now". For my money, except the architecture and milk bars (which are both ace), it's not so different from other major cities in Europe.

07/09/2017

It was a relatively painless drive from Poland, and now we're loading into the venue in Berlin. It's a pretty quiet residential area – apparently Friedrichshain was home to quite a few squats back in the day, and the venue evolved from pretty much the last one standing. It's definitely got that kinda vibe. After the heavy-duty main door there's a stone corridor, then entering on the left there's the club/live area, which is a basically a big living room covered in stickers.

There's a bar at one end and we pile the gear up at the opposite one. The smell of beer and fags hangs in the air from the night before, while one or two people stack the empties for recycling. This guy, who looks like he's just woken up, has started banging on the wall where the insulation is caving in. The whole wall is like a saloon door made of asbestos. Then he picks up this giant fucking steel bar. There are two brackets about 12 feet apart, and this bar is going across to keep the big insulation door thingy closed... fuck knows, it might be keeping the roof up. This place is mental. I love it!

We've just finished the sweatiest fucking gig ever. It really was like a big living room. I was basically doubling up as a barrier as well as a singer – the cymbals grazing my back with every beat. It was so much fun. Just the whole room singing along to Dream...Fucking sweat and thick smoke. I'm in the back room now. Totenwald are here – they're local. And bits of Blood Bitch and Second Still who played earlier. So is Alex who runs the post-punk online thing. Mick and Kev are just going on about the old days being like tonight: "This is what it was like in the 70s". Everyone's fucking beamin! I'm out selling some merch and this guy's just accused me of being the original singer. How old do I fucking look!? But I laugh and he just says it's cos my voice sounds like the record. That's a pretty nice compliment actually. I thank him. I'm trying in German but I'm just fucking wired man. I felt like shit earlier but I'm bang on.

Mick and Kev have been asleep in the van for most the night. I actually found myself on the door for a weird moment. Like 5am and there's a bang on the main door with no fucker else about. I open the peephole thing and there's this guy asking if we're still partying. I'm not sure what to say but I notice he's got this tiny hammer + sickle pin badge on, so I figure he's cool. 7am and they're up. We get some coffees from across the road. I think they're gearing up to do the whole drive back in one. Nutters.

29/09/2017

We've just done the customary meandering through a squeaky clean German town. We slept in the van last night after crossing at Dover (somewhere in Belgium), a familiar and surprisingly comfy way to keep costs down, but it's good to be here finally. We're assuming the venue is this graffiti-covered thing. There's not much else around here that might be a gig venue anyway. Well, except the theatre we went past earlier, but that's unlikely given the way we booked this gig.

We're looking out for Lars. Last year his band Lotus Feed booked us in Cologne (not too far from here), so I got in touch to see if we can arrange something on our way to Campus Noir. Lotus Feed are on a bit of a break at the moment so we're playing with his new band Kadeadkas and a band I'm not familiar with called Totenwald.

Someone's just opened the door to the venue and the first thing that hits me is this strong smell of paint. Of course there's stickers everywhere and graffiti, like a lot of places, but the

smell isn't usually so fresh. We've unloaded onto the stage – a nice deep one in a beautifully dank concrete room. I'm looking forward to this one already! I'm having a wander while the others set up their equipment, and there's actually an indoor skate park in the back room which was a bit of a surprise. I'm texting Ben a photo, as one of my few friends back home who still skate from time to time!

I've just spotted a half-full can of black spraypaint on the side, so naturally I tagged the wall with "1919" (we don't actually have any stickers so don't usually get to add to the décor) but to my surprise am quickly reprimanded. I apologise, sheepishly, even though I'm quite confused as to why this wouldn't be acceptable on this particular evening. But everyone who runs this place is a volunteer, out of love and the desire to keep a DIY punk cooperative afloat, so I do feel genuinely guilty if I've inconvenienced them in any way.

The soundcheck went well. We tried this new idea in soundcheck [Futurecide] which I can't wait to finish. Now it's upstairs to the dressing room to catch up with the other bands and generally laze about, before getting called down for tea. [Tea is] awesome actually; vegan schnitzel with red cabbage, potatoes and gravy. Thanking the guy who made it, apparently the schnitzel is made from seitan so I'm pretty determined to try it out at home. Even Mick likes it, which says a lot for vegan food!

Upstairs, Mick and Kev have got the brews on the go. Beer is always plentiful but you're unlikely to find a kettle in a venue this side of the channel, so they're using the camping stove which we always have in the van to boil water. Various, people are impressed by our resourcefulness and amused by our Britishness. "My boyfriend is from Scotland – he is always drinking tea!", I've just overheard said to a smiling Mick. Totenwald have just turned up and I'm suddenly feeling massively underdressed in my denim shorts and plain black t-shirt. They're a sea of studs, hairspray, and eyeliner. Berlin based, but from Italy, Germany, and Israel. I'll have to put on some jeans and makeup soon myself, but I need a shit first. The toilet isn't far away from where we're all sat so I'll have to be discrete.

Totenwald were awesome onstage. I'd been sat at the merch table but had to go and watch them. They look great and there's a saxophone coming out – pretty much the way to my heart. Back at the merch table after the gig, there are a few more friendly faces. Dirk's here; he was one of the first people to start ordering from us when we put out MCS in 2015, and him and his wife are really sweet. The merch table is in the café which adjoins the venue, and there are a few tables of more general bits and bobs for sale. One guy's got his artwork for sale – kinda chalk prints I suppose. I've just bought one that really caught my eye... It'll have to slide down the side of the merch case and hope it's safe for the rest of the tour.

Back upstairs and it's just drinking and talking until bed time. Managed to score some cool points off Boris... Turns out he's an Art History student and knows Griselda Pollock's work quite well. "She was one of my lecturers at Leeds", I say. Bohemian as fuck! The band dorm thing is in the adjacent building. More stickers everywhere, and the bunk I'm in has a funny one in it: "how to get a beach body: have a body, go to the beach". I've just taken a picture and sent it to [my girlfriend].

05/05/2018

This is the first time we've played Bradford since the band kicked off again. It's at 1 in 12 Club, which I've never played at before but I'm looking forward to a lot. According to Karl

his old band were part of the fundraising effort to buy this club back in the day – it's a proper anarchist co-op, decorated with graffiti and stickers and mould. It's a special anniversary event for Carpe Nocturn, which is Howard's night in Leeds but this was where it all started for them.

We're in the middle of a heatwave and the stairs are a killer. People are starting to gather outside and it's a particularly well-dressed crowd! A lot of people I recognise from the Leeds events, but something about the alleyway covered in tab ends and broken glass makes things feel a lot more like Germany when filled with goths and punks. The regular venue in Leeds is a student pub so it's a bit cleaner and there's a beer garden, but noticeably there isn't that spill of normals from the main room. It's still warm as fuck so everyone's just drinking outside and sitting on the floor.

I've just met Gary Cavanagh for the first time. Karl pointed him out to us. He's the one who did the Noise of the Valleys books on Bradford music, so I've told him how Steve [Madden] gave me his copy of the one with 1919 in it. I also tell him that I've just sent a chapter of my PhD work to be published, which references his book, and we've ended up just chatting for ages. He has these kind of family trees for bands, and I tell him that 1919 could link to Cradle of Filth via Ship of Fools, as well as to all the Peaceville doom lot. "I thought 1919 were a Shipley band?" He says, which is true, but I tell him about the Dewsbury connection. A little later he tells us the Kaiser Chiefs are technically a Bradford band because they formed in Menston, which I hadn't realised!

It's a pretty stacked bill tonight. The Society and The Expelaires are on before us, and Christian's come down to take pictures. It's absolutely rammed.

3 songs into the set and the fire alarm has gone off! At first I thought we were just gonna drown it out with noise, but we've actually been evacuated... Not sure if it was the heat or the smoke machine... it was hot as fuck up there. But we're just outside with the crowd having a natter and posing for pictures.

03/06/2018

After soundcheck there's news from Mick that Aki might be coming along tonight. Apparently he lives in London these days. I didn't see him until after we'd finished but he said he'd broken down along the way and missed most of it! Still it was nice to meet him and for him to come down. He said "I'm always up for supporting Bradford music, or sort-of-Bradford" which was true in our case, but I'm not sure if he means now with Sam and me in the band or because the band was more Shipley than central Bradford to begin with.

In the back of the van on the way home, Karl's still buzzing that Aki came down. He's a couple of years younger than Mick so was still a young teenager when he first saw Southern Death Cult and Psykik Volts. He recalls the first time he and his mates from Cleck saw Aki at a club, excited to observe: "there's Pakis ere!" Then proudly:

"They wo protected though. You used to get punks from London n skinheads trying to start agro, but no one could lay a finger on im n is kid. Allt Bradford punks stuck up for em."

"What do they call his kid?" I replied. "Dunno... Our kid! Aki n our kid..."

28/09/2018

There are quite a few people in here but someone's exclaiming this quite loudly to Mick and Kev from across the room: "Everyone here learns English from watching TV, but nobody speaks it like you do. It's so cool!"

29/09/2018

Last night was awesome. Today it's just a quick flight to Stockholm, where we transferred from yesterday, for our gig at Klubb Död. Checking in at the airport, Mick's got these Finnish liquorice sweets that he pocketed from the table snacks last night. He's shared them out and fuck me, they're absolutely horrible. They're fish-shaped and there's definitely a fish vibe about them. Except fish is nice. These are just strong and seemingly sugarless sweets. Karl keeps telling me this time jump is fucking with his head. It's a one-hour flight that travels backwards through a timezone, so we arrive when we set off. We're on the plane and I've just told him that Tommy (who's picking us up from the airport) is already there, but when we get there in an hour he'll still only have been there for 5 minutes. He doesn't like it! The hostel last night had these sleeping masks – the padded ones that cover your eyes. So I've got my mask on, headphones in, and can drift in and out of consciousness until we arrive.

Just arrived at the venue. It's a short walk from the hostel and Tommy showed us the way there (we even had time for a pizza in-between!) There's some nice equipment set up and Hanna's just arrived, confirming we will be the only band playing tonight after the support (Rendez-Vous) had dropped out and they couldn't find anyone else to come in at such short notice. We'd spoken about this possibility before, so we've just offered to play 2 sets. One will be a few songs from Futurecide, then we'll play the headline set after a short break. Thankfully we can just leave the gear set up onstage. We'll rehearse them now as we haven't played this stuff for a few weeks. Sam says he's having trouble with the high action on the guitar they've provided, so we'll have to leave Anxiety out... What else? Dali Alarma? Man, Myth? Radicals can stay in the main set after last night... That leaves us with 5 for the opening set. That's cool. Definitely needed this rehearsal time though!

Soundcheck is done and we're just hanging about now. Hanna's just asked me a funny question too: "You're not English, are you?"

"I am!"

"You sound different to the others"

"Mick and Karl have a very traditional Yorkshire accent. Mine's quite a bit softer. That's why you can understand me!"

She laughs and Karl's just overheard:

"You don't talk proper! Broad we are... that's what they call it. But of course I'm speaking in my very poshest voice for you" (Hanna), and he's putting on an overblown RP-style voice. "Thank you!" She replies. Then he turns to me:

"Nar then, areyt?"

Me: "Aye"

Hanna: "What!?"

We all laugh.

We're kicking about later in the dressing room and Hanna asks: "which other cool bands do you know?"

"Like who?"

"Lorries?"

Mick: "Yeah we've played with Lorries"

Me: "We did a secret gig with them for Ding's birthday... Expelaires are more active though"

Hanna: "Cool!"

Mick: "Danse Society... me n Gigi go way back"

Me: "Twisted Nerve played with us in Glasgow... they're ace"

Mick: "Lovely people... you should get em over ere!"

Hanna: "I love them!"

20/10/2018

It's some ungodly time in the morning at the afterparty. I'm just chatting away to people, trying to drink through until it's time to head to the airport. This guy Miguel asked me where I was from:

"Leeds"

"Who are some other bands from Leeds?"

"Erm, all sorts... Sisters, March Violets, Gang of Four. 1919 is from Bradford, so you had The Cult, NMA..."

"Wow!"

"Yeah it's pretty cool! Down the road there was Danse Society, Pulp, Human League... And Manchester's nearby: The Fall, Joy Division, New Order"

"You've just listed all my favourite bands! We say there must be something in the water!"

APPENDICES

The first and second appendices (below) surround the announcement that Yorkshire was to have its own national football team, where I was keen to be involved and to attend the open trial. To be clear, barring a vast undersubscription, there was no chance that I would have made the playing squad. I am a distinctly average player in the lower echelons of Leeds' amateur leagues and the eventual squad was made up of semi-professional players. But the idea that I could have attended the trial was enough for me, and furthermore it was a project that I wanted to contribute to in any way I could. The initial response, though, that I was ineligible due to the place of my birth, was quite hard to handle. Despite being able to seek clarification from the governing body (appendix ii), and although the open trial didn't end up taking place, it still felt momentarily to be a rejection from the only home I have ever known.

I. EMAIL CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE YORKSHIRE INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION (YIFA)

01/12/2017

Hi all, I'd love to be involved in some way if possible? I Play Sunday league in Leeds and have an FA level 1 badge. It's been a while since I've coached though... What are your next steps? Maybe I can help in other ways too? Rio

02/12/2017 [10:31]

Hi Rio.

We are delighted to hear that you're keen to represent Yorkshire at international level. Our players' trial will be taking place at 12 p.m. on Sunday 10 December 2017. The venue is:

Yorkshire NuBuilds Stadium
Hemsworth
West Riding
WF9 5AJ

[...] The YIFA Support Team

[14:44]

Hi Rio.

I was checking out the interestingly named Real Gothic FC and came across a website for Rio Goldhammer, post-punk singer and Real Gothic FC player... is this your good self? Sounds like a good weekend in Whitby!

If so, the bio says you were born in London so I wondered if you qualified to play for Yorkshire International through your parents? We are working towards membership of CONIFA shortly so I'm afraid that eligibility will be an important factor.

Kind regards,

■

[15:07]

That is me!

I'm afraid, yes, I was born in London. But I've lived in Yorkshire my entire life (since infancy). What are the rules concerning eligibility??

My parents and grandparents were from all over the place (Poland, Scotland, etc.) But I've had no home other than Yorkshire. Surely I must be eligible???

[15:22]

I do genuinely sympathise - Yorkshire gets under peoples' skins, no matter where they were born or how long they've lived here. No matter what unfolds, I hope you'll still continue to support YIFA and I'm sure there would be many other ways in which you can contribute.

[15:37]

Thanks [REDACTED],

I am confident I'll be eligible to play for Yorkshire, and I'll contact CONIFA myself for clarification.

Funnily enough, my mother would be in a similar position to me. She was born in Cheshire, but has spent her whole life in North Yorkshire. I was born in the 2 years or so she lived in London.

I know with, say, Welsh and Scottish eligibility, it goes on schooling. I was a Junior at Harrogate Railway from the age of 5 and Killinghall Nomads (where I have since coached and even run to be the local Counselor for the area!) until the age of 17.

I really can't see that an organisation, which represents displaced and often stateless people, would deny my Yorkshire statehood.

Rio

[16:01]

Hi [REDACTED],

Just had this reply from the gen sec of CONIFA, so we're all good! [...] [see Appendix ii]

[18:21]

Hi Rio.

I've had a word for you and you're welcome to join us next Sunday at the trial. [...] May I also apologise for any confusion I have caused over the course of our conversation - I'd love to see you there and learn more about Real Gothic FC!

Kind regards,

[REDACTED]

II. EMAIL CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE CONFEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT FOOTBALL ASSOCIATIONS (CONIFA)

02/12/2017b

[15:50]

Hi there,

I'm really keen to attend trials next week to represent Yorkshire. However, as YIFA are applying for full CONIFA membership they're worried about my eligibility.

Although I have lived my entire life in Yorkshire, and it is my only home, I was actually born elsewhere. My mother is the same, born in the neighboring region despite attending the same school in North Yorkshire as I later would. My grandparents are half from Scotland, and half Polish Jews who were displaced during WW2.

So even though my family has lived in Yorkshire for 50 years, I'm now faced with the prospect that I could be denied the opportunity to represent the nation.

Could I have an assurance from CONIFA that I would be eligible to represent my home?

Best,

Rio

[15:59]

Dear Rio,

thanks a lot for getting in touch and your interest in YIFA and CONIFA!

Don't worry, you would be very welcome to represent Yorkshire in CONIFA matches, once they joined us.

In our case, it is simply completely impossible to have clearly defined eligibility rules. We are aware this might lead to problems in the future, but we don't see a solution as of now. Thus, we leave the selection process completely to the teams. If they consider you as being representative of Yorkshire - you are!

Just in case you are keen to understand why it is so challenging for us: We do have very diverse teams. Some are regional representations (Padania, County of Nice), some are ethnic representations (Arameans, Kurds, Romani People, Sapmi), some are linguistic representatives (Occitania) and again others are non-recognized or fully recognized countries. While the fully recognized countries are "easy", as they do have passports issued, none of the others are.

The non-recognized countries are not bound to any international passport laws and could potentially issue one to everyone. The regional teams often have migrants of the first, second, third or even fourth generation representing them. In some cases, this multiculturalism is actually part of the identity. County of Nice, for instance, has players who represented Morocco in FIFA matches and one who represented Senegal on youth FIFA level.

The linguistic ones are again hard to check, as there is no paper proving you speak some language, usually. We don't speak Occitan and the players speak in varying levels. Finally, the ethnic teams are completely impossible to check. Arameans for instance are spread around the world and nearly all players have different passport. But, their ancestors all left Syria about a thousand years ago and they some do speak Aramaic (not all, though) and they all are of Aramean culture and keep protecting their ancient legacy.

If you have an idea how to define eligibility, other than leaving it to the teams, please let us know ;)

So far, enjoy representing Yorkshire and good luck with the team! Hopefully see you on the pitch one day,



III. PAUL G, INTERVIEW, MARCH 17, 2018 (EXTRACT).

Paul: We did 'eaven is waitin tour n European tour, n we'd sold Dominion theatre out, we'd already sold Lyceum out, we goddan album int charts... it wo goin great n then Arista pulled plug, they put an injunction on us to stop... we'd got an American tour booked... I wo pickin fookin recording studios in Nasa fot next album, y'know, "we'll get another advance". Cos thing is we'd got Simon Napier Bell, wi Zazz, who joined forces n became NoMis Management, n they'd got whack, so well we'll just get, y'know, get a deal, n another deal n another deal, n we'll make records... This is gonna be my career! They put an injunction on us n... "what do you mean we caht go to America?" "You caht work until you come up wi a hit single."

So we spent a lot of money fightin Arista, n we came to a compromise that we'll write a hit single, that they can approve, so we did a demo "Say it Again." Stock, Aitken, n Waterman said they'll produce it, y'know, n a wo that naïve a took a luton van n me drumkit in! Well, I didn't, but people did... wiyall us back line! We wo like, "where's fuckin place where we play!?" It was just a control room. Rick Astley wo makin tea then, n they wo wellin us "we're gonna let im sing soon!" "Aw that's nice a you..."

Rio: [...] How did it end then?

Paul: So what appened was... they made us a perfect pop song. Then fuckin Jazz came, n I thought... well look, plan was we need to get some control back, n if it means gerrin an it single n compromising, sellin out a bit, let's do it, n then when we're back in a position o power we can fuckin av a rethink. But e came in, Summers, manager, says [in a mock cockney accent] "this isn't fackin Danse Society, you need to arden it up." You know, so we got a mishmash...

Rio: So you got "hit single" slash...

Paul: ...slash, put some Killing Joke guitar on, tek the... we've got Yaz, y'know, "Never gonna give you up..." she sang a middle 8. Y'know we're got this perfect pop song. It's great. Stock, Aitken, n Waterman loved it... Jazz said e'd put me in a wheelchair, n I believed im, if e ever crossed me again in public! We ad a right do over it. A said a can't believe you're gonna fuckin, y'know, sabotage this by... now we're suddenly becoming...

You're bothered about us being "Danse Society"? We sold us soul! We're wi Stock, Aitken, n Waterman ya fuckin idiot. You know wodda mean?

So anyway, it did well in America. It worra great dance thing. Video got shown on TVAM... but it didn't make the top 40, again. Lower reaches. So then we went to America n worked wi somebody, n tried to be Simple Minds. By this time we wont Danse Society. Paul Nash dint play ont record – they didn't think e wo good enough. We got Billy Idol's guitarist in...

Rio: Steve Stevens?

No. Apparently they wo so fucked, doin their album, on drugs that they'd got a session man in! N they came n did ours! I wish I could remember is name... I dunno how a could find that out, cos people ask me who... "that guitar's different from Hold on" n I ses it's cos it's not Paul, it's...

Rio: N it's not credited

It's not credited, no. But it were money for old rope, we got... there's a famous Roxy Music percussionist, e came down, n e spent all day fuckin sniffin Charlie, ittin bottles... e wo determined to put some percussion down! But I'm sure they musta got everybody, "ey there's some work from these English bloody – Arista are payin!"

Rio: An of course that'd av all come outa your... it's all debt to the label innit? That classic old story

Yeah, you see we worrin this top otel. I mean I drummed me drums in... I didn't expect to play on this record by the way. It wo brilliant when they said "oh, can you play one – see what you're like". I expected a drum machine n keep Paul. But they kept me – sacked Paul!

IV. DAVE, INTERVIEW, NOVEMBER 14, 2017 (SELECTED EXTRACTS).

Rio: So you were from Bradford originally... How did you get into music?

Dave: Punk! I was a punk poet, that's how I started (laughs).

Rio: Really!?

Dave: Yeah! Spoken word...

Rio: I've got some mates that do that...

Dave: Yeah I met some people – I met that, there's a woman called Joolz [Denby] who worked with the guy from New Model Army. She wrote lyrics for the first album – she's from Harrogate, Joolz.

Rio: Right! Yeah, yeah

Dave: Yeah. There was er and this guy called Wild Willie Beckett... And Susan Wells, became Susan Williams. Sorta punk poets that became well known... They're from Bradford as well, wo her an Wild Willie Beckett – e used to bash imself ont ed with a tray! They used to play this weird music, sorta like Paul Middleton on crack, n do all spoken word through it. They came from Bradford, I think it was Relics or summat they called emselves. There was about six acts.

Rio: Ow old were you then?

Dave: 14, 15... Then I was in like punk bands.

Rio: So when did you come to Harrogate?

Dave: 1975, give or tek.

Rio: So you used to go back to Bradford, to gigs n that?

Dave: Yeah.

Rio: What was your first band called?

Dave: (laughs) DF118.

Rio: DF118!?

Dave: Embarrassingly so (laughs more). I thought it was dead good at time! N then I was in the Wizards of Oi... (laughs) We fell out cos I discovered they were all racists. I thought we wo like a surreal pisstake an we wo laughing at racists. But really I was writing these parodies that became like skinhead anthems!

[both laugh]

We did a gig at the Corner rooms n fell out - we all ad a fight. Dint even get the gig done, know what I mean?

Rio: Where's that?

Dave: It's now like a gym just at bottoma the bus station. That gym there, near the arch. It was kind've upstairs there. You used to go in Corner at the front there, it'll be like a taxi rank now or somethin. You used to ave bands like the Abrasive Wheels play there. Oscillators... they wo the big ones around ere. We used to try n support them – bands like that. The Mekons played ere as well. So did Expelaires...

Rio: Ah, you said when you were with God Squad, March Violets came over?

Dave: Yeah they came, cos we did a tour with March Violets n we conned em into coming to play ere! (laughs). There was this guy called Dave Junior – I think it was Dave Junior - but on this like big gig. Same year as RAFIA, against famine in Africa, so we all put this thing on. It was our like, live aid... In Harrogate... E put these dos on n conned all these bands into playin, n I tricked them into comin – they thought they wo getting paid! N the singer got smacked off Steve Francis (laughs). It was embarrassing... but e was a bit of an arse hole n e was really horrible to me on the tour. It was gonna be like the best day a my life, week of my life, but it was the worst week. I was just in trouble all the time n everyone didn't like me... Then e got beaten up in arrogate n I was like, really pleased (laughs).

Rio: Was that Si?

Dave: From March Violets? It must bit singer. The main one... the one who was really up imself. There was a woman as well – Rosie. It must've been im, yeah.

Rio: I'll ask em!

Dave: They wert appy about playin ere at all. They'd just done like... they wert that big but compared to every band round ere they were. So they were used to doin real gigs n it was like... I don't even think there was a proper PA n that. But they were supposed to get paid n all this stuff, n this guy'd just lied to everybody – e was a complete lunatic. Just at the end it got really bad... I don't really know what went on – nobody got paid, you know what I mean? But It was a big deal to them, y'know. Everybody in Harrogate was just laughing their eads off, all smashed. But e was a complete lunatic, this guy. He got sectioned, this guy Dave

[...]

I used to sell amphetamines, that's how I got to know't Sisters.

Rio: So you actually knew em?

Dave: Well Scott knew em really, Scott Ackroyd. He's from Harrogate, he went out with a girl called Caroline who was a mate a mine – we worrat school together. She was at hairdressing college in Wakefield with Mark, y'know, Gary Marx, with is girlfriend! So girlfriends used to go out... I sorta got in through that, I was always tryin to chase em wit music but they wert really interested. God Squad, we were too... Harrogate.

We did some brilliant gigs but the minute Dick opened his mouth it just killed it for us. Even though I was ruinin it wi the drugs, when they went back tut record company they went "where's big mouth wit long air?" That's first thing they said to em.

[...]

Rio: So how was Harrogate different from Bradford?

Dave: Well Bradford was a lot more violent, but I sorta found Bradford easier in one way just as long as I didn't go to any relatives' house. Goin ome was no good for me as a kid cos it just meant I was goin to prison. Cos that's what my family do. But Harrogate... you've people, friends called Henry n Tarquin. They've got two cars n they dint ave tea they ad supper! You know what I mean?

Rio: So how come they were the ones trashin your bus?

Dave: The arrogant ones? Cos they're rednecks – they've never been anywhere! Like the world's flat, they'll fuckin fall off the edge of the world wi too many drinks. You still see it now! Small town thinkin, y'know? In a way it's... "Small Town England", one a the New Model Army songs, if you're from Bradford you can see it – it totally is understandable, especially in those days, but to me it always makes me think of arrogant. Particularly Harrogate int 80s it wo very much like that.

But Bradford was really, lots of little... Leeds was a lot more cosmopolitan. But musically, I've always enjoyed partying in Bradford. Traditionally. I think it's got a better quality of music in a lotta ways. Know what I mean? When you used to go clubbin n that. All't best shady clubs worrin Bradford.

[...]

Rio: Did Harrogate feel kinda like part of the West Yorkshire scene?

Dave: No in those days it dint to me. Kinda that's why I couldn't mekk it appen properly.

Rio: Why do you think that was?

Dave: Just cos it was a band fulla rednecks. Y'know? They just wanted to play in arrogate.

Rio: Why do you think Harrogate never...

Dave: In those days it was only good cos there was no place to play, so it was like it was rock n roll to do a gig cos it was unheard of. N people'd come just cos it never appened. Y'know, literally nothing ever appened. So much goes on now, but there was literally nothing. You had to hire somewhere out yourself, and the few places that put em on it always got stopped after a while. Although youth clubs always put bands n stuff on...

[...]

Rio: Even people from Bradford were kinda from Shipley or Keighley n that... I mean they're not that different from ere, surely?

Dave: Yeah I think it was the middle-classness of Harrogate in them days, y'know, it [music] was just summat people did for a bit while they wo seventeen. To me it was my life, but that's why I stopped because it wasn't anybody else's life n it used to do my ead in. I've assaulted that many people in that many bands when I wo younger, y'know, or sack em all or leave or whatever. Cos people wouldn't care n wouldn't do anything, n it just used to make me so ill. So I had to stop doing it.

It's like wi God Squad, I required total commitment at all times or- but I paid em a wage, y'know. We did quite a lotta gigs really for a band our size...

Rio: Did you not think about startin a band, or joinin a band somewhere else?

Dave: Yeah well the plan was, I went to London... Took these songs n then 33 days is all it lasted! (laughs) 33 days I come back... I think the only conversation I had was "you got any cigarettes?" or a packet a rizlas from' shop. I couldn't manage to hook up with anybody the whole time I was there.

Rio: What year was that?

Dave: God, I was 16, 17... Int 80s. A bit older than that, maybe 19, 20? Went down there n came back! I dint realise it was such a big place... All the people I knew wo like 12 miles away!

Rio: [laughs]

Dave: It wo like... walking to Harewood! I thought it'd be like goin into town. Just totally and't really thought it through. I didn't ave any other musicians to play with, then I thought it might've been an advantage to tek some recordings, y'know? But some of the rehearsal tapes I had I dint like. I wonder what I'd mekk've em now. I dunno, it's hard to describe what I thought when I heard em – they wo just shit.

I didn't understand music then, my brain was different.

Rio: Why do you reckon that was?

Dave: I wasn't a musician, it was all concept. Just cos I thought, therefore it is! Y'know? That was enough for me in them days! When you're young you can kinda do all that. I used to write sorta themes but wouldn't write all the bits, just flesh it out during a gig. Even forget the actual lyrics. I could never do that now!

Rio: You're quite a perfectionist...

Dave: Well I stick to what I do. If you're gonna do it I think that's the way. Whereas this [new material] has been more like doing music like when I worra kid, y'know? Like doin drums last n stuff. But I'm quite pleased wi myself cos I kinda took charge of it – made it ow it should be.

But yeah, I think Harrogate state a mind wo just so different to Leeds. Y'know, people wert interested – like 2 tribes almost. I used to go to Leeds every weekend or Bradford just to hang about, just to go to a record shop, just to go to a café where people ad good haircuts. Cos arrogate was just dead, there was nothing.

Rio: And yet you still got a load've people to the gigs!

Dave: Well yeah cos there was nothing goin on! Y'know we did other things like sell drugs... God Squad was the first time that drug-takers n non drug-takers in arrogate mixed. So that was our secret!

There was a club called Leo's – that was the whole scene. That Was where normal people got exposed to indie music, goth music, n...

Rio: Where was that?

Dave: Just across from where Pinnochio's used to be. Now it's a Chinese buffet place. It wo like downstairs underneath an Indian restaurant – a little sleazy place. I was the DJ there when I was 18. I used to play these horrible records n no one used to come! So I said, "can I put my own records on?" N all me mates came down. N cos the club wo always empty, all these freaks n aircuts started comin in – they just let us do it! So next minute everyone's smokin pot, "can I put my band on, yeah?" So we ad a good little scene goin on down there. So it was Leo's I think.

It was a snapshot to modern life, cos there was people who'd never mix like bricklayers, reporters, criminals, people from the Broadacres, people who took drugs... n they basically just smoked cannabis. Just used to listen to Talking Heads n stuff... There's a lot've people, drunk people my age, who always go "oh Leo's, it was so good" (faux waxing lyrical), cos all you could do in Harrogate was get kicked in if you went out. Or get laid, y'know, go out in one a them really hostile sorta 70s-style nightclubs... Bali Hi, White Socks, y'know what I mean? Guys wi tattoos n stripped hair, birds in frocks that don't fit... It was like going out in Bradford actually! (laughs) Go tut Palm Cove on a Saturday night! Is that still open, Palm Cove?

Rio: I have no fucking idea...

V. 1919 (MICK, MARK, AND KARL), INTERVIEW, JANUARY 11, 2017 (EXTRACT).

Rio: Where did you grow up?

Mick: I came over to West Yorkshire in 1970, from Liverpool to Dewsbury, because mi father got a job there.

Rio: Where was that? In the Mill?

No, mi dad didn't work in a mill, mi dad were in management. Supermarkets and things like that, and wholesale and all sorts of stuff.

Rio: Was it different at all?

I remember Beatlemania in Liverpool wimme mother, in '66, going around saying "that's Beatles", there were Beatles drumkits, Beatles basses, Beatles Guitars, all in these shops and the whole city wo buzzin'. And then whoosh, we were off, we were in a little town in Yorkshire all covered in... allt stone in them days wo covered in black, wannit? **[to Karl, who laughs and agrees]** and I just thought, "where have you brought me? Why have you brought me here!?"

Mark: What age would you have been?

Mick: 10

Mark: It's an impressionable age isn't it? You're holding onto your mum's pram or whatever, and they take you these weird places. They used to go shopping 3 or 4 times a week didn't they? Tut centre.

Mick: Yea, aye... All't old school mams!

Mark: You'd go to like... Lipton's and... me mum'd be telling me tales about the Cana ballroom, y'know? 'Cos my mum and dad were Teds. "Edwardians" they were called originally.

Karl: [laughs] Was it cossot style o'the jacket? Cos it was an Edwardian-style, wannit?

Mark: That's where [Malcolm] McClaren pinched his ideas from-

Mick: -yeah he did, 'bout '75/76? ,

Mark: Because they were like the age that we were. We'd be, say, 10 or whatever – they'd be like 14/15. They'd be ahead of the game you see, culture-wise. So all that scene in London, Kings Road, Sex, World's End...

Mick: -seditionaries...

Mark: Seditionaries... was based on that Edwardian idea.

Rio: Obviously you're Baildon now... has it always been Baildon or were you in Bradford?

Mark: Me mum n dad were from Baildon. I was never from Bradford, I was born in Shipley. That's around where I've mainly been.

Rio: So how did the band get started then? Did you do anything before it? Mick, you had Psykik Volts didn't you?

Mick: Oh yeah I had a few, like you do as you're getting into music, you have your first bands. A frienda mine saw an advut, saying "drummer wanted". I think at time it said *Killing Joke, PiL, Can, Bowie...* You willa wrote the advert **[to Mark]** – *The Fall?*...

Mark: Experimental, I'dve put something like *Cabaret Voltaire*... cos you put loads, there was a lot going on at time.

Abba?

Karl: Nowt wrong wi Abba, for the record...

Mick: I phoned, I dunno who I spoke to first, it could've been Mark or even Nick [Hiles]-

Mark: -probably jumped ahead a bit here, cos you were in Psykik Volts...

Mick: I did a punk rock record in '78, yeah...

Rio: I'll bring Karl in; I remember you saying you'd heard Psykik Volts on the radio?

Karl: Psykik Volts on John Peel! And then a friend of mine bought it and that's where I first saw the name Mick Reed - written on the thing. And then the thing about it was, we were all really into it cos it wo recorded in Heckmondwike, which is just a few miles away!

Rio: That's amazing innit?

Karl: We thought all bands were from London, simple as that! We thought it was the hub of everything. Which it was, of course, but the novelty was "aw, they're just down the road from us" so it wo like, it's realistic. We just thought, "we can't do stuff like that cos we don't live in London". That's how we thought. It may have been naïve, I don't know. But that was the novelty: it wo recorded in Heckmondwike and we couldn't get over that!

Rio: Did you ever feel like it was becoming a "thing"? Did you think that it was the exception, some of these bands that weren't from London, or like that this was gonna be "it"?

Karl: I think the way we saw it worrit wor accessible, to be a part of it. Not just in the audience, you could get in bands an that. If a band can record in 'eckmondwike and get played on the John Peel show the, well, so can we. Know what I mean? Everybody I knew were gettin in bands an that. Although I was still at school then... I'm not as old as Mick!

Rio: [Laughs] We won't say how old you are [Mick].

Mick: You start a band at school if you're doin it right. It's a good way in as band members.

Rio: There's a great picture of you, in fact I think it's on *discogs* if you click on Mick Reed, it's you at, what, 18? In that tux!

Mick: Oh, that one! Yeah yeah, wow, yeah...

Karl: 'e ant ad it back yet, it's on hire. He owes im a few grand!

Mick: The old dinner jackets... It wo like Ian Dury ant Blockheads, 'e ad one like that.

Rio: Did you do anything before 1919, Mark?

Mark: Yeah, I think if you look at the strata of things, with Mick as well, you had to sort of put it against the particular scene that was going on, like glam rock. I'd be doin something, in a band, just playin bitta guitar. But we hardy formed a band then split up. There's a lot of "nearly" bands.

Rio: When had you started playing guitar then?

Mark: Sorta... 73?

Rio: So you were...

Mark: 12. Just messin about. Acoustic 12-string.

Rio: Because a lot of people who'd gone into bands in the punk era had just picked up an instrument to form their band, whereas you were... kinda a virtuoso already! [laughs]

Mark: Nah! I'd noodled for... I mean, like I say you've got the timeline: glam rock, pub rock, and the ones we discussed – punk. If you squeeze that into 5 years, you're then forming this... you're gonna do something, and punk was the igniter for it all. That's when bands started *forming*. 'cos we didn't know we could do it until the Sex Pistols told us really! And it's true is that. A lot of people didn't really know it. It was like a "eureka" moment.

Rio: Well there's that famous Manchester gig int there? When there were only like 30 people in the crowd, and in that crowd was all of Buzzcocks, Joy Division...

Mark: And that goes back to what I was sayin about the culture... taking over nightclubs on an off-night. Callin it your own cabaret night or whatever-

Mick: Punk nights!

Mark: Punk nights, yeah. Because it wasn't just the music, it was the culture, it was doin fanzines... people wo buddin writers – people who wanted to be in the NME.

Mick: Fanzines! That's how you'd find out about stuff...

Mark: Fanzines helped us a lot.

Mick: They should do fanzines again... somebody should use that initiative.

Rio: I'd say it's an online thing really... people have blogs an that.

[General noise of agreement]

Mick: That's probably where it's moved to. But physically, to ave a piece of paper that somebody had stapled together... I'm sure there's gotta be people doin it now, but they kept you well informed. You know, if you look at the Leeds and Bradford scene... mine wo more of a Leeds scene because I used to go to Leeds to see all my bands. I did come to Bradford now and again... Comin outa Leeds we had *Sisters*, *Three Johns*-

Karl: -*Wedding Present*

Mick: Not sure they were post-punk. More indie weren't they?

Karl: A leeds band though

Mick: Mmm... well I wor original drummer befort Wedding Present, wonna?

Rio: *Gang of Fo-* wait, you were the original drummer?

Mick: Yeah

Rio: Do tell? Not heard that before...

Mick: This guy called Dave used to pick me up in a miner van. Somebody'd given im me number in Leeds, and he used to pick me up in Dewsbury and drive down to our practice room, and he ad a Vox AC-30 and a Telecaster, I'll never forget. He worra nice lad... the music wan't really for me but for weeks... coupla month actually, maybe 6 month even! I jammed with im down at my practice room, and he always used to say "thanks, it's really elpin' playin with a drummer". I never met a bass player, and then he turned up one week an I didn't wanna do it.

He wor really nice about it, he come to ma door and said "I could tell ont phone you didn't really..." I said "I don't really wanna do it." He said "look, it's alright. All I wanna say is thanks for your time and it's really 'elped. I'll be seein yer!" And I said "aye, nice one..." er, what warris name I've just said it!?

Karl: Dave

Mick: Dave!

Karl: Dave Gedge?

Mick: Aye, yeah. So off e goes inis Morris Miner, wiyis Vox AC-30 ont back... Months later, "Wedding Present, Wedding Present, Wedding Present!" All over't John Peel show. And then he went, "and that's Dave Gedge, blah blah..." and I thought, "Dave Ge- I know these..."and I knew summet songs

So, Dave Gedge'll back me up. I wo the original drummer who worked on a loada parts and sketched em out with him. Y'know, I mean he wo writing the music, I just drummed to it. Nothing else.

Rio: So what kinda year wo that? Before 1919?

Mick: Er... it wo before 1919 yeah. The same sorta time. Whenever **[The Wedding Present]** broke! I'll have to check the date on that.It's all about '78-79 sorta time. '79, *PiL's* "Metal Box" (Public Image Limited, 1979) had come out, so...

Rio: Psykik Volts was '78 though?

Mick: Yeah, but *formed* about '77...

Mark: So while all this is goin on, I wor in a band called *Rue Morgue* with **[Ian]** Tilleard. A sorta experimental, Cabaret Voltaire-style band with guitar. And then... have we gone past *Heaven 17*?

Mick: When I joined 1919, all of em, the full band turned up to meet me at Coda Music in Bradford. It wo Mark, Ian, Nick Hiles, and that keyboard player.

Rio: What was his name?

Mick: Ian. Ian summat.

Mark: Anderson

Mick: So for a brief period, Ian Anderson, they keyboard player, wor in *Heaven 17*, with me on drums. Aki Nawaz had been and jammed with 'em, from *Southern Death Cult*, so between me and Aki...

Rio: *Heaven 17*, just to clarify, is not the *Heaven 17* people would think of. But you did have a flexi-disc out under that name?

Mick: Oh yeah, it predates...

Mark: And that had a *different* drummer. He was a good little drummer...

Rio: So how did you end up changing the name?

Mark: Because they came along, the Sheffield, Human League departure, and decided to have that name! We couldn't stop them.

Rio: Was there any kind of dispute?

Mark: Yeah, we tried. We put up a fight...

Mick: They put a note int NME or Melody Maker, which said "The *real* Heaven 17 have decided to drop the name, and have now changed their name to 1919."

Rio: No way!?

Mick: It's in press...

Mark: Is it?

Mick: Yes Mark.

[Rambled discussion between all of us now trying to work out what the year would be]

Rio: So you were in Heaven 17 then Mick?

Mick: I joined these lads, and we rehearsed in the gatehouse at the old mill, which Ian Anderson's parents owned. At first, when we rehearsed with im, we had downstairs, a stage, a PA, we could record... There's some recordings still about. In fact, I've got em at home on cassette! Of us jamming the prototype that ended up being one at first 1919 songs. I think it wo "Tear Down These Walls". We did that without keyboards cos he hadn't been turning up that much, and he didn't know what to do. This is how the band's goin from *Heaven 17* into *1919*. E probably saw it in is head, cos is mam n dad ownedt room, that e had an amount of say. But when it wo music it wo nowt like that, it wo like the band wo progressin in a certain way.

I loved *PiL*. That's where I had a common point wi Mark, I liked the edgy guitar, and to his credit Nick Hiles always came up with good basslines as well. We got on well together,

Rio: But you had a few different bass players over the duration?

Mick: Well, the bass player situation... It was Nick Hiles, then we brought a guy in called Greame Farley, who we did Cry Wolf with.

Rio: On the records it's just Nick Hiles, then Madden did Cry Wolf. So they were written with a different bass player?

Mick: They were written with a different bass player, but we brought various bass players in for the John Peel sessions. I think we brought two bass players at the first John Peel session. Nick and Steve. Sputnik came and played a bit of a wasp on one of them... he was just a mate of mine, but it created a bit of atmosphere.

So Ian Anderson didn't like the way things were going, and he was more interested in girls and that! He walked in one day and said "you're not rehearsing in here any more. You'll have to go." So they stuck us in this damp, piss wet through room upstairs. We were still on low rent and we were surviving. You know?

So we went upstairs as I say, and we started rehearsing with a guy called Greame Farley, but he was a bit... didn't fit the remit, and then we met Steve Madden.

Mark: There was Duffo Warrant there?

Mick: He stood in for a short while... [then] *Girls at our best's* bass player.

Mark: It was that period of time I was involved with Zodiac Mindwarp... Mark Manning.

Rio: Of course, Yeah! How did that happen?

Mark: Well, this is where I was getting confused with the *Heaven 17* drummer... But Tony left, so we were back to a 3-piece, back to the *Rue Morgue* sort of style. So we got another drummer in, who was a bit of a lad, and he goes "oh I know so and so, Mark Manning...", he came down, and he started writing all these bloody poems. And I'm going "oh god". He was just doing Zodiac Mindwarp, you know? So he was just using it as a bit of a rehearsal. We didn't really get on to be fair. Because, again, he was that sort of... Vivienne Westwood type, in fact he was friends with her. They were all part of an old scene, from the art world. They were all art based.

Rio: And what about the style of Heaven 17, and it changing over to 1919 slowly? Was that-

Mark: -well, the jagged edges started coming in. We started going "tick tick tick" (rimshot sound) and bringing in that more stabbing sound, didn't we?

Rio: Just because of a clientele change? Or... how did that come about?

Mark: When Mick joined, we had a cull of the set that we had before. Then we were writing stuff and obviously it takes a bit of bedding in, with different styles, and then it just morphs into our own sound, which takes a while.

Mick: Yeah we wrote, in a short space of time, *Tear Down These Walls* was the first one, whatever B-side was, odds on that'd've been written about same time... I can't remember

what the B-side on that wor. That sorta came together using various bass players and little bitsa keyboard that we did us selves, or Sput did a coupla, or one, John Peel session.

Rio: What was it like bein in a band at the time? You said you were rehearsing in a damp room, in a mill...

Mark: Nah, it want like that. It wasn't bleak.

Mick: Fuckin ell, it wo fer me! It wo cold, I remember that. We were at top of an archway, and I remember at one point we had to put all plastic up, and ont roof he got us a load of industrial plastic sheetin, and we were actually playing inside hung plastic... And I've often said, the reason I drummed so fast in them days, why they got written so fast were cos it wo so fuckin cold and it just keeps you fuckin goin! And I always ad a cold, and I'll always remember, I always used to stop drummin and when you're talking between songs about stuff, steam used to be coming off me. There wo never a heater there, ever. Even through't cold snow and all that lot.

So that's what it's like being in a band when you're 20. You don't care! All you wanna do is mek music, I wo travellin over, y'know from Dewsbury, and meetin up wi these guys.

Rio: What were your mates doin who weren't in a band? People you went to school with or whatever. Did you have any non-music mates?

Mick: I ad loadsa non music mates, probably't majority a my friends are people wot don't work within music, although I've a lot a close friends within music. Y'know, people did whatever they did in them days: mill, mechanics, steel, work in a garage, y'know... pit used to employ a lot of people round our way. Just industrial work.

Rio: Didn't fancy it?

Mark: I was workin in-between, I always ad a job. Just couldn't stand bein without money!

Rio: And you were a chef?

Mark: Aye.

Mick: I worked doin whatever you do. Lowest ot low... whatever anybody needed doin. Diggin or summat...

Karl: With a stick!

Rio: Was there any point when you were kinda going full-time? Making decent money... or *some* money... Did it ever turn into a job?

Mick: 1919?

Mark: Nah

Mick: Maybe once we knew there worra buzz. I mean, you can't do 2 John Peel sessions and be ignored. We'd had the blessing of the man imself.

Rio: Did Peel play it quite early then? Didn't he play the first... he played the white label dinne?

Oh aye. He *bought* 10 copies off us. We wanted to give em im, but e insisted that e bought em. E wo sat there, in Ringer Bell's, on what do ya call it-

Mark: -St. Paul's, yeah.

Rio: Of course, cos he came to Shipley didn't he?

Mick: He came up cos e were droppin his wife up at his mother-in-law's, who lived ont next street to our bass player. Same street! So he wo gonna be there, and e phoned me up at home and says, "do you wanna meet?" So we all got together and went n met im, and Mark brought some records. We couldn't wait to give im em! And he wo like, "no, no... go tut bar." So I went and got 5 pints, and e said "keep that, you'll need that crown". He wo just sat there wi all is music papers, avin a pint while e waited for us to come... We talked in there, a brief interview, I got a bit drunk... That interview wo broadcast and he broadcast both sides ut single that evening.

When he got tut end of it he said, "well, I like this bunch... I've just been avin a word with uncle John, and we're gonna get the boys in for a session". And I had it on a little crap radio like that **[gestures as if holding to his ear and looking for signal]**... I couldn't believe it, it just blew me 'ead!

Mark: I remember that moment. Radio to the ear **[makes static noise]** like that... on the mantelpiece it always goes out of tune, just at the wrong time! And it wo like, fuckin hell, "did we hear that right?"

Mick: Now you get instant feedback. You just put it up on youtube, everyone's "blah blah blah...", or you do your blog, whatever. But this one wo like in the post, wait, will somebody there, out of all that pile they used to get, pull us out?

Mark: It were that feelin... I'll tell you what it wo like, John Peel, it was like a decent lottery, with a good chance of actually being on. If you play the normal lottery, you're not gonna win fuck all. That's what it's like now, in music. Do your music, send it out, nothing's gonna happen. Then, there was always a good chance that he'd- he turned over new bands like that. Didn't hang on to old bands. They ad a little shelf-life. Wouldn't play't same bands after a while.

Mick: He always kept playing The Fall...

Mark: Captain Beefheart, The Fall, Perennials...

What made them different?

Mick: I asked im, about im fromt Fall-

-Mark E Smith...

Yeah, cos I'd met im somewhere and thought he wo quite rude. So I asked John Peel, how do you get on with im?

[Phone Rings]

Rio: So where did we get to?

Mick: We got tut point where a scene is about to start appnin, cos of band around like *Magazine* mekkin good noise-

Mark: -*Wire*...

Mick: ...*Twisted Nerve*, *Dead can Dance*...

Rio: Who was there locally that you took an interest in?

Mick: *Southern Death Cult* wo performin at same time as us and gettin a buzz, want they?

Mark: There was a bit of a rivalry wiya local ones. You didn't want em doin any better than you, you know!?

Mick: Tell you what we did do, we played Hebden Bridge Trades Club and it hadn't been open very long... On that night, you ad *1919*, *New Model Army*, and *Southern Death Cult*. All in one night for about 2 pound 50.

[Conversation veers slightly into vague memories of where they played, and who with]

Rio: So when did you think, "this is a scene now"? And do you just mean in Leeds, in Bradford?

Mick: I don't think you decided there worra scene... it's just everybody gravitates towards certain things. And becossut times, everything... it wo getting darker and darker. Are you wimme? Cos it *felt* dark. It did to me. Me and Mark talked about this a coupla week ago. I think I saw mebbe an even darker side, like he said he ad employment an stuff, e ad is thing goin... it wo just shit in Dewsbury, where I lived. Just there want any jobs. I remember dole queues that looked like people goin in tut pictures for a big film. And there was jobs, but there want any *decent* jobs. So that's where you end up joinin a band an putting your dreams round that. Seems like a lot better way a spendin your time, dunnit? And that became a habit for me, for life, did that. Like fuck the job, where's the band?

Rio: So the darkness you think came from Dewsbury? Rather than-

Mick: No. I think the darkness came from the times.

Mark: The times, yeah. Well look at it-

Mick: We thought we wo gonna get nuked every week. Fuckin nuked!

Mark: What was appenin there, politically?

Karl: Thatcher's government, bin strikes in London an that. Massive piles a rubbish...

Mark: The rubbish!

Rio: You ad the fireman's strike around then-

Mick: The firemen, yeah! All them benefit gigs.

Mark: Green Goddesses...

Rio: Did 1919 do any benefit gigs?

Mick: Yes, we did.

Mark: Did we?

Mick: Yep. I think we did it ere in Bradford.

Mark: The 1 in 12 Club?

Mick: Yes. 1919 played 1 in 12 with... one ot other bands from Bradford at time... *New Model Army* would definitely have been ont same night.

Rio: Was that the Billy Bragg one as well?

Mick: Billy Bragg worrat Ace at Brixton, with *The Mob*. And at same venue... *Rubella Ballet*. Second time it wo *Nico*.

VI. MICK, INTERVIEW, DECEMBER 4, 2017 (EXTRACT).

Rio: I think people project a lot onto what the picture means... but what are your thoughts on it now, if ya look at it?

Mick: I remember one thing, that everybody's mother... every woman in the area wo terrified. N that really worked up a lot of dislike for this character.

I wor in a punk rock band and we played at a pub, and 2 plain-clothed policemen came at the time, wi 4 other police officers with a little tape recorder, and asked if we could stop playing and broadcast his voice over the tannoy.

Rio: Really?

Mick: Yeah, so... that worra punk rock gig, so that wo... I can't remember now! 78, 79?

Yeah, I think... This photo of the court case is at the start of the 80s wannit? So yeah they'dve ad the search on...

Rio: So is that with the hoax? The hoax recording?

Mick: That's the hoax recording, yeah. But a remember that night n everybody, y'know, that chill went down ya spine cos we'd all bought into it, y'know? We thought this was im.

Anyway that were one at sorta things. I mean, Sputnik [Paul] n I used to walk his mother to bingo... 2-3 nights a week, that wor our job. Walk er down, walk er ome. If she won on bingo we got chips! [laughs] Chips n gravy... She always bought us chips anyway...

I remember I wor over in Leeds one day n I saw this poster that'd been put up, it says "The Ripper is a coward". It wo still damp so I peeled it off.

Rio: Right! I wondered... Because the sign looks professionally done.

Mick: Yeah it wor up Chapeltown in Leeds, I peeled it off... There wo loads of em up, there wor about 20 on a wall so I want doin any arm. I peeled it off, brought it back, dried it out, n then we eard the ripper wo comin obviously. N at the time, like any young man I ad a job ont side... I wo probably signing ont dole at time... But I ad a job windowcleanin. And I

decided not to go windowcleanin, get me poster, write "hang im" on it as well, and me n Sputnik went down, stood outside all day basically.

E made a noose up out of a piece of rope we found [laughs]. One thing I will tell ya is we wo there all day, yeah, tekkin piss in a way... Just tryin a get on television, which we did! All over world, photographers everywhere... which you don't realise at time, you're just a kid. But one thing I do remember is the moment that they got im out, and e walked past us (obviously I wo right at the front – the very front)... the hatred. In the crowd. I've never seen that... If theyd've got their ands on im they'da lynched im.

Rio: Really?

Mick: Yeah really. That wo proper hatred. And I tell yer ow deep that wo, I think that's why e got stabbed int eye with a biro, when e were int nick. You know what I mean? Nobody liked this man, nobody admired im. You know? E want a great theif or anything like that, e worra taker of life and e wo sadistic.

E took one at Dewsbury girls out anyway, Helen I think they called er. She used to go int Black Tulip in Dewsbury, I remember the face, when everybody were talkin about it, "y'know, her, her...", I'm sayin "no, no I don't..." then I seet pictures and you realise it were one at girls in your community. So that's right next door. Helen Ritker I think they called er... Helen...

Rio: So how did you... obviously you were kinda takin the piss n tryin to get on telly. But, so was it serious as well? Or had you not realised it wo serious?

Mick: No no no... I wo burnin' all day, me. You can see it int posters. Y'know it wor horrible. Me n im wo wound up. Me n Sput wo wound up. Everybody wo wound up about it. He's somebody that people despised mate. A stalker, a murderer... and women, y'know? Doesn't get any lower does it? Maybe young children... All wot e wo tekkin their lives from.

Yeah that's what I remember, n everyone worra suspect. But if you look where we wo practising, all the time, 1919, straight over the wall behind us wo Clarke's Transport – that's where e worked. All the time.

Rio: Really!?

Did Mark ever tell you about the time someone wo tryin to kill a prostitute outside our practice room?

Rio: No?

Mick: Really? Mark'll ave told you, e must recall... [Ian] Tilleard'll remember it, n what'd they call it... Either Graeme [Farley] or one of the lads... I've forgotten who bass player wo there wo that many!

But we were practising one night. We stopped to talk, and eard an almighty scream of terror n a car revving. And then repeated screamin and repeated revvin n skiddin. And what'd happened, where we rehearsed, down the side there was a little recess, and a prostitute had asked for payment after sex, and e'd thrown er out there. And she wo screamin, and e wo rammin er against wall. So when I came out I saw this, I ran up, I kicked side of is car...

booted all side at door in, cos I knew what wo goin on obviously, I knew someone wo gettin hurt...

You know, to this day I'll never know what the guy looked like, I can't remember. But who knows? E wo still on the prow at that time n this worris manor. Mannigham lane, all round that area. I dunno who e wo, but whoever he was... I can't even remembert car...

Rio: So you were already in 1919 there, when e'd been caught?

Mick: I worrin 1919 in that picture there, yeah. Absolutely.

Rio: Ad Sput played with you as well at that point? Or was it just before then?

Mick: No, Sput weren't playin with us at that point. I can tell by is air! Daft as it sounds...

Rio: [Laughs] Well e said e'd shaved it off, so that was it growin back...

[Brief segue about Sputnik's hair, gel, spikes, and the origin of the nickname 'Sputnik'...]

Mick: But yeah, who knows who worrin that car that night, but when I booted side of is car in, e reversed straight back, shot off, we called police, she [the sex worker] came in, then she sat with us for about half an hour until police came. There worra phone in... it wor an engineering firm, where we practised... that original keyboard player it worris parents' place. Asda own that now. That big Asda supermarket on Bingley road as you go out towards Mark.

Rio: Really!?

Mick: Yeah that's it there! Clarke's Transport was in that yard where they've done that now. That's who e worked for – e ad a sign up int cab sayin "if only the world knew the genius of this man..." Remember that? Letter e wrote and ad in is cab the whole time? Like a clue that e ad in his truck...

Rio: No I didn't know that!

Mick: Read up on that – you might find it quite interesting! It says "here's a man, if the world knew his genius they'd be amazed... blah blah blah". You'll find it.

Rio: Fuckin ell...

Mick: Yeah they found it when they went over is truck...

Rio: So what about the... You'llve eard the Fallout song? The Salami Tactics-

Mick: A band called...?

Rio: Fallout

Mick: No

Rio: Karl said it was about the picture with you guys in it. It's a band from down south... 1982 this came out, so they saw that picture and wrote this song. It's called "Peter Sutcliffe", the song. But it's about lynch-mob mentality, "innocent until proven guilty" and that.

Mick: Right... So we were the lynchmob!?

Well they're [...] If they lived up here n their mothers were shittin emselves, scared allt time, doors locked, women, livin in terror, they they'd be angry. But they don't, they live in fuckin Cotswolds or wherever.

VII. WOLFY, INTERVIEW, FEBRUARY 13, 2018 (SELECTED EXTRACTS).

Rio: All sorts of stuff gets written about the Mekons, Delta 5, and Cult n Sisters n all that, [but] summa the real character of the Yorkshire post-punk from that era is bands like 1919, Expelaires, March Violets, Skeletal Family-

Wolfy: -bands that didn't make it, you mean!? [laughs]

Rio: Bands that didn't *quite* make it, but are still well-woven into the fabric...

Wolfy: Chris Catalyst describes that genre of bands as the bands with the M62 guitar sound! That's how he describes it. Funnily enough, Eureka Machines – I got emailed an mp3 last night – have just done a cover of a Lorries song [...]

Rio: You meet a lot of people don't ya, in music? And a lot of people that don't like each other. But everyone likes Chris. Even warring factions in whatever partsa the world...

Wolfy: He's a lovely man. It's funny cos when you talk about... everyone thinks that there was this immense camaraderie in Leeds and it wor all, like we're all in it together. But it's not true. It's like Spinal Tap: "oh well done mate... fuckin wanker". Cos you didn't want someone to surge ahead in front. There was a kinda common kinship, but you didn't want anyone to leap in front of ya.

Rio: That's young egos though. Like how old were you all?

Wolfy: It wor incredibly competitive. Which is a good thing but it's not very encompassing, is it? [laughs]

Rio: Maybe that's one of the reasons why Yorkshire as never... *stuck* as a-

Wolfy: -oh I think I know why it is, it's cos no one had the sense to start a record label. Apart from when Eldritch did Merciful Release but, like, no one kinda documented... This is just too weird because [John] Keenan was the man, he really was the man in Leeds n y'know we were like the resident band at the F-Club. We wo like is favourite band...

Rio: With Lorries, or-

Wolfy: -with the Expelaires. E wo really really good to us. But must've known that, bein a businessman, that to get some kinda sense of progression that... it's like, well, you got music so what else do you need? But it never... it never occurred to anybody that there should be a record label.

Rio: There was Red Rhino, obviously, in York.

Wolfy: Yeah, but that wo later. I mean they did the Jerks...

Rio: 82? 1919's first stuff was on there.

Wolfy: Yeah, but '78 there wo nothin. Absolutely nothing.

Rio: That's a good point.

Wolfy: And there wo loadsa great bands in Leeds that wo never recorded, n Dance Chapter played around that time, and they got signed to 4AD n the Expelaires got signed to Zoo. Just to show you how thin on the ground labels – decent labels – were. Y'know, they had to go to London and we at to go to Liverpool to get a single out, n it just seemed wrong.

Rio: It's a good point. There was never a Factory Records basically. The label n the club, that's what stays-

Wolfy: -yeah! But I remember like, one night, we went down to the F Club and there actually was a tape recorder... 'ooh look, a tape recorder!' Like wheels were spinning n everything. I said to John like, 'what's goin on?' He said 'I'm gonna record every band tonight' [...] every band were gonna be recorded, to kinda document it, but I never found out what appened. You know that e ad all footage from Futurama 2 in his cellar, don't ya? Did you not know this? Well I've done two Futuramas n they were fuckin amazin.

Rio: Yeah I've seen all the posters n that!

Wolfy: The bill is just incredible, so I'm really lucky to ave played two a them. So basically on the second one they did like a who's who, y'know, Banshees-

Rio: -so what appened to it?

Wolfy: Well, about 10 years ago I said, cos it got shown on the BBC, I said 'John, you know that footage you ad of Futurama? If you'd ave sold that you could've ad a pension!' So I said 'what appened to it?' He says 'oh, it worrin me cellar and it got flooded!' [...] cellars and tapes don't really go together at all, do they?

Rio: So when you said it was really competitive, and there was never really much camaraderie as such-

Wolfy: -not really, although bands kind've elped each other out, like the Gang of Four gave us some gigs, n the Mekons... I think cos they felt sorry for us, not because they liked us!

Rio: Ow did you feel about the kinda Manchester scene, compared to like the London scene?

Wolfy: I think we wo jealous

Rio: Jealous a Manchester?

Wolfy: Yeah, cos they ad the label n status n kudos. Leeds really dint, y'know.

Rio: Ow do you think they got that kinda status?

Wolfy: Because people started labels, n that generated records so they got pressed so they can sell fulfilment.

Rio: Cos if you think Leeds would've ad Sisters, the Mission, *and* Red Lorry Yellow Lorry...

Wolfy: But the music press hated all those bands! Well I'm not sure about the Sisters, cos the Sisters did pretty well. Sounds really liked the Sisters. But the press hated the Lorries, most a the press.

Rio: How come?

Wolfy: Cos it's a shit game! But what wo really weird is we did really well everywhere else. Like in America we did great. In Germany – unbelievable... they don't know what the fuck

a lorry is! Everyone just turned up in black t-shirts an went mental. In America there weren't many goths anyway, so it wo just a rock n roll band.

Rio: I suppose Cult, Billy Idol ad all...

Wolfy: They just like their rock n roll n we were a good rock n roll band. But we were never a goth band anyway, we were a post-punk band.

Rio: So how did you think it was post-punk rather than punk?

Wolfy: Cossa the guitar playing.

Rio: What was it about the guitar playin?

Wolfy: I think everyone says their kinda seminal moment of punk wo seein the Pistols, but when Gerard n I went to see the Banshees at Leeds University, this wo like *early* – it wo like 'this is interesting – what the fuck are they doing?' We could play like Steve Jones n the Ramones n everyone like that, but we couldn't figure out what John McKay wo doin! So we taped all the John Peel Sessions an got the records, an figured out how to play like John McKay. You're kinda learning by copying, but then that develops your vocabulary n then you kind've ave your *own* voice. An that worra more interesting voice than playin 3 chords, you know, it wor extremely colourful. And so when Bauhaus came along they has a similar plot, n the Gang of Four, y'know, not just playing full-on square punk, which is ok but it's a bit borin. I like it in a kinda nostalgic way, n love the Ramones.

VIII. PAUL D, INTERVIEW, OCTOBER 19, 2017 (SELECTED EXTRACTS).

Paul: I was a kid just comin up to leaving school, and everyone wo bombarding me with "what're you gonna do? where're you gonna work?" I hadn't given it any thought. I'd had an awful time at school, I'd been expelled from school [...] Two junior schools and my high school.

Rio: And that's the same one as Mick? Did you go to another after, or...

Paul: No, I just went to the same high school as Mick and got expelled eventually. But I'd already stopped going. I think I more or less stopped going when I wo 14-15. I just remember so often sorta making my way wearily an reluctantly to school, getting through the school gates and thinkin "I just can't face this", and just scarpering up the upward slope and through the trees, and through a hole in the fence! [chuckles] And go back home and go to bed, y'know. I'd wait for the milkman to come, and get some orange juice and chocolate wafers. "Just put it on ma mum's bill!" Then the bread man'd come and I'd get some buns.

Rio: Sorted!

Paul: So yeah I was a bit of a ne'er do well in that sense. I'd ad this biding problem with authority... it's never gone away really. It's been the bane of my existence in some ways, but then again it's parta who I am. If I didn't ave that I'd be a different person I suppose. Because when you start gettin angry at authority, see it for what it is and start seeing through it, you realise, "you haven't really got power over me if I don't give you power over me. If I just say no." So I've always had a problem with authority, hence getting expelled from school. But not for being anything other than a refusenik. Just, "no I'm not gonna do that. Why should I do that?"

Rio: So punk would be a kind of ideal fit...

Paul: Of course! And that's why I felt when I saw the Pistols that "these are my people". I thought, "God, y'know there *are* people like me in this world. I *don't* ave to just go in the army or down the pits", which is what I thought I at to do. This gaping chasm – the PITS!

Everybody in my family as gone in the army. All ma 3 brothers ave gone in the army, my dad ad been in the army. So I saw that as like, "oh, I'll probably just end up goin in the army or down the pits", like they'd all done that as well. There didn't seem to be anything else. No one mentioned to us anything about university or further education. We didn't know it existed, y'know? We were churned out, of course we were churned out as factory fodder or cannon fodder. That was your lot, and you just accepted it cos you didn't noor any different. Everyone around you, that's where they'd ended up. All of my family ad ended up in that syndrome, so you didn't question it too much [...]

Rio: Did you work when you left school?

Paul: Well I sorta did reluctantly when I first left school, I just kind've stumbled into a succession of dead end jobs...

Rio: Like what?

Paul: Like... My first job was in an old mill, there were a lot of mills around Yorkshire at that time, and it was a thing called a "warper". You was on this massive thing that went round and it wound the thread... all the thread would come from behind you with these massive cages with all these different colour threads. They all went into this warping machine and you used to knock this kind've... I forget what they were called, some spindle... they ave a name! You ad to knock it with this sort of angled skewer to sort of weave the cloth, and in this primitive sorta way it was set up, because of the way the colours and the threads had sort of threaded onto the thing... so it was very silly!

[...] there were just a job there. I think my mate ad applied as well, so... I remember the interview. This square sorta guy sat there, like Blakey from On the Buses... I don't know if you'll remember that. Just some kinda older guy wi glasses... I dunno if you've seen Billy Liar n things like that, but one of the characters who's just kinda sold his soul to the company store! [laughs]

He just asked us, [impersonates condescending voice] "if I were to ask you how many was in a baker's dozen, would you be able to tell me?" And I went, "...yeah it's 13 int it?" He said "that's right, that's very good. And could you tell me when the battle of Hastings took place?" I happened to know, and I say "it's 1066". "Yes, that's right, that's very good... Anyway you can start on Monday!" And so... In some ways I think I've done him a disservice, cos I was sat there, spiky hair, y'know, one of the punk rockers that's been demonized in the tabloids, especially in a small town like Dewsbury, but yet e still gave me the job. So hats off to im really.

Rio: Did you say you'd done it before?

Paul: I dint say anything to im. I didn't even know what the job was really! Just for some reason I thought I at to get a job, I dunno, it's just what people did [laughs]. Until I realised you *dint* aff to get a job. But that's kind of a different mindset. Especially these days y'know. I once saw a film, *Barfly*, with Micky Rourke playin Bukowski... I think one a the lines were:

“well any fool can work, but it takes a man to get by without workin’”. Something like that. It kinda stuck with me... not for any like [inaudible] reasons, but for like, any fool *can* get a job, but to get through life without workin takes a kind of tenacity and determination I suppose! Y’know, cos there are so many hurdles you have to jump n hoops you have to leap through, so many people you have to like... push away.

I mean I did that job, and I did a couple of other jobs... production lines n stuff, and this was back in the day when you could just get a job if you wanted. You could just walk in a firm n say “are there any jobs goin?” And they’d say “yeah”. The interview’d be a perfunctory thing n you’d start, n you’d be earning money. So we used to do that if we needed to buy an amp or buy a guitar. You’d decite, “right, I’ll go n work for a couple months n get this money together”.

But yeah, so for a coupla years or so I was in n out of work, but I adn’t yet really developed the deep-rooted opposition to enforced employment that I ave now. The ‘ole kinda press-gangin people into wage slavery. That’s the thing I think needs to be got rid of as soon as possible, so that people can live their lives n can enjoy their lives. We’re ‘ere for the blink of a cosmic eye, and all this time spent doin this mind-numbing, soul-destroying shit...

Rio: Leave it to the robots

Paul: Especially now! There’s no excuse, cos most jobs could be done by technology. Most of what *needs* doing anyway. Because when it’s just a succession of firms in competition with each other, mekkin the same thing... If there was some kind of collectivisation with, like, one place manufacturin shoes, one place manufacturin jackets... every jacket or pair of shoes you could think of or ever want...

Rio: People who used to work there can get paid the same to paint pictures... It’d be better, wunnit?

Paul: Even goin as far as abolishin money... I mean it will come about eventually anyway. Money’s slowly bein abolished now... not many people pay with money any more. But it’s still a credit system int it? It won’t be long before even that... the currency is eliminated... you’ll be awarded credits for good behaviour or summat! [laughs] All this dystopian stuff... it’ll kinda get closer to that. I dunno if we’ll ever wrest the power from the right-wingers, cos they’re too determined and they’re too cunning and they’re too cruel. We’re at a disadvantage (I’m talkin about left-wing people, socialists...) because we’ve got an innate sorta decency. A sense of decency. Kindness! We’re handicapped by all those things!!

[...] I don’t know why I’m myself, I’m as lost as everyone else. I don’t know who I am, why I’m ere... I don’t believe I’m ere for anything actually. I don’t believe there’s a meaning of life as such. It’s whatever you choose yourself. Whatever you wanna channel your energy into and believe “that’s why I was put on this earth, this is why I was born... to do this thing” I think it’s a delusion, but fair enough! If that gets you through the day... But I don’t know who I am. I don’t know if there’s any “why?” Or any meaning to any of it. And I’m quite content with that. I’m quite content to become dust, forgotten about, y’know!? And I’m not interested in legacies or leaving anything behind... why would that interest me?